NEW
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN
HISTORY
SAMUEL B. BANNISTER HARDING
REVISED

Major 18.

ISABELLA OF ENGLAND ENTERING PARIS TO VISIT HER BROTHER, CHARLES IV OF FRANCE (Page 237)

From a 15th Century MS. of Froissart's Chronicles. An example of the art of the medieval miniaturist

ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

NEW MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

BY

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Based upon the author's "Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History" prepared in consultation with

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A SERIES PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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NEW MED. & MOD. HIST.

W. P. II

PREFACE

THIS book is something more than a revision of the author's *Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History*. As the task of revision progressed, its scope was so enlarged that, by reorganization, extension, and rewriting, the result became practically a new work. It has been deemed best, therefore, to give to the book a distinctive name, and at the same time to continue the publication of the old volume. In general the aim in this book has been to decrease the amount of space devoted to political and military details, and to increase the emphasis on social, industrial, and cultural topics. Full treatment also is given to the important events which have occurred since the *Essentials in Mediæval and Modern History* was first published. Instead of treating these in a supplementary chapter, they have been woven, so far as practical, into their logical places in the narrative. In conformity with what is now the established tendency, greater emphasis has been put on the events of our own time than on those of former ages. It is now generally recognized that a leading aim of the study of history is to enable one to understand the world of to-day.

Profuse and adequate illustrations and maps are inserted in proper relation to the text. It is believed that the breaking up of the chapters into lettered subdivisions will facilitate the assignment of lessons, and it is hoped that the new teaching apparatus will prove especially useful. A table of rulers is inserted at the beginning of the volume for convenience of reference; lists of important dates follow the several chapters; and in connection with each search topic a few carefully selected references are printed to guide the pupil in his collateral reading.

No pains have been spared to adapt the book to the needs of the schools and to the powers of the pupils. The success

which has been attained in this endeavor is due in very large part to the patient coöperation of a number of expert teachers. To Miss Margaret Snodgrass, of Lake View High School (Chicago), the author is indebted for very efficient collaboration in the whole task of revising and rewriting the book, and in reading the proof. Miss Josephine M. Cox, of Shortridge High School (Indianapolis), Miss Mattie B. Lacy, of Manual Training High School (Indianapolis), and Miss Mabel Ryan, of Garfield High School (Terre Haute), each read the manuscript at two different stages, and went over it with the author in repeated joint conferences. In addition, Mr. F. P. Goodwin, of the Woodward High School (Cincinnati), Mr. E. M. Benedict, of the Walnut Hills High School (Cincinnati), and Mr. F. F. Herr, of the Youngstown (Ohio) High School, carefully read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions, the outgrowth of their wide experience as teachers. Finally the author is indebted to Messrs. Scott, Foresman & Company, of Chicago, for permission to incorporate in this text certain passages from his grade readers, entitled *The Story of the Middle Ages*, *The Story of England*, and *The Story of Europe*, published by them. To all of these persons, and to others who are not here named, the author makes grateful acknowledgment.

The following suggestions are offered concerning the teaching of the subject: —

1. Make sure, the author would urge, that the pupil understands what he reads and recites, and lead him to penetrate back of the narrative to the things themselves, — to realize, *visualize* history. The simplest words and expressions sometimes prove difficult; and it is always desirable to lead the pupil away from the language of the book to his own expression.

2. Require the keeping of notebooks for class notes and dictations, for collateral reading, and for analyses by the pupil of chapters in the text.

3. Use should be made of text- and wall-maps in the preparation and recitation of lessons; and from time to time the teacher should require the filling in of outline maps, for different epochs, showing physical features, towns, battles, boundaries, etc. Un-

localized knowledge in history is nebulous knowledge; and in map work the principle of "learning by doing" is indispensable. Excellent outline maps are published by the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

4. The memorizing of a mass of unrelated dates is not advised, though a sufficient number of dates must be mastered to serve as landmarks. Rather exercise the pupils in grasping the sequence and other time relations of events, — drilling them, for example, in estimating the distance in time between events in the same and in different series.

5. Pictures of historical places, things, and persons greatly aid instruction. Collections of these may easily be made from old magazines and similar sources, and should be mounted on uniform sheets of cardboard and classified. Older pupils can usually assist in the making and keeping of such a collection.

All this is presented merely as suggestion, not dogmatically. If the teacher is really a teacher, knows his subject and loves to teach it, like Sentimental Tommy he will surely "find a way." The only fair test, for teacher and book alike, is the test by results.

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TABLE SHOWING THE CHIEF RULERS OF EUROPE

POPES	GERMANY (Holy Roman Empire)	FRANCE	ENGLAND
590–604 Gregory I, the Great	481–511 Clovis (Merovingian line)		449–802 *Heptarchic Period* (a varying number of separate kingdoms)
741–752 Zacharias	751–768 Pepin the Short (first Carolingian king)		Saxon Line
795–816 Leo III	768–814 Charlemagne (Emperor, 800)		802–839 Egbert (first king of all England)
858–867 Nicholas I	814–840 Louis the Pious		
	840–911 [Later Carolingians]	843–877 Charles the Bald	871–900 Alfred (the Great)
		877–987 [Later Carolingians and early Robertians]	
914–928 John X	911–918 Conrad I		900–925 Edward the Elder
	Saxon Line		925–940 Athelstan
	919–936 Henry I		940–946 Edmund
956–963 John XII	936–973 Otto I (the Great)	Capetian Line	946–955 Edred
			955–959 Edwy
	973–983 Otto II	987–996 Hugh Capet	959–975 Edgar
999–1003 Sylvester II	983–1002 Otto III	996–1031 Robert	975–979 Edward the Martyr
			979–1016 Ethelred the Redeless
	1002–24 Henry II		1016 Edmund
1046 Gregory VI	Franconian Line		1016–35 Canute } Danish kings
1048–54 Leo IX	1024–39 Conrad II	1031–60 Henry I	1035–40 Harold } Danish kings
1058–61 Nicholas II	1039–56 Henry III		1040–42 Hardicanute } Danish kings
	1056–1106 Henry IV		1042–66 Edward the Confessor
1073–85 Gregory VII (Hildebrand)		1060–1108 Philip I	1066 Harold
			Norman Line
1088–99 Urban II			1066–87 William I (the Conqueror)
			1087–1100 William II (Rufus)
	1106–25 Henry V	1108–37 Louis VI (the Fat)	1100–35 Henry I
	1125–37 Lothair II of Saxony		
	Hohenstaufen Line		1135–54 Stephen [Matilda claimant]
	1138–52 Conrad III	1137–80 Louis VII	
	1152–90 Frederick I (Barbarossa)		Plantagenet Line
1154–59 Adrian IV	1190–97 Henry VI	1180–1223 Philip II (Augustus)	1154–89 Henry II
1159–81 Alexander III	1198–1208 Philip } Rival claimants		1189–99 Richard I (the Lion-Hearted)
1198–1216 Innocent III	1198–1214 Otto IV } Rival claimants		1199–1216 John
1227–41 Gregory IX	1215–50 Frederick II		1216–72 Henry III
1243–54 Innocent IV	1250–54 Conrad IV	1223–26 Louis VIII	
	[1256–73 *Great Interregnum*]	1226–70 Louis IX (the Saint)	

1294 Celestine V (resigned) 1294–1303 Boniface VIII	RULERS FROM VARIOUS HOUSES 1273–91 Rudolph of Hapsburg 1292–98 Adolf of Nassau 1298–1308 Albert of Austria	1270–85 Philip III 1285–1314 Philip IV	1272–1307 Edward I
1305–77 [Popes at Avignon; "*Babylonian Captivity*"]	1308–13 Henry VII 1314–47 Louis IV of Bavaria } Rival 1314–30 Frederick the Fair } claimants	1314–16 Louis X 1316–22 Philip V 1322–28 Charles IV	1307–27 Edward II (deposed) 1327–77 Edward III
1378–1417 [*The Great Schism.* Two lines of Popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon. A third created by Council of Pisa, 1409–17]	LUXEMBURG LINE 1347–78 Charles IV 1378–1400 Wenceslaus (deposed)	VALOIS LINE 1328–50 Philip VI 1350–64 John 1364–80 Charles V 1380–1422 Charles VI	1377–99 Richard II (deposed) LANCASTRIAN LINE 1399–1413 Henry IV
1417–31 Martin V 1431–47 Eugenius IV [1439–49 Felix V (anti-Pope)] 1447–55 Nicholas V	[1400–10 Rupert of the Palatinate] 1410–37 Sigismund HAPSBURG LINE 1438–39 Albert II 1440–93 Frederick III	1422–61 Charles VII	1413–22 Henry V 1422–61 Henry VI (deposed) YORKIST LINE
1458–64 Pius II 1464–71 Paul II 1471–84 Sixtus IV 1484–92 Innocent VIII 1492–1503 Alexander VI (Borgia)	1493–1519 Maximilian I	1461–83 Louis XI 1483–98 Charles VIII 1498–1515 Louis XII	1461–83 Edward IV 1483 Edward V (deposed) 1483–85 Richard III TUDOR LINE 1485–1509 Henry VII
1503–13 Julius II 1513–21 Leo X (Medici) 1522–23 Adrian VI 1523–34 Clement VII 1534–49 Paul III	1519–56 Charles V	1515–47 Francis I	1509–47 Henry VIII
1555–59 Paul IV 1566–72 Pius V 1572–85 Gregory XIII 1585–90 Sixtus V	1556–64 Ferdinand I 1564–76 Maximilian II 1576–1612 Rudolph II	1547–59 Henry II 1559–60 Francis II 1560–74 Charles IX 1574–89 Henry III BOURBON LINE 1589–1610 Henry IV	1547–53 Edward VI 1553–58 Mary 1558–1603 Elizabeth
	1612–19 Matthias 1619–37 Ferdinand II 1637–57 Ferdinand III	1610–43 Louis XIII	STUART LINE 1603–25 James I 1625–49 Charles I (executed)

POPES	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE		PRUSSIA	FRANCE	ENGLAND
. . . . .	1637–57 Ferdinand III			1643–1715 Louis XIV	[1649–60 *Commonwealth and Protectorate*]
			1640–88 Frederick William (the Great Elector)		1660–85 Charles II
1644–55 Innocent X	1658–1705 Leopold I				1685–89 James II
					[1688–89 *the Glorious Revolution*]
			1688–1713 Frederick (title "King" 1701)		1689–1702 William and Mary
	1705–11 Joseph I				1702–14 Anne
. . . . .	1711–40 Charles VI		1713–40 Frederick William I	1715–74 Louis XV	
	. . . . .				HANOVERIAN LINE
	[1742–45 Charles VII of Bavaria]		1740–86 Frederick II (the Great)		1714–27 George I
	1745–65 Francis I (husband of Maria Theresa)				1727–60 George II
	1765–90 Joseph II			1774–92 Louis XVI (executed)	1760–1820 George III
1769–74 Clement XIV			1786–97 Frederick William II	[1792–1814 *First Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire* of Napoleon I]	
. . . . .	1790–92 Leopold II		1797–1840 Frederick William III		
	1792–1806 Francis II				
1800–23 Pius VII	[Holy Roman Empire abolished, 1806]				
				1814–24 Louis XVIII	
	AUSTRIAN EMPIRE			1824–30 Charles X (revolution)	1820–30 George IV
. . . . .	1806–35 Francis I (Francis II above)				
		ITALY		ORLEANS LINE	1830–37 William IV
				1830–48 Louis Philippe (revolution)	1837–1901 Victoria
	1835–48 Ferdinand I	1831–49 Charles Albert, King of Sardinia-Piedmont (resigned)	1840–61 Frederick William IV	[1848–52 *Second French Republic*]	
1846–78 Pius IX				[1852–70 *Second Empire*, Napoleon III]	
	1848–1916 Francis Joseph I	1849–78 Victor Emmanuel II (King of Italy after 1861)	1861–88 William I (German Emperor after 1871)	[1870+ *Third Republic*]	
1878–1903 Leo XIII			GERMAN EMPIRE		
		1878–1900 Humbert I (assassinated)	1871–88 William I		
			1888 Frederick III		
			1888+ William II		
1903–14 Pius X	1916+ Charles I	1900+ Victor Emmanuel III			1901–10 Edward VII
1914+ Benedict XV					1910+ George V

MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

A. Geographical Basis of European History

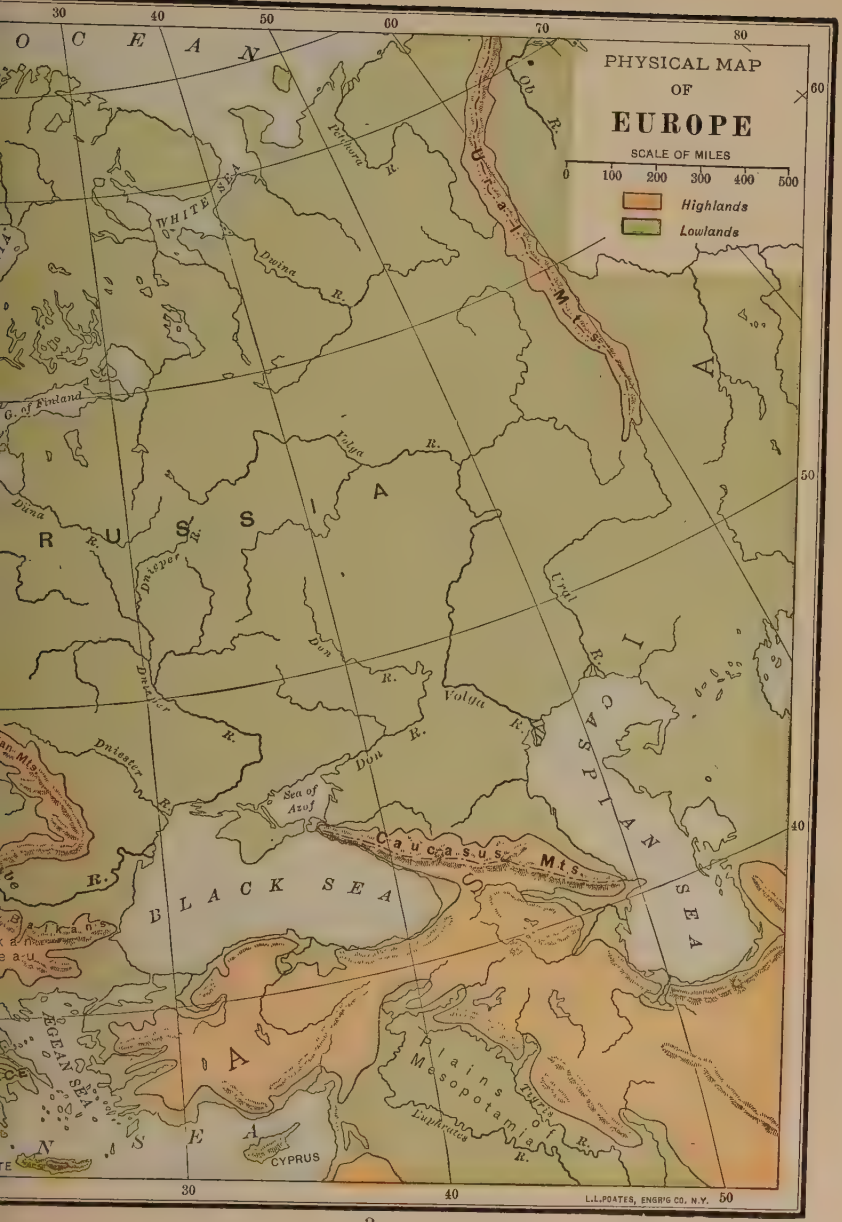
History deals very largely with the civilization and achievements of the peoples of Europe. The origins of European civilization are to be sought in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in western Asia, and in the valley of the Nile in northern Africa. This ancient civilization, however, continued to develop only when transplanted to Europe. India, China, and Japan possess highly developed civilizations of their own, but these have had little influence on the West. Modern civilization — with its science, its manufactures, and its political democracy — is preëminently the creation of Europe. It is from that continent, through the agency of traders, missionaries, and settlers, that modern culture has spread to the other quarters of the globe.

1. Europe the center of modern civilization

One reason for the historical importance of Europe is to be found in its geographical advantages. The continent extends from about 36° to 71° north latitude, or from about the latitude of Cape Hatteras on the Atlantic coast of the United States to that of northernmost Alaska. The climate of Europe, however, is much milder than that of the eastern parts of North America and of Asia. Its coast line is much broken by great gulfs and peninsulas. These divide the land into numerous distinct regions, in which could arise independent communities, protected by the sea and yet not isolated. The surface of the continent is varied by short mountain ranges and plains, neither of which have the vastness of those of Asia and America. Its rainfall is generally plentiful. The Mediterranean Sea, with its easily navigable waters, unites it with

2. General features of its geography

THE ALPS
0 50 100 Miles
Passes
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN IS.
BRITISH ISLES
NORTH SEA
English Channel
Lands End
C. Finisterre
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
SPAIN
Pyrenees
C. St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
MALTA
ITALY
Apennines
ADRIATIC SEA
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Vosges Mts.
Black Forest
Jura Mts.
Cevennes
Alps
Mt. St. Gothard
Mt. Cenis Pass
Mt. Blanc
Gr. St. Bernard Pass
Simplon Pass
Splugen Pass
Lukmanier Pass
Julier Pass
Arlberg Pass
Brenner Pass
Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Genoa
BOHEMIA
Erzgebirge
Riesengebirge
Bohmerwald
AFRICA
ATLANTIC
MEDITERRANEAN
10 Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich


PHYSICAL MAP
OF
EUROPE
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Highlands
Lowlands
Petchora R.
Ob R.
Ural Mts.
WHITE SEA
Dwina R.
G. of Finland
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Don R.
Ural R.
Sea of Azof
Caucasus Mts.
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Plains of Mesopotamia
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
CYPRUS
AEGEAN SEA
L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO. N.Y.

northern Africa and western Asia. In short, the position, structure, and climate of Europe all fitted it to receive, develop, and spread the ancient civilization which arose in Egypt and western Asia.

The continent of Europe is divided into three distinct parts. (1) The southern portion comprises the great peninsulas of Greece, Italy, and Spain. It is cut off from the central mass by an almost unbroken mountain chain, formed by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and their eastern continuations. (2) North of this lies a central land mass, stretching east and west across the continent, which broadens out in the east to form the great plain of Russia. (3) Beyond this lie the British Isles and the Scandinavian peninsula. These lands are separated from the central portion by the English Channel, the North Sea, and the Baltic Sea, which is a sort of "secondary Mediterranean."

The second and third divisions of the continent, especially toward the east, are relatively low. They consist principally of "naked plains and large lakes, exposed to the freezing influences of Asia and the Arctic Ocean." The first division, on the other hand, is protected by mountains from the freezing winds of the north and is warmed and freshened by rain-bearing breezes from the Mediterranean. It bristles with peaks, is scalloped with gulfs, and is furrowed by numerous rivers. It was well fitted to become the seat of the earliest development of agriculture, commerce, and organized government on the European continent.

Lavallé, *Physical, Historical, and Military Geography*, 51

The central mountain system of Europe is the Alps. It is divided into two groups, the western Alps and the eastern. (1) The western Alps (the Alps proper) lie in the form of an arc of a circle, stretching a distance of 348 miles from the Gulf of Genoa to Mount St. Goth'ard. They comprise three series of parallel ridges, of which the central ridge, with an altitude of 9000 to 15,000 feet, is the highest. The western (or northern) ridge is the lowest. Mont Blanc (môN bläN'), the highest peak of the Alps (15,781 feet), is the loftiest mountain in Europe; it is higher than any mountain in the United

3. Mountain systems of Europe

States, excluding Alaska. Because the western and northern slopes are more gradual, the Alps are more easily passable by an army coming from the west or north into Italy than from Italy into France or Germany. The chief passes in the western Alps are the Simplon Pass, over which Napoleon Bonaparte constructed an admirable road at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the Great St. Bernard′, which in spite of its

GREAT ST. BERNARD PASS

The building is the Hospice, where for many centuries devoted monks have cared for storm-bound travelers, sometimes rescued by the famous St. Bernard dogs

difficulties was used successively by Charlemagne (shär′le-mān), the Emperor Frederick I, and Napoleon; and the Mont Cenis (môN sē-nē′), which was long the favorite pass for travelers going from France into Italy. (2) The eastern Alps stretch from Mount St. Gothard to the Adriatic Sea, and are continued along its eastern coast. Their altitudes are lower than those of the western Alps, and decline as they approach the Adriatic. The chief route over these mountains is the Brenner Pass. Because it is the lowest pass over the principal chain, it has been used continuously since the Roman period, and in the Middle Ages was the great route from Italy to Germany.

It is important to fix in mind the location of the chief mountain passes, together with the river valleys leading to and from them.[1] For centuries they constituted almost the only practicable routes for armies, envoys, pilgrims, and traders, between northern Europe and the fertile plains and rich cities of Italy.

In almost every direction offshoots radiate from the central mountain mass of the Alps. To the south extend the Apennines, forming the Italian peninsula. To the west are the Cévennes (sā-vĕn′) of southern France. To the north appear the Jura, the Vosges (vōzh), the Black Forest, and other mountains of upper Germany. To the northeast lie the mountains which inclose Bohemia, and the sweeping arc, 700 miles long, of the Carpathian Mountains. To the southeast are the wild and precipitous heights of the Balkans, and the mountains forming the Grecian peninsula. Only a few groups of mountains in Europe are unconnected with this central mass. The chief of these are the Pyrenees, which form a solid rampart between France and the Spanish peninsula, passable for armies at the eastern and western ends only. The Scandinavian mountains, the Scottish Highlands, the Urals, and the lofty Caucasus ridge, are of little historical importance.

4. River systems of Europe

Three important rivers rise in the neighborhood of Mount St. Gothard, flow in different directions, and empty into widely separated seas. (1) The Rhine, after traversing a course of 850 miles, empties into the North Sea. Its chief tributaries are the Moselle (mo-zĕl′) and the Main. The Meuse (or Maas), which flows into its delta, is also practically a tributary of the Rhine. (2) The Rhone, with the Saône (sōn) as tributary, flows into the western Mediterranean. (3) The Po, which drains the northern plain of Italy, empties into the Adriatic Sea. The Danube River, with a length of 1600 miles, ranks in historical importance with the Rhine, near whose source it rises. The Rhine and Danube together form an al-

[1] In recent years railway tunnels have been driven through the Alps. The Mont Cenis tunnel, 7½ miles long, was completed in 1871; the St. Gothard, 9¾ miles, in 1881; the Arlberg, 6¾ miles, in 1884; and the Simplon, 12¼ miles, in 1905.

most continuous water route stretching across Europe from the North Sea to the Black Sea. Additional streams of importance are the Garonne (gȧ-rōn′), the Loire (lwär), and the Seine (sân), in France; and the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vis′tula, in Germany. The Volga, with its length of 2100 miles, is geographically the most important river of Europe; but historically it counts for little, because of its location in the vast plains of eastern Russia.

The tendency of mountains is to separate neighboring peoples; of rivers, to unite them. Physical geography, then, would divide Europe into the following sections: Spain, France (or Gaul) to the Cévennes Mountains, the British Isles, the Rhone-land, the Rhine-land, Italy, the Balkan-land, the Danube-land, North Germany, Bohemia, Russia, and Scandinavia. Each of these twelve regions has had its separate history. Modern political divisions to-day follow this grouping with sufficient closeness to show the abiding influence of physical geography upon history.

5. Geographical units in Europe

B. The Sources and Periods of History

The information concerning the past which is contained in books on history is all derived from various historical "sources" which have come down to us. The extent and character of these sources determine in large part whether our information shall be full and trustworthy, or scanty and untrustworthy. In general we may say that all historical knowledge is based on the three following classes of sources: —

6. The "sources" of history

(1) *Material remains*, such as buildings, roads, monuments, ruins, coins, old weapons and tools, household furniture and utensils, armor, clothing, etc.

(2) *Official documents, and other writings, including descriptions of events by eye- and ear-witnesses.* In this class should also be placed photographs of persons and events, and pictorial representations of them by persons who were in a position personally to know the facts.

(3) *Oral and written traditions*, which come to us from persons who were not in a position to know the facts at first hand, but who give us information which they received from others.

No matter how important an event may have been, if no trace of it has been left in one or another of these ways, we can have no knowledge of it. For the *Middle Ages* our sources, aside from material remains, consist chiefly of the following: "Annals" and "chronicles," in which men (usually monks) wrote down brief accounts of the events of their times; decrees of rulers and other collections of laws; charters conveying grants of lands and privileges; a few letters of kings, Popes, and other eminent men; lives of saints and other persons, written at that time; and account books and records of governments, monasteries, and individual. landlords. For *Modern History* there is an ever increasing flood of parliamentary and congressional debates, statutes, memoirs and letters of statesmen and other persons, diaries, daily newspapers, etc.

In the use of these sources great care must be taken. We must determine (1) that each is what it seems to be, and (2) that its author was both in a position to know the facts, and that he had no interest in deceiving us. A slow and careful process of sifting and comparison is necessary to separate the truth from falsehood and error. It is not surprising that — as new materials are discovered and made available and more careful study is given to the old — many views which were formerly held are shown to be unfounded, and new ones take their place.

7. Division of history into periods

In considering the division of history into periods, we should remember that the development of human society has been a continuous process. History may be thought of as a ceaselessly flowing stream, ever widening and deepening its course. For convenience of study, we divide history into more or less artificial periods. Two facts, however, should be borne in mind in this connection. First, changes in history, like changes of the seasons, are gradual, each period merging

into the next as imperceptibly as winter into spring. Second, progress does not take place with equal rapidity in all fields. Now artistic activity, now scientific thought, now industrial development, now political organization, forges ahead, while other activities lag behind. Now one nation leads, now another. It is difficult, therefore, to find dates as division points which mark important changes in all these various fields, just as it is difficult to divide a man's life exactly into periods of childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. Nevertheless the divisions mark real and important differences, and for practical purposes they are necessary.

8. Scope of this book

The term "Middle Ages" is used to cover the whole period from the beginning of the invasions of the Roman Empire by the Germans, about 376 A.D., to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. In reality three distinct epochs are comprised in this period. (1) From about 376 to about 800 was an epoch of transition, to which the term "the Dark Age" may perhaps be applied. This was the time when the invading Germans and the subjects of the Roman Empire were being fused into one people; and when the remains of Greek and Roman civilization, the institutions of the Germanic barbarians, and Christianity were combining to form the culture of medieval Europe. (2) The Middle Age proper began with the revival of the Western Empire by Charlemagne (800) and lasted till about 1300. It was the age of feudalism, of the supremacy of the church in human affairs, of great struggles between Popes and Emperors. (3) The third division was also an epoch of transition, lasting from about 1300 to about 1500. It was the time of the Renaissance (rĕn-ĕ-säns′), or "rebirth," —when men began to think more freely, and when state, church, art, literature, industry, and society took on new forms. The first of these divisions (376–800) is usually included in high school textbooks dealing with ancient history, and is only briefly dealt with here. The second and third divisions of the Middle Ages, together with the whole period of Modern History, form the theme of this book.

C. Review of Ancient History

9. Short duration of recorded history

Fifty years ago practically every one believed that the earth, with all the life upon it, was created not more than five or six thousand years ago. About the middle of the nineteenth century began a series of scientific discoveries which have forced upon us a revision of this opinion. It is now generally held by scientists that the world has come to its present form by a gradual process of evolution, extending through millions and millions of years, and that men have lived upon the earth for about 100,000 years. An illustration given by a recent historian will help us to form some conception of the extent of time which has elapsed since the formation of the earth, as compared with the shortness of the recorded history of man. "Let us imagine," says this writer, "a record having been kept during the past fifty million years, in which but a single page should be devoted to the chief changes occurring during each successive five thousand years. This mighty journal would now amount to ten volumes of a thousand pages each, and scarcely more than the last page — Volume X, page 1000 — would be assigned to the whole recorded history of the world from the earliest Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions to the present day."

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Western Europe*, II, 408

10. Savage and barbarian stages

Modern scientists have shown that the earliest men were in the lowest stage of savagery; they lived largely in the tree tops of tropical forests, ate uncooked fruits and vegetables, and had no knowledge of even the rudest tools or weapons. It was mainly through three great discoveries or inventions that man made his slow and painful advance from savagery to barbarism. *Fire* made it possible for him to move from the tropics to the more healthful and invigorating climates of the temperate zones, and also enabled him to use for food many substances which without cooking were unwholesome. The *bow and arrow* enabled him better to defend himself against enemies, and to kill the fleetest and strongest animals of the forest, to provide himself with food and with skins for clothing.

The art of *pottery-making* gave him vessels in which food could be boiled, thus making possible further enlargements of his food supply. It also gave him receptacles in which articles of all kinds could be safely stored.

In the barbarian stage came the *taming of the sheep, ox, camel, and horse*, giving man a more certain food supply, and enabling him better to cultivate the soil. It then became possible to settle down in fixed localities, to practice agriculture more extensively, to develop a system of irrigation, and to build houses and temples of brick and of stone. These advances were followed by the discovery of a method of *smelting iron ore* and extracting that metal, thereby making possible great improvements in man's tools and weapons.

The step which led men from barbarism to civilization, and which has made the progress of the later centuries so much more rapid than that of the earlier, was the *invention of the art of writing*. By this means the knowledge gained in the past could be handed on to future generations, and be spread among men of widely distant lands. This invention was made at least 7000 years ago by the Egyptians and the Babylonians. It is only with this event, strictly speaking, that history begins; for history is the *knowledge* that we have, or can have, of man's life in the past, especially as it was lived in society with other men.

11. The invention of writing

In the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates other great advances were made which contributed to that complex whole which we call civilization. The arts of weaving, pottery-making, and metal-working reached so advanced a stage that little further improvement was made until modern times. Huge buildings of brick and stone were erected which still awe the traveler with their massiveness; methods of agriculture were improved; roads and canals were built; beginnings were made in the sciences of mathematics and astronomy; organized governments were established over great areas; and impressive religious systems were developed. By conquest and commerce, this civilization was spread far and wide through the lands

12. Rise of oriental civilization

bordering on the eastern portion of the Mediterranean Sea. Hebrew civilization, with its lofty monotheistic religion, was an eddy by the side of this main stream.

13. Ancient Greece and Rome

Greece, because of its location, was naturally the first of European lands to receive the stimulus and benefits of oriental culture. But though the Greeks learned their first lessons from the peoples of the East, they went far beyond their teachers. Especially was this true in those things which contribute to higher intellectual and spiritual life; for the Greeks established freer governments, developed science and philosophy, and produced works of art and of literature that have never been surpassed.

The Romans in their turn profited by the achievements of the Greeks, and added contributions of their own through their genius for conquest, government, and law. In the course of three centuries successive conquests brought under Roman sway all the lands about the Mediterranean Sea, and as far north as the German forests. This vast extent of territory proved too great to be ruled by one imperial city. It was the work of Julius Caesar and of his grandnephew Augustus to transform the government by establishing the Roman Empire —one of the greatest governments that the world has ever seen.

For two hundred years — from the accession of the Emperor Augustus to the death of Marcus Aure'lius (31 B.C. to 180 A.D.) — the Roman Empire prospered. It gave unity of government, of law, of language, and of culture to the whole Mediterranean world. It carried the beginnings of civilization even to the barbarians beyond its frontiers. Christianity arose within this empire; and the fact that all these lands were under one rule made it easier for a universal (Catholic) Christian Church to be organized, and to spread abroad its message of a more spiritual religion and of nobler living.

The period from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocle'tian (180–284 A.D.), was one of civil war and decay. The decline was temporarily checked by a reorganization of

the government whereby the empire was divided into an eastern and a western half (regularly after 395). At the same time the government was made entirely despotic, and the capital was removed to Constantinople. Under Constantine the Great (died 337) came the end of the persecutions of the Christians, and the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the state.

14. Decay of the Roman Empire (180–375 A.D.)

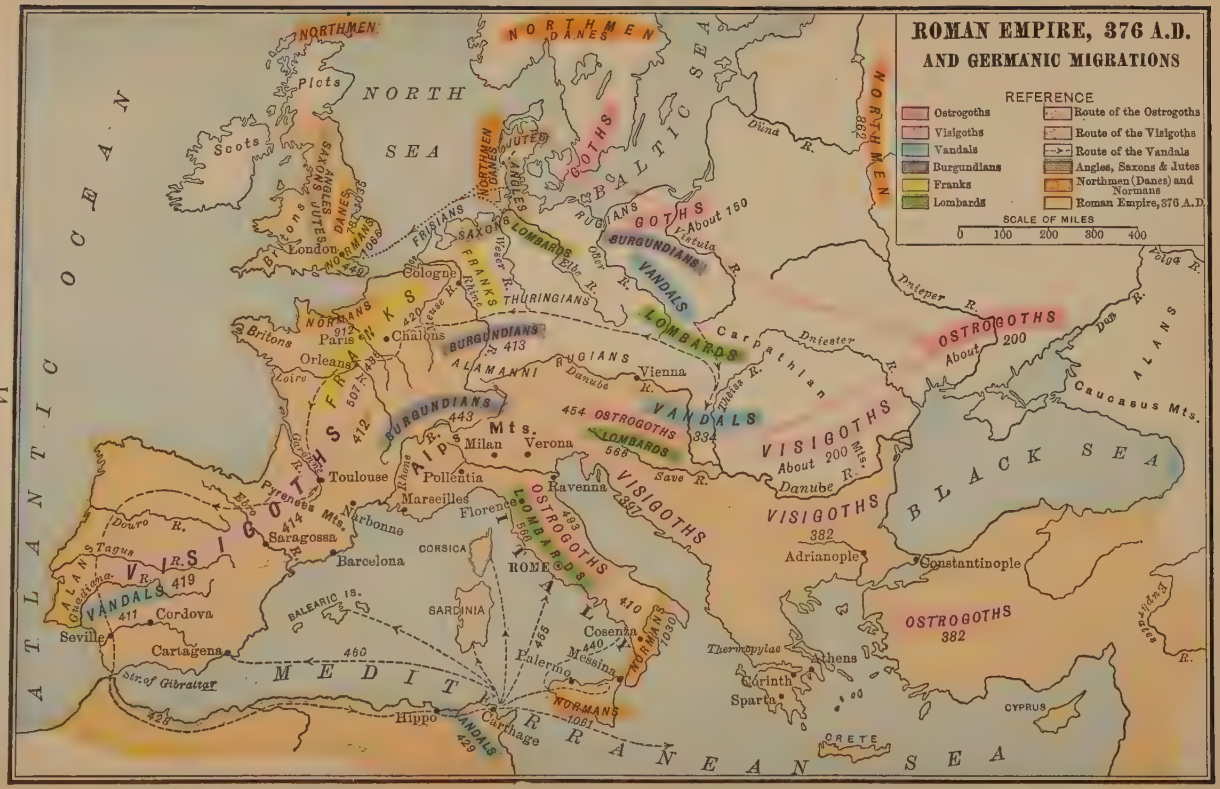
But these changes could not check the Roman decay, for it was due to deep-seated and long-existing causes. Among these causes we may note the following: (1) A great decrease in population, caused by famines, wars, and pestilence. (2) Unwise methods of taxation, which destroyed the middle classes, and fixed men in their stations and occupations, as in hereditary castes. (3) Free peasants gradually became serfs, bound to the soil, while slaves rose in the social scale and blended with the depressed freemen. (4) There was a physical and moral decline of the Romans, due to the effects of long-continued war, to luxurious living, and to enervating habits in peace. (5) Christianity drew the best men into the service of the church, and turned their attention from the problems of this world to winning salvation in the next. (6) A lack of national feeling resulted from the despotism of the government, and the general employment of German barbarians in the army.

As a result of the growing weakness due to these causes a time came when Rome was no longer able to withstand the nations who pressed upon her borders from without. Then the mighty fabric of her empire was soon laid in ruins.

D. The Beginning of the Middle Ages

The chief cause of Rome's fall was its internal weakness, but the occasion came with the entrance into the empire, at the end of the fourth century, of whole nations of Germanic barbarians. The Vis'igoths, when attacked in the rear by Huns from central Asia, were allowed to cross the Danube frontier into Roman territory. At Adrian-

15. Invasions of the Germans (376–476)


ROMAN EMPIRE, 376 A.D.
AND GERMANIC MIGRATIONS
REFERENCE
Ostrogoths
Visigoths
Vandals
Burgundians
Franks
Lombards
Route of the Ostrogoths
Route of the Visigoths
Route of the Vandals
Angles, Saxons & Jutes
Northmen (Danes) and Normans
Roman Empire, 376 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
NORTHMEN
DANES
Picts
Scots
Britons
SAXONS
ANGLES
JUTES
FRISIANS
SAXONS
LOMBARDS
FRANKS
THURINGIANS
RUGIANS
GOTHS
About 150
BURGUNDIANS
VANDALS
ALAMANNI
NORMANS
Paris
Chalons
Orleans
London
Cologne
Vienna
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Dniester R.
Carpathian Mts.
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
Don R.
Caucasus Mts.
ALANS
OSTROGOTHS
About 200
VISIGOTHS
About 200
Mts.
Danube R.
Save R.
Milan
Verona
Pollentia
Ravenna
Florence
Marseilles
Toulouse
Narbonne
Pyrenees Mts.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Saragossa
Barcelona
CORSICA
ROME
SARDINIA
Cosenza
Messina
Palermo
Carthage
Hippo
Seville
Cordova
Cartagena
Str. of Gibraltar
Tagus R.
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Guadiana R.
BALEARIC IS.
ITALY
SICILY
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thermopylae
Athens
Corinth
Sparta
CYPRUS
CRETE
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Diana R.
Tiber R.
Po R.
Arno R.
Liris R.
Aternus R.
Aufidus R.
Crathis R.
Sangarius R.
Halys R.
Tanais R.
Rhodope Mts.
Haemus Mts.
Pindus Mts.
Taurus Mts.
Lycus R.
Cayster R.
Meander R.
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Scamander R.
Simois R.
Granicus R.
Propontis
Hellespont
Bosporus
Sea of Marmora
Aegean Sea
Ionian Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Salonica
Gulf of Cadiz
Gulf of Gabes
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Sirte
Gulf of Cabes
Gulf of Tunis
Gulf of Hammamet
Gulf of Carthage
Gulf of Bougie
Gulf of Bona
Gulf of Tabarca
Gulf of Oran
Gulf of Arzeu
Gulf of Mostaganem
Gulf of Algiers
Gulf of Tenes
Gulf of Bougie
Gulf of Bona
Gulf of Tabarca
Gulf of Oran
Gulf of Arzeu
Gulf of Mostaganem
Gulf of Algiers
Gulf of Tenes

ople, in the year 378, they then overthrew and slew the Emperor Valens. Under their young king, Al'aric, they ravaged Greece, overran Italy, and sacked Rome (410). Under Alaric's successors they established a Germanic kingdom in Spain and southern Gaul, which lasted for three centuries (to 711). The example set by the Visigoths was speedily followed by other nations. The VANDALS overran Gaul and Spain; then, upon the coming of the Visigoths to the latter land, they passed over into Africa (429), where they ruled for a hundred and five years. The FRANKS, who were settled about the lower Rhine, gradually occupied northern Gaul. The BURGUNDIANS, passing from the middle Rhine to the Rhone valley, established there a kingdom which lasted until 534. The ANGLES and SAXONS, invading Britain in their piratical vessels (about 449), established kingdoms which later consolidated into the kingdom of England (Angle-land). In 451 the savage Huns extended their raids into the heart of Gaul, but were turned back by the united efforts of Romans and Visigoths. The death two years later of their leader At'tila, "the Scourge of God," released Europe for a time from the dread of Asiatic rule.

16. End of Empire in the West (476)

At Rome the last of a line of weak and foolish Emperors of the West came to an end in 476. Odoā'cer, the leader of the German mercenaries in the Roman army, then assumed the title of "king." He sent ambassadors to lay at the feet of the Eastern Emperor, at Constantinople, the imperial crown and purple robe, professing that one Emperor was enough for both East and West. For some years Odoacer enjoyed his "kingdom" over Italy in peace. In 493, however, he was defeated and murdered by Theod'oric the Great, king of the OS'TROGOTHS, who had come into Italy with the Eastern Emperor's consent to overthrow the usurper. Theodoric had been brought up, as a youth, at Constantinople; he now proved to be one of the greatest of the barbarian kings. He made many wise plans for the permanent union of his Ostrogoths with the Romans into a great kingdom. But the Romans held the orthodox Christian belief, while the Ostrogoths, in

common with most of the German barbarians, had been converted to A'rianism, an heretical form of Christianity. Heresy, or the holding of religious opinions condemned by the church, was regarded throughout the Middle Ages as a sin. Heretics, therefore, were bitterly hated by the orthodox. As a result of this religious antagonism between Romans and Ostrogoths, Theodoric was unable permanently to unite the two peoples.

17. Eastern Empire under Justinian (527-565)

The Emperor Justinian came to the throne at Constantinople in 527 (the year following the death of Theodoric) and ruled until 565. He greatly strengthened the Eastern Empire and also profoundly influenced the West. (1) His generals drove out the Ostrogoths from Italy and the Vandals from Africa, and recovered those lands temporarily for the Roman Empire. (2) He was a great builder, and filled every corner of his empire with forts, churches, monasteries, hospitals, and aqueducts. The most splendid of his buildings was the great cathedral of St. Sophia, which is still one of the sights of Constantinople. (3) He caused the provisions of the Roman law on every subject to be sought out and arranged in a series of systematic works, called the Code, the Digest, and the Institutes. The *Code* is a collection of the decrees of the Emperors; the *Digest* contains the opinions of the expert lawyers or judges who had interpreted these decrees; and the *Institutes* is a textbook, giving the principles of the law in a simplified form for the use of students. The importance of these collections is very great. The most powerful influence of Rome on the modern world has been through its law; and it was the work of Justinian, in collecting and systematizing the law, that put it in shape to be preserved and handed down to later times. To-day Roman law is the basis of the legal systems of most of the countries of Europe, and of one of the American States (Louisiana). Some one has said that Roman law is "crystallized reason," because it is so clear and practical in its applications. The fact that its provisions can still be applied in spite of the enormous changes in society which have taken place since Roman times, is testimony to the justice of this characterization. One principle

of the Roman law is contained in the famous maxim, "All men are created equal," which played so important a part in both the American and the French revolutions. Another principle was that "what pleases the prince has the force of law." If the former passage could be used as an argument in favor of liberty, the latter could be used by kings and other rulers of the later Middle Ages in support of their attempts to overthrow the power of the nobles and build up absolute monarchies.

The beginning of the seventh century saw the rise of a new religion and a new political power. This was due to the teachings of Mohammed (571–632), an Arab who claimed to be divinely inspired. He united the Arabs, rescued them from the worship of sticks and stones, and taught them that there was but one true God (Allah), of whom he (Mohammed) was the Prophet. The teaching of Mohammed

18. Rise of Mohammedanism

CONQUESTS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS

was embodied in a book called the Koran′. It contains also Jewish, Christian, and Persian elements. For example, the Hebrew patriarchs and prophets, including Christ, were accepted by Mohammed as messengers from God; but Mohammed declared himself the last and the greatest of these. Along with many good and noble ideas in his religion were mixed baser elements, arising out of the ignorance, cruelty, and superstition of that time. Mohammedanism became one of the great world religions, and to-day numbers among its adherents about one seventh of the earth's population. By the year 632 all Arabia had accepted Mohammed's teaching. Fanatical zeal

and lust of rule then urged on a movement of foreign conquest such as the world had never seen. In eighty years Mohammedanism conquered more territory than Rome conquered in four centuries. Syria, Persia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain all passed under the rule of the caliphs, or successors of Mohammed. A vast empire was thus created, the head of which was both the religious and the political ruler of his people.

Further transformations, meanwhile, were taking place in Italy and adjacent lands. Within fifteen years after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths, a new Germanic people, the Lombards, appeared in Italy to take their place. They conquered the valley of the Po (Lombardy), to which their name is still given. Soon they possessed most, but not all, of the peninsula. Officers of the Eastern Emperors continued to rule a district called the Exarchate (ex'ar-kāt) of Ravenna, near the mouth of the river Po, together with the district about Rome, and the extreme southern parts of the peninsula. The Lombards were among the most barbarous of the Germanic nations, and they were long viewed by the Romans with the fiercest hatred and loathing, even after they put aside their Arianism and accepted Catholic Christianity.

19. The Lombards occupy Italy (568)

One important result of their coming was that it helped the Pope — that is, the bishop of Rome — to secure temporal power in Italy. For several centuries the spiritual headship of the bishop of Rome over the church had been recognized, especially in the West; but so far, equally with other bishops, he had been under the rule of the Emperor. The Eastern Emperors, however, were distant from Italy, and their officers (the exarchs) were too weak to resist the Lombards. The exarchs shut themselves up in Ravenna and failed to give to Rome the protection and aid which it required. In these circumstances a Pope of commanding character and ability, named Gregory the Great (590–604), came into power. He made himself practically the ruler of Rome, by defending it against repeated attacks of the Lombards and feeding its starv-

20. Rise of papal power (590–751)

ing people. A century after the death of Gregory, his successors broke all connection with the Eastern Empire. The occasion for this was a dispute about the reverencing of images in the church (Iconoclastic controversy). The danger of this separation lay in the opportunity that it gave the Lombards to extend their rule in Italy. Again and again these barbarians laid siege both to the city of Rome and to Ravenna. It seemed as if the papacy had escaped the rule of the Eastern Emperor only to fall under that of the Lombard king. To avoid this fate, the Pope resolved to ask aid from another Germanic people, the most notable of all — the FRANKS, who had invaded Gaul.

FRANKISH CHIEF

Of all the barbarians who pressed into the continental provinces of Rome, only the Franks established an enduring kingdom. For several centuries, therefore, the history of the Frankish power makes the largest part of the history of Europe. Clovis (481–511) laid the basis of this power by consolidating the Franks under one rule, and conquering neighboring peoples. The fact that Clovis became an orthodox Christian was also of importance. Within fifty years after his death, most of Gaul, together with the Rhine valley, was under Frankish sway. Many of Clovis's descendants proved to be weak rulers; and the broils and feuds of the nobles, the quarrels and lawlessness of the freemen, produced great disorder. In spite of these evils, and in spite of frequent divisions of the territory among the sons of deceased kings, the power of the Franks as a people did not decline. Under the later descendants of Clovis, — the "do-nothing" Merovingian kings, — officers styled "Mayors of the Palace" came to exer-

21. Rise of the Franks (481–768)

cise the real power of the kingdom. Soon this office became practically hereditary in the powerful family of the Pep'ins (Carolin'gians), who possessed wide estates and numerous followers. The power of this family was greatly increased by a notable victory which its head, Charles Martel' ("the Hammer"), won in 732. A great army of Mohammedans from

GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH KINGDOM

Spain had invaded Gaul, and it was only after a desperate all-day conflict near the city of Tours (toor), that they were defeated and forced to retreat.[1]

[1] "For seven days the two Worlds, the two Faiths, stood face to face. The horsemen of Asia, with their tawny skins and white turbans, wheeling amid clouds of dust around the Frankish hosts, scanned with surprise the fair-skinned shaggy giants who had come down to do battle for Europe against her hitherto irresistible enemy. On a Sunday morning the decisive conflict began. It was terrible, though scarcely contested upon equal terms. The wild riders of the desert dashed

In spite of the renown gained through this victory, Charles Martel did not dare to make himself king of the Franks in name, as well as in fact. This step Charles's son, Pepin the Short, determined to take, and in 751 he sent to the Pope to ask his sanction. The Pope, who had appealed in vain to Charles Martel for aid against the Lombards, was willing to gratify Pepin, in the hope of receiving the much-needed support. He replied to the Frankish envoys that "the man who actually held the power in the kingdom should be called king, rather than he who falsely bore that name." With this warrant from the Pope, and with the approval of the Frankish chiefs, the last of the Merovingian kings was deposed, and thrust into a monastery. Pepin was then raised upon a shield and hailed as king in his stead.

22. Alliance of Franks with the papacy

CAROLINGIAN WARRIOR
From Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

At the Pope's request, Pepin marched twice into Italy against the Lombards, who by this time had taken Ravenna. On his second expedition, Pepin forced the Lombard king to give hostages and pay tribute. The city and district of Ravenna, which the Lombards had taken from the exarch, were surrendered, and given by Pepin to the Pope. The addition of this territory to the power which the papacy had secured at Rome made the Pope an important temporal prince. Pepin's grant was also of importance in

hour after hour in ceaseless charges against the solidly compacted infantry of the North; they came on like the leaping waves of the ocean, to be scattered backward like its spray. The folds of the eastern turban afforded slight protection against the huge mass of iron which the stalwart arms of the Frankish veterans plied with terrible effect against their heads; and while the scimiters of Damascus glanced harmlessly from the stout helmets of steel and the thick leather corslets of the Franks, the long blades of the North cleft through bones and muscle, almost severing in two the wiry frames of the Arab and the Moor." — Sheppard, *The Fall of Rome*, 479 (condensed).

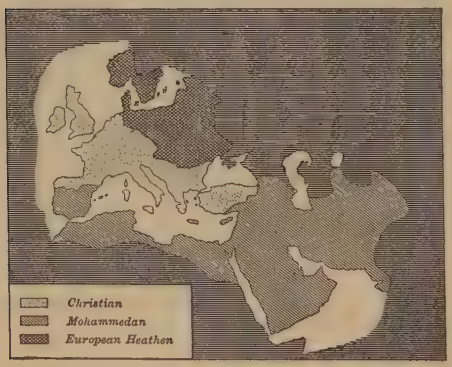
cementing a close connection between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy, which proved of great importance to each.

E. The World at the Close of the Eighth Century

It remains, in concluding this introduction to medieval history, (1) to glance at the religious and political map of Europe in the latter part of the eighth century, and (2) to take stock of the racial and institutional elements which were entering into the formation of medieval Europe.

23. Changes in the religious and political map

The world known to the people of Europe in the year 800 was only that small part of the earth's surface shown on the accompanying map. America and Australia were as yet undiscovered. Of Africa, the Mediterranean region alone was known. What knowledge there was of the more distant parts of Asia came only through vague Greek and Roman reports and the westward raids of Huns and other Asiatic barbarians. Within this small world the greatest extent of territory was held by the Mohammedans, whose lands stretched from the Strait of Gibraltar in the west to India and the steppes of Central Asia in the east. The area occupied by Christians included only western and southern Europe (with the exception of Spain), and Asia Minor. The northeastern part of Europe was still in the darkness of heathenism.



The Known World in 800

By the end of the eighth century the invasions were practically over. Germanic peoples now occupied most of the territory in western Europe once included within the boundaries

of the Roman Empire. By comparing the map showing the boundaries of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the migrations (p. 14) with that of Charlemagne's empire (pp. 28–29), we can see how great a shifting of populations and boundaries had taken place in these four centuries of invasion and conquest.[1] The Byzan'tine or Eastern Roman Empire still ruled Asia Minor, Thrace, portions of ancient Greece and southern Italy, and the islands of Crete, Sicily, and Sardinia. The Bulgarians (an Asiatic people) had cut off the lower valley of the Danube, and barbarian Slavs formed an alien wedge running through the interior of the Balkan peninsula and into the Peloponnesus. On the middle course of the Danube dwelt the Avars (ä'värz), a Tartar tribe from Asia. North of these were Slavic peoples, and still farther north were the Finns. All of these peoples were still heathen; and the slow progress of Christianity among them was one of the features of the Middle Ages. Scandinavia was taking on its threefold form of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; but the worship there of the old Teutonic gods, Woden and Thor, was as yet unshaken. In the British Isles, the Angles and Saxons (as we shall see) had been Christianized, and were about to unite into a single kingdom. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, though Christian, were independent Celtic lands. In northern Spain there existed petty Christian states which in the next seven centuries were to grow into a powerful monarchy and cast out the Mohammedans. The central political fact in the West was the existence of the Frankish kingdom, as reestablished and strengthened by Charles Martel and Pepin the Short.

24. Retrospect and prospect

These sweeping changes in the map were not accomplished without the destruction of much of that classical civilization of Greece and Rome which had been building for a thousand years. To use the comparison of a modern historian, the situation was similar to that which would be created

[1] Excepting the additions to the Frankish territory made by Charlemagne (see page 20), the locations of peoples and states in 800 were practically those given in the map for Charlemagne's reign.

if bands of Indian warriors should take possession of a civilized land. They would see about them on every hand a thousand things which they could not understand or use. So it was with the Germans in the civilized lands of the Roman Empire. They were unaccustomed to city life, and a great part of Roman institutions and Roman civilization was either useless to them or unappreciated. The surprising thing is not that the Germans destroyed so much of what they found in the Roman Empire, but that under the circumstances they destroyed so little. Art, science, knowledge of the Greek language and of much of the Latin literature, skill in handicrafts, and the machinery of orderly government, were overwhelmed. The whole western world fell back to a lower stage of civilization than under Roman rule.

Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 8–9

But the loss was only temporary, and was made good by ultimate recovery. We may indeed say that "almost, if not quite, every achievement of the Greeks and Romans in thought, in science, in law, in the practical arts, is now a part of our civilization." It was the work of the Middle Ages to raise the Germanic barbarians to the level of civilization attained by the ancient world, and at the same time to subject them to the influence of the Christian religion. In the making of mediæval civilization, therefore, three factors should be noted: (1) The classical civilization, which has already been described. (2) The Christian religion, with its principles of monotheism, personal immortality, the brotherhood of man, and its lofty ethical ideals. (3) The Germans themselves — a fresh, vigorous race, with a remarkable ability for adapting themselves to new conditions and for assimilating a higher culture. The Germans imparted to the enfeebled stocks of the Roman world their own youthful energy and vigor. They also brought with them certain ideas and political institutions which have contributed in large degree to the development of modern free governments. The most important of these were the idea of personal independence, a strong sense of the value of the individual as compared with the state, the practice of holding

public assemblies, and government by a monarch chosen by and responsible to the people.

It was in the so-called Dark Age, the history of which we have been surveying, that these three elements — the classical, the Christian, and the German — were first blended to form medieval civilization. This in turn was to grow and expand into the modern Christian civilization, now spread over the greater part of the whole earth.

IMPORTANT DATES

376. Visigoths enter the Roman Empire.
410. Rome sacked by Alaric.
449. Angles and Saxons invade Britain.
451. Huns defeated in Gaul.
476. Odoacer overthrows the Western Empire.
481–511. Clovis king of the Franks.
493. Theodoric the Ostrogoth conquers Italy.
527–565. Justinian ruler of the Eastern Empire.
568. Lombards settle in Italy.
632. Death of Mohammed.
732. Battle of Tours.
751. Pepin the Short becomes king of the Franks.
768. Charlemagne becomes king of the Franks.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Why do mountains tend to separate and rivers to unite adjacent peoples? (2) What geographical advantages has Europe over Asia? Over Africa? (3) Why was Europe not so well fitted to originate as to develop and spread civilization? (4) In what ways would its history have been different if Europe were entirely surrounded by water? (5) Why is our knowledge of history less certain than our knowledge of the natural sciences? (6) What precautions should be exercised in using newspapers as materials for history? (7) Why is the term "Middle Ages" plural? (8) Summarize the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire. (9) Has Mohammedanism done more harm or good in the world? (10) What things aided the Pope to become head of the church? (11) Why did the Frankish kingdom prove more permanent than the other barbarian kingdoms on the Continent? (12) What advantages did the Pope gain from alliance with the Franks? What advantages did the Franks gain? (13) Compare the area of Christianity in 800 with its area to-day. (14) Make a

table to show the wanderings of the Germans. Arrange it in columns under the following headings: Name of people; Location in 376 A.D.; Date of entrance into the Empire; Leaders; Final settlement; Fate of settlement.

Search Topics. — (1) Influence of Geography on History. George, *Relations of Geography and History*, ch. ii. — (2) Greek Contributions to Civilization. Seignobos, *Ancient Civilization*, 160–172; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 15–19. — (3) Roman Contributions to Civilization. Morey, *Outlines of Roman History*, 311–326; Morey, *Outlines of Ancient History*, 470–478; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 20–38. — (4) Character and Institutions of the Ancient Germans. Emerton, *Introduction*, 14–17; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, ch. ii; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 89–104; Harding, *Story of the Middle Ages*, 12–22; Ogg, *Source Book*, 19–31. — (5) The Roman Law. Morey, *Outlines of Roman History*, 320–323; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 73–74; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Justinian I." — (6) Germanic Ideas of Law. Emerton, *Introduction*, ch. viii; Ogg, *Source Book*, 59–67; Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 61–66; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 53–55. — (7) Mohammedan Religion and Worship. Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 39–46; Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 81–84; Ogg, *Source Book*, 97–104; Emerton, *Introduction*, 122–125; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Mohammedan Religion." — (8) Charles Martel and the Battle of Tours. Emerton, *Introduction*, 112–122, 126–129; Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles*, ch. vii; Masterman, *Dawn of Medieval Europe*, ch. xi. — (9) Boniface and the Conversion of the Germans. Merivale, *Conversion of the West*, ch. vii; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 105–111; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 175–179; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 120–128. — (10) Christianity as an Element in the Making of Europe. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 50–60. — (11) Pope Gregory the Great. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XII, 566–568; Emerton, *Introduction*, 108–113; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 121–124; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 73–82.

General Reading. — The best brief accounts of the introductory period are in Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages;* Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages;* and Masterman, *Dawn of Medieval Europe* (*476–918*). Oman's *The Dark Ages* (*476–918*) is more advanced. Sheppard's *The Fall of Rome* is a comprehensive account; its lecture form makes it readable. Villari's *Barbarian Invasions of Italy* is recent and valuable. The most complete work in English is Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, in eight volumes. Gibbon's classical *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* has recently been reëdited by Professor Bury.

CHAPTER I

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND ITS DISSOLUTION

A. Charlemagne's Wars and Government (768–814)

With the accession of Charles the Great (or Charlemagne), after the death of his father Pepin the Short in 768, we come to one of the great outstanding figures of world history. In the history of the early Middle Ages, Charlemagne is as important as Caesar is in ancient history, or Napoleon in modern history, or George Washington in the history of our own country. His reign is noteworthy both for its military conquests and for its peaceful achievements. The latter are the more important, but we will turn first to his conquests. **25. Charlemagne's place in history**

A list of the peoples against whom he waged war during the forty-six years that he ruled shows the wide area covered by his military operations. It includes the Aquitanians and Bretons of southern and western Gaul; the Mohammedans in Spain and the Mediterranean islands; the Lombards in Italy; the German Thuringians, Bavarians, and Saxons, and their neighbors the Danes; and the Avars, Slavs, and Greeks of eastern Europe. In all, Charlemagne sent forth more than fifty military expeditions, at least half of which he commanded in person.

Against several of these peoples repeated expeditions were necessary. Of all his enemies the most stubborn were the heathen and barbarian Saxons, who dwelt in the trackless forests and swamps bordering on the North Sea between the rivers Ems and Elbe. The task of conquering this people required for its completion eighteen separate expeditions, distributed over thirty years. The most troublesome tribes were transported to other parts of the kingdom. Throughout Saxony fortresses were established and bishoprics founded **26. Conquest of the Saxons**

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE
768-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
SCOTTISH KINGDOMS
PICTISH
SCOTLAND
KINGDOM
IONA
BRITISH KINGDOMS
WALES
BRITAIN
NORTH SEA
FRISIA
Saxons
Thuringians
Bavaria
Alamanni
Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
Paris
Rheims
Bretons
FRANKISH
Strasburg
Ratisbon
Loire R.
Tours
Poitiers
Fontenay
Aquitain
Burgundians
LOMBARDS
Ravenna
ADRIATIC
ASTURIAS
Roncesvalles
Pyrenees Mts.
Gothic
MARCH
Douro R.
Salamanca
OMMIAD CALIPHATE
OF CORDOVA
Toledo
Cordova
CORSICA
Rome
SARDINIA
Naples
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERRANEAN
SICILY
Tunis
CALIPHATE
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich

30
40
50
60
Finland
Tribes
KINGDOM OF THE KHAZARS
Poles
Dniepr
Dniester
Volga
R.
Magyars
AVARS
Carpathian Mts.
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Bulgarians
Danube
BLACK SEA
Balkan Mts.
Adrianople
THRACE
Constantinople
Bosporus
Nicæa
ASIA MINOR
EMPIRE
Euphrates
Tigris
Bagdad
CYPRUS
CRETE
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Alexandria
ABBASSIDE
ARABIA
THE
L.L.POATES. ENGRG CO., N.Y.

(around which grew up the first towns), and Christianity was forced upon the land at the point of the sword. Opposition was at last crushed, and within a few generations the Saxons became the most powerful nation in the Frankish realm.

27. Wars with Lombards

Even more important than the Saxon wars were the wars with the Lombards. In spite of the two expeditions of Pepin the Short (§ 22), the power of the Lombards continued to be a menace to the papacy. The Lombard king, moreover, harbored pretenders to a share in Charlemagne's kingdom. Consequently when the Pope appealed to Charlemagne for aid against the Lombards, Charlemagne marched to his assistance. In the year 774 he overthrew the Lombard king and took for himself the title King of the Lombards. The year before he had renewed his father's gift to the Pope of the rule over Ravenna and other parts of Italy. The conquest of Lombardy and this donation were two of the most important acts of Charlemagne's reign. They brought the king of the Franks into closer relations with the papacy, strengthened the temporal power of the Popes, and prepared the way for the revival of the Western Empire under the rule of Charlemagne.

28. Revival of the empire in the West

The lands over which Charlemagne ruled in 800 included what are now France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, more than half of Germany and Italy, and parts of Austria and Spain (maps, pp. 20, 28). Over the "eternal city" of Rome itself he exercised supreme authority by virtue of the title "Patrician of the Romans." The extent of Charlemagne's power made him already in fact, though not in name, the Emperor of the West. The ruler at Constantinople at this time was a woman, the Empress Irene, who had just deposed her son, put out his eyes, and seized the power for herself. The West refused to recognize her rule, and looked on the throne of the empire as vacant. What was more natural than that it should be given to the king of the Franks, the real ruler of the West? Charlemagne was quite prepared for this step, but by whom should the imperial crown be conferred?

Whatever solution Charlemagne had in mind, the circumstances of the coronation were not of his arranging. The close of the year 800 found him in the city of Rome. At the solemn celebration of Christmas in the old church of St. Peter's, as Charlemagne knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed a crown upon his head, while the people

29. Coronation of Charlemagne (800)

CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE
Fresco (19th century) in Hotel de Ville, Aix-la-Chapelle

cried, "To Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific Emperor, be life and victory."

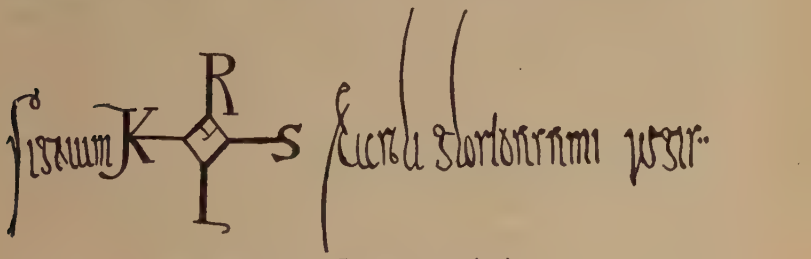
The coronation of Charlemagne, in the language of Mr. Bryce (an English historian), "is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of those very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have

Holy Roman Empire (revised ed.), 50

THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE

Dürer's painting (1510), showing the insignia of later Emperors. Contemporary portraits all show Charlemagne without a beard.

been different." The leading ideas of the old Roman Empire were those of unity, order, and centralization; but powerful tendencies had been at work since its fall in the West to produce separation, disorder, and anarchy. Charlemagne, by the brilliancy of his genius and the splendor of his victories, was able to revive the only institution which could give even a semblance of political union to western Europe, and check these destructive tendencies. He alone of medieval rulers held the commanding position to accomplish this; and his work was done barely in time. A few score years more of decay would have made the task practically impossible. "When the hero was gone," says Bryce, "the returning wave of anarchy and barbarism swept up violent as ever, yet it could not wholly obliterate the past." Charlemagne's opportune revival of the



SIGNATURE OF CHARLEMAGNE (790)

Charlemagne made only the two strokes in the central part of the monogram KAROLVS (= Charles); the scribe wrote the rest. The words to the left and to the right are Latin for "Signature of Charles, the most glorious King."

empire had implanted too deeply the ideal of European unity to permit of its ever after being wholly lost.

In dealing with the complex and difficult problems of his great empire, Charlemagne showed as remarkable genius for governing as he displayed in waging war. To each of its peoples — Franks, Burgundians, Romans, Lombards, Goths, Bavarians, Saxons — he left its own law, making only such changes by his decrees, or "capitularies," as the good of the state and of society demanded. This was in keeping with the early German idea of law. To these barbarians the "law"

30. Law in his empire

of each individual was an inheritance from the past of his race, and was as much a part of him as the breath that he drew. Wherever he went, the German expected to be tried by the law of his own race, and not by that of the people among whom he lived.

31. Charlemagne's revenues

In considering the institutions of Charlemagne's empire, it must be remembered that the government of the Roman Empire had perished in the period of the invasions, and that cruder and simpler forms of government, mostly of Germanic origin, had taken its place. Taxes paid to the state were one of the things that had disappeared with the fall of the Roman Empire. So Charlemagne's needs were supplied, like those of most medieval rulers, chiefly from the proceeds of his own estates (*villae*), for which elaborate regulations were made. The Emperor usually traveled from vill to vill with his suite, to consume the produce arising on each estate. On the other hand, public officers, military service, and the like, were unpaid, and the financial needs of the state were therefore less than now. Charlemagne's government was far from being as free and orderly as the governments under which European nations live to-day. Yet when we consider the difficulties of the time, and compare his government with that of his successors, we wonder, not that he did not accomplish more, but that amid such conditions he was able to accomplish so much.

32. Counts and "missi"

Under the Merovingians the Frankish kingdom had been divided into local districts, each ruled by an officer called a "count," who was appointed by the king. These counts were retained by Charlemagne as the chief officers of his local government. In their hands was placed the military leadership of the districts, together with the administration of justice. The counts — as was natural in a rude and barbarous time, when supervision was slight and means of communication difficult — often abused their powers and were guilty of great oppression. To supervise their work Charlemagne sent out each year royal commissioners (*missi dominici*) whose special function it was to link the local to the central government. The

missi inspected the national militia, heard complaints against the counts, enforced justice, and guarded the interests of the king. Usually they were sent out two by two — a noble and a churchman.

Twice a year, in early summer and in the fall or winter, Charlemagne summoned the principal men of his empire to consult with him concerning its affairs. To the summer meeting, called the "Field of May," came all freemen capable of bearing arms. The meeting was often followed by a military expedition, in which each warrior supplied his own arms and equipment, and served at his own expense. The following description of a general assembly of Charlemagne's reign, as it is conceived by a modern French writer, will assist in understanding the relations between Charlemagne and his chiefs, and between them and the ordinary freemen. "An immense multitude is gathered together in a plain, under tents; it is divided into distinct groups. The chiefs of the groups assemble about the king, and deliberate with him. Then each of these makes known to his own people what has been decided, consults them perhaps, at any rate obtains their assent with as little difficulty as the king has obtained his own; for these men are dependent on him just as he is dependent on the king. The general assembly is a composite of a thousand little assemblies, which, through their chiefs alone, are united about the prince." The king's will, adds this writer, decided everything; the nobles only advised.

33. The May Field

Fustel de Coulanges, VI, 613

In one respect Charlemagne enjoyed much greater power than was possessed by medieval rulers after him. In his assemblies he not only dealt with affairs which concerned the state, but also with those which concerned the church, instead of leaving these to be decided, as was later the rule, by the assemblies and courts of the church itself. Church and state were thus to a considerable extent united. Whenever Charlemagne believed that priests or bishops were not performing their duties properly, he did not hesitate to correct them, and to pass laws deciding the most important church questions.

34. Church and state

B. Education and Arts under Charlemagne

35. Charlemagne and education

Charlemagne's work for education and the arts constitutes one of the most important features of his reign. When he came to the throne the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome had almost disappeared from the knowledge of men in western Europe, and even the writings of the church scarcely survived. The only "books" were parchment volumes written by hand. Charlemagne himself learned to speak and read Latin in addition to his native German, and to understand Greek, though not to speak it. He never mastered the art of writing as then used, though he kept waxed tablets always by him to practice it.

Charlemagne's chief means to improve education and learning was the Palace School — a kind of learned society composed of the chief scholars and courtiers about the Emperor. This school played an important part in a real revival of learning and literature. Its head was an English monk named Alcuin. He was invited to the Emperor's court from his monastery at York, which was then the most learned center in western Europe. Other learned men came from Italy, Spain, and other lands; some were grammarians, some poets, some theologians. Charlemagne discussed with them astronomy, shipbuilding, history, the text of the Scriptures, theology, moral philosophy, and many other subjects. For the younger members of the royal family and court, there was more formal instruction. The Palace School may thus be regarded as a sort of high school, as well as a literary and debating club.

Charlemagne's care for education did not stop with his own court. In his capitularies we read such commands as these: "Let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 146

to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with diligence."

Charlemagne also planned canals, built bridges, and restored churches which were crumbling into ruin. But his work in this direction did little to check the artistic decay of the times. From the old residence of the Emperors at Ravenna, a hundred marble columns were taken for Charlemagne's palace and chapel at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle; ä′ĸen, āks-lȧ-shȧ-pĕl′). Thither also were transported pictures, mosaics, and precious sculptures. Charlemagne thus set a bad example to the ages which followed. He encouraged a robbery of the ancient monuments, which caused more destruction among them than was caused by all the ravages of time and war.

36. Charlemagne as a builder

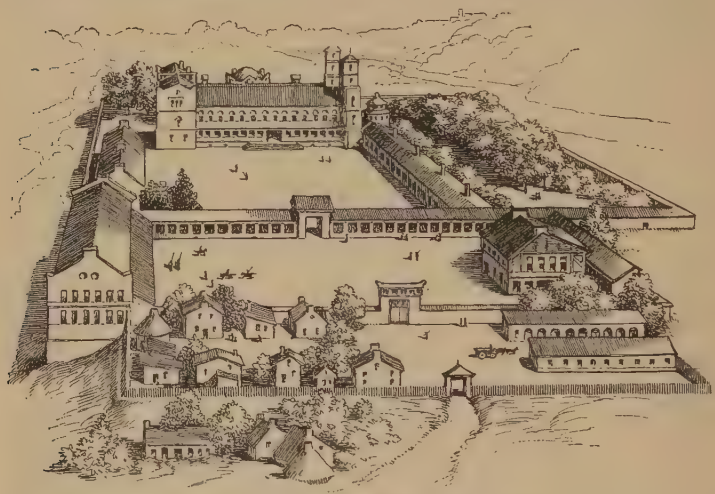
CATHEDRAL AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The octagon at center of the picture was built by Charlemagne; it is an example of the Byzantine style of architecture.

The ten years following Charlemagne's coronation as Emperor were mainly spent at his capital, Aachen. His fame abroad was at its height. To his court came envoys from the renowned Haroun-al-Rashid (hȧ-roon′ ar-rȧ-shēd′), caliph of Bagdad, whose present of an enormous elephant excited the liveliest interest among the curious Franks.

37. Charlemagne's old age and death (814)

In arranging for the succession after his death, Charlemagne followed the old Germanic practice of dividing the kingdom among his three sons, whom he established as sub-kings in his lifetime over portions of his realm. One of the chief differences in the position of the monarch, as conceived by the Roman Emperors and by the barbarian kings, was that the Roman Emperors in theory held their power as



ROYAL PALACE OF CAROLINGIAN TIMES

From Viollet-le-Duc

a trust in the name and interest of the state, — that is, of all, — while the barbarian kings regarded the royal power as private property, to which ordinary rules of inheritance could be applied. Charlemagne's arrangement, however, broke down, owing to the fact that his two older sons died before he did. Then Charlemagne placed the imperial crown on the head of his third son, Louis, and recognized him as his successor. There was apparently no thought of the Pope conferring the crown, as had been done at Charlemagne's own unexpected coronation. Four months later, in January, 814, the old Emperor died of a fever, being upward of seventy years of age.

Few men have left a deeper impression on their times, and around few have clustered so many legends. Because many important personages of the Middle Ages are but dim and shadowy figures to us, owing to the scantiness of our means of information, the account of Charlemagne's personality and habits, given by his secretary and biographer Eginhard (ā′gĭn-hart), is of peculiar interest.

38. His appearance and character

"Charles was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall. The upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. His appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting. He took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase. He enjoyed natural warm springs, and often practiced swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him. Thence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death. He used to wear the national, that is to say the Frankish, dress, — next his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his legs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always had a sword girt about him. Charlemagne was temperate in eating and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fast days injured his health. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which

Eginhard, *Charlemagne* chs. 22–24 (condensed)

Roasting on a Spit

From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table he listened to reading or music."

C. Dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire

The power which Charlemagne built up declined rapidly after his death. Civil wars and rebellions distracted the reign of his well-meaning but weak successor, Louis the Pious (814–840). Louis's death was followed by a terrible battle between his three sons at Fontenay′ (841). A treaty of partition was then arranged between the brothers at Verdun′ in 843. One brother, Louis the German, received the eastern third of the empire, beyond the rivers Aar and Rhine.

39. Partition of Verdun (843)

Partition of Verdun (843)

The youngest, Charles the Bald, received the western third, lying west of the Rhone and the Scheldt (skelt). The eldest brother, Lothair′, received the middle strip, with Italy and the title of Emperor. This sweeping partition was the first step in marking out territories in which were to arise great European states. Louis's division included the districts in which were spoken various German dialects, and corresponds roughly to modern Germany. In Charles's portion a corrupted Latin prevailed, the forerunner of the French speech, and this region grew in time to be modern France. The middle strip had neither unity of race nor a common language. Its parts, therefore, together with Italy, became for ten centuries the object of conquests and the seat of European wars.

40. End of Carolingians in Italy and Germany

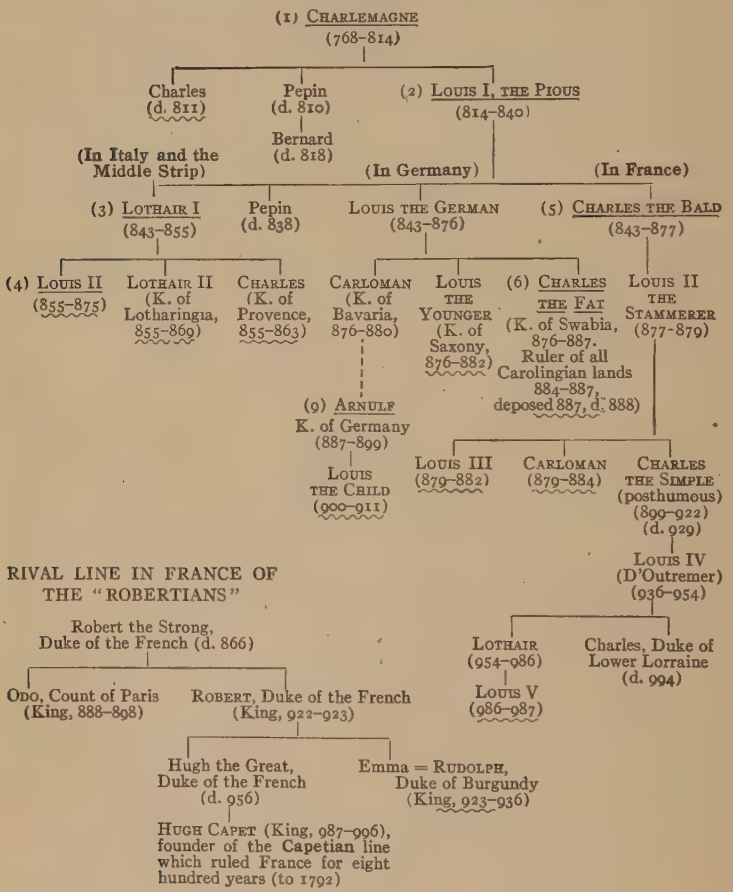
The history of the later descendants of Charlemagne makes a confused and uninteresting story. The incompetent rulers in the various parts of his empire quarreled among themselves, until they rapidly became extinct. In Italy the Carolingian line of rulers ended in 875; in Germany it lasted until 911. Only once was the Frankish empire reunited under a single ruler. This was under the incompetent Charles the Fat, one of the grandsons of Louis the Pious, who for three brief years (884–887) ruled over the whole of Charlemagne's realm. His deposition and death mark the final break-up of the unity of the Carolingian lands.

41. Fall of Carolingians in France (987)

In France for a hundred years longer some semblance of power remained to the Carolingians. Three times within that period, however, they were set aside and rulers of another house (the Robertians, so called from an ancestor, Robert the Strong) were put in their place. In 987, the last of the French Carolingians in the direct line died, leaving no children. On the ground that the throne was not hereditary but elective, an assembly of nobles then rejected the claim of the uncle of this king, and chose as ruler a Robertian, Hugh Capet (cā-pĕ′). Thus in France also the power of the great house from which had sprung Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, came definitely to an end. The future of France

was left in the lands of its third dynasty, the Capetians (ca-pē′shanz), members of which ruled there until the abolition of the monarchy by the French revolution in 1792.

THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE


(1) Charlemagne (768–814)
Charles (d. 811)
Pepin (d. 810)
Bernard (d. 818)
(2) Louis I, the Pious (814–840)
(In Italy and the Middle Strip)
(In Germany)
(In France)
(3) Lothair I (843–855)
Pepin (d. 838)
Louis the German (843–876)
(5) Charles the Bald (843–877)
(4) Louis II (855–875)
Lothair II (K. of Lotharingia, 855–869)
Charles (K. of Provence, 855–863)
Carloman (K. of Bavaria, 876–880)
Louis the Younger (K. of Saxony, 876–882)
(6) Charles the Fat (K. of Swabia, 876–887. Ruler of all Carolingian lands 884–887, deposed 887, d. 888)
Louis II the Stammerer (877–879)
(9) Arnulf K. of Germany (887–899)
Louis the Child (900–911)
Louis III (879–882)
Carloman (879–884)
Charles the Simple (posthumous) (899–922) (d. 929)
Louis IV (D'Outremer) (936–954)
RIVAL LINE IN FRANCE OF THE "ROBERTIANS"
Robert the Strong, Duke of the French (d. 866)
Lothair (954–986)
Charles, Duke of Lower Lorraine (d. 994)
Louis V (986–987)
Odo, Count of Paris (King, 888–898)
Robert, Duke of the French (King, 922–923)
Hugh the Great, Duke of the French (d. 956)
Emma = Rudolph, Duke of Burgundy (King, 923–936)
Hugh Capet (King, 987–996), founder of the Capetian line which ruled France for eight hundred years (to 1792)

Explanation

——— Names underscored thus are those of members of the Carolingian house who bore the title of Emperor. The seventh and eighth Emperors, beginning to count with Charlemagne, were obscure Italian princes, not of the Carolingian house.
~~~~ Indicates extinction of the male line.
- - - - - Indicates illegitimate descent.
~~~~

IMPORTANT DATES

768–814. Reign of Charlemagne.
800. Charlemagne crowned Emperor at Rome.
843. Partition of Verdun.
875. End of the Carolingian line in Italy.
884–887. Charlemagne's empire reunited under Charles the Fat.
911. End of the Carolingian line in Germany.
987. End of the Carolingian line in France; Hugh Capet becomes king.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What did Clovis, Charles Martel, Pepin the Short, and Charlemagne each contribute to the growth of the Frankish power? (2) In what consisted the special greatness of Charlemagne? (3) Compare the extent of the territory ruled over by Charlemagne with that of the Eastern Empire in his day. (4) Why was the papacy more friendly to the Franks than to the other Germans? (5) Why was the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor so important? (6) Compare the German ideas of law with modern ideas. (7) Why were officers like the "missi" needed to control local officials? (8) Why was Charlemagne's care for education important? (9) Did Charlemagne in his habits of life more nearly resemble a Roman Emperor or barbarian chieftain?

Search Topics. — (1) CHARLEMAGNE'S WARS WITH THE SAXONS. Emerton, *Introduction*, 189–205. — (2) LEGENDARY ACCOUNT OF HIS WAR WITH THE LOMBARDS. Emerton, *Introduction*, 181–186; Longfellow, *Tales of the Wayside Inn*, Pt. III (Poet's Tale). — (3) STORY OF ROLAND. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXIII, 464; Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, 508–513; Bulfinch, *Legends of Charlemagne; Song of Roland.* — (4) CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE. Duncalf and Krey, *Parallel Source Problems*, Pt. I; Ogg, *Source Book*, 130–134; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 131–134. — (5) CHARLEMAGNE'S GOVERNMENT. Sargent, *The Franks*, ch. xviii; Mombert, *Charles the Great*, Bk. III, ch. i. — (6) ALCUIN AND THE PALACE SCHOOL. Ogg, *Source Book*, 144–145; Mombert, *Charles the Great*, 241–267; Hodgkin, *Charles the Great*, 235–238; West, *Alcuin*, ch. iii; Masterman, *Dawn of Medieval Europe*, ch. xx. — (7) OATHS OF STRASSBURG. Ogg, *Source Book*, 149–154; Munro, *Middle Ages*, 20; Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 26–28.

General Reading. — Mombert's *Charles the Great* is the best life of Charlemagne in English. Hodgkin's *Charles the Great* is an excellent brief account; fuller accounts of many subjects are in his *Italy and her Invaders*. The chapters in Guizot's *History of Civilization in France* are still of value. Eginhard's contemporary *Life of Charlemagne* is brief and is easily obtainable in English translation.

CHAPTER II

RAIDS AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE NORTHMEN

A. On the Continent

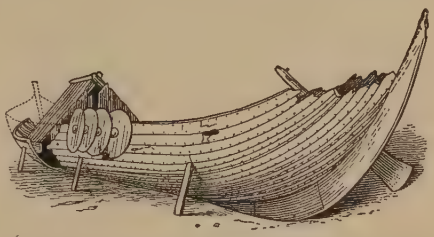
One of the causes of the breaking up of the Carolingian Empire was a new flood of Germanic invaders (the Northmen) who burst upon western Europe in the ninth century. The newcomers were a sturdy people from the lands about the Baltic Sea, where their descendants — the modern Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes — still dwell. They were closely related to the German tribes whose coming overwhelmed the Roman Empire four hundred years before. During those earlier invasions, the Northmen had remained quiet; but in the latter part of the eighth century they too felt the impulse to conquest. Their lands discouraged agriculture, while the sea invited to distant adventure. Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons had brought Christianity and Frankish rule close to their doors, and thus the Northmen learned of the booty and glory to be won in the rich lands to the south. The result was a series of raids and expeditions by sea, which may be regarded as the last wave of the Germanic migrations.

42. Causes of the Northmen's raids

In their own language the Northmen were called "vikings," or creekmen (*vik* = creek), because of their habit of sallying forth from the creeks and bays of Scandinavia to plunder and destroy. Almost the whole of Christendom suffered at their hands. They plundered the shores alike of Germany, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain. Everywhere their method of attack was much the same. In their light vessels they entered the river mouths and advanced into the heart of the country; then they seized horses and rode far and wide. They directed their attacks especially against the churches and

43. Wide extent of their ravages

monasteries. In these were rich gold and silver vessels, and fine embroidered cloths; and since the Northmen were still worshipers of the heathen gods, Woden and Thor, they were restrained by no religious scruples. It was easier, also, to capture a church or a monastery than to take a fortified town, for the priests and monks were not fighting men. The terror inspired by the Northmen's pitiless ravages, by their lust for fighting, by their cruelty and faithlessness, led to the insertion of this prayer in the church services: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."



Remains of a Viking Ship found in Sweden

At first the Northmen came only during the summer season, sailing home when the winter storms were due. Before long they began to spend the winter also in Christian lands. They would seize upon an island lying off the coast by a river's mouth, and from this as headquarters would go forth at all times of the year to ravage the surrounding country. In the Frankish lands they established such headquarters at the mouth of the Scheldt River, and soon had taken possession of all Frisia. In 843, — the year of the Partition of Verdun, — they seized the mouth of the river Loire, and extended their ravages to the valleys of the Seine and Garonne. Great stretches of country fell out of cultivation, and a large part of the population perished through massacre and starvation. In one of their raids they took and sacked the royal city of Aachen, stabled their horses in its cathedral, and despoiled the tomb of Charlemagne.

The most famous struggle came at Paris in the years 885–886. Paris was not yet the capital of France, but its situation made it already important. It was built on a low island in

the Seine, with a fortified bridge connecting it with each bank. Although the city had already been twice sacked, its governor (Count Odo) and its bishop encouraged the people to resist. The viking ships are said to have numbered seven hundred, and to have carried an army of 40,000 men. For eleven months the city held out. Then the "cowardly, unwieldy, incompetent" Emperor, Charles the Fat (§ 40), bribed the Northmen to withdraw. The bravery displayed by Count Odo in the defense of Paris was one of the things that brought into prominence the Robertian family, to which he belonged. It was one of a chain of events which enabled his grandnephew Hugh Capet, a century later, to wrest the throne of France from Charlemagne's enfeebled descendants (§ 41).

44. Great siege of Paris (885–886)

The withdrawal of the Northmen from Paris did not prevent them from settling in increasing numbers in the lands about the lower Seine. Their chief leader was Rolf (or Rollo), called "the Walker" because his gigantic size prevented his finding a horse to carry him. For nearly fifty years he had plundered Frisia, England, Scotland, France; at the great siege of Paris he had been one of the chiefs. Rolf, however, was something more than a mere pirate and robber. When he captured a town he strengthened its walls, rebuilt its churches, and sought to rule it as a conquering prince. In this way he secured a number of towns north and south of the mouth of the river Seine. In the year 911, the Carolingian king of France, despairing of securing peace by other means, granted him a wide stretch of country in that region, with the title of duke. The grant was made on three conditions: first, Rolf must settle his Northmen there and leave the rest of the land at peace; second, he must become a Christian; and third, he must do homage to the French king as his lord.[1]

45. Grant of Normandy to Rolf (911)

The settlement of the Northmen in "Normandy," as this

[1] There is a story that Rolf was asked to do homage by kneeling down and kissing the French king's foot. Rolf refused to do this, but commanded one of his followers to perform the humiliating act. The follower had no more liking for the ceremony than his chief; and the story runs that when he lifted the king's foot to touch it to his lips he raised it so high that he toppled the king over on his back!

land was soon called, proved a most fortunate step for France. Rolf's followers settled down quietly under his stern rule and speedily became law-abiding subjects. According to an ancient chronicle, Rolf, while hunting in a forest near Rouen (roo-äN′), his capital, hung his gold bracelets on a branch of an oak tree, and there they remained for three years without any one daring to touch them.

NORSE ART

Carved door from an old church in Iceland; now in Copenhagen Museum. From Du Chaillu's *The Viking Age*. Note the dragon above and the "world-serpent" (Midgard) below.

46. Northmen in distant lands

The energy and daring which produced the Northmen's settlements in France manifested itself also in more distant expeditions. One stream of these adventurers turned to the vast plains of western Russia, and united the Slavs of that region into a single great kingdom (862), of which the center was Kief (see map, p. 131). The dynasty which their chieftain Rurik established reigned over Russia for more than seven hundred years. Others of these restless warriors found an outlet for their en-

ergies in serving as mercenary troops under the Emperor at Constantinople. In the western Atlantic, viking bands discovered and settled Iceland in the ninth century, and Greenland in the tenth. And about the year 1000 — almost five hundred years before Columbus's voyage — one of the Greenland settlers, named Leif Ericson, brought back wonderful tales of a land of grapes ("Vinland") which he had found to the south. He had discovered the mainland of North America.

B. King Alfred and the Northmen in England

47. The English in Britain

The island of Britain, like all of western Europe, once formed part of the Roman Empire. As we have seen, it too was overrun by Germanic tribes (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) about the year 449. In the course of two centuries the newcomers completely conquered the eastern and southern parts of the island. The Britons were killed, enslaved, or driven into the mountains. The institutions of the German invaders were introduced with but little admixture of Celtic or Roman elements. Even the Christian religion disappeared, along with the Latin tongue and the Roman-British civilization. Near the close of the sixth century, however, Christianity was reintroduced.[1] Within a hundred years thereafter the whole island had accepted this faith, and had recognized the Pope's headship of the church.

48. The seven kingdoms united

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries there were at least seven different kingdoms of the English. They were called respectively the West Saxons, South Saxons, East Saxons, East Anglians (North Folk and South Folk), Mercians (or Middle Angles), Northumbrians, and the men of Kent. The names of most of these peoples are still preserved in the county names of the regions where they ruled (Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, etc.). At first the different kingdoms were often at war. Then gradually the stronger kingdoms

[1] By Augustine, a Roman monk sent by Pope Gregory I. He landed in Kent in 597. For a time Augustine's followers had to contend with Celtic missionaries from the island of Iona. In a meeting held at Whitby, in 664, Celtic Christianity was rejected and Roman Christianity accepted.

began to gain power over the weaker ones. Finally, at the beginning of the ninth century, Egbert, king of Wessex, was able to unite all England under his single rule. This union was made permanent by the raids of the Northmen, which became dangerous during the reigns of Egbert's immediate successors.

The Danes, as the English called the Northmen, had begun to harass the coasts of England as early as 787. As on the Continent, they first came merely to plunder, but about 850 they began to form settlements. Little by little they overran the land, until all England had been taken except Wessex itself. Here they were checked by the young king Alfred, — "the wisest, best, and greatest king that ever reigned in England."

49. Danish invasions

ENGLAND AFTER THE TREATY OF WEDMORE (878)

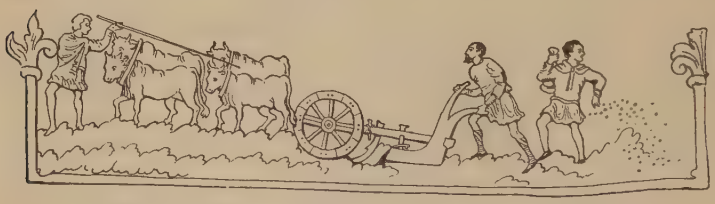
In the year that Alfred (871–900) became king, nine general battles were fought south of the river Thames (tĕmz). After seven years of struggle Alfred won a decisive victory (878) and drove the Danes into their fortified camp. There he besieged them for fourteen days. Inasmuch as they were separated from their ships and could get no supplies, their king agreed to make a peace, known as the treaty of Wedmore. "And then," says the old chronicle,

50. Alfred checks the Danes

"the army delivered hostages to King Alfred, with many oaths that they would leave this kingdom, and also promised him that their king should receive baptism. And this they accordingly fulfilled." By a revision of this treaty, made a few years later, the Danes were to have all the country of England north and east of the Thames River, and of the old Roman road called Watling Street. The name "Danelaw" was given to this region because there the Danish, and not the Saxon, law was in force.

After the treaty of Wedmore, Wessex for some time enjoyed peace. Alfred now had opportunity to accomplish that reorganization and strengthening of his kingdom which, equally with his defeat of the Danes, constitutes his claim to fame. Among his many works of peace were the following: he fortified and partly rebuilt the city of London; he reorganized the army; he collected and revised the old laws of

51. Alfred's work in peace



Anglo-Saxon Plow Team

From a MS. Saxon calendar, tenth century

the kingdom; he encouraged industry by bringing skilled workmen to England from foreign countries. He was also deeply interested in education, and invited to his court learned men from the Continent, who formed a school modeled after the famous Palace School of the Emperor Charlemagne. Alfred himself translated a number of works from the Latin into the Anglo-Saxon tongue. He also gave orders for the compilation of the great *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is a chief source of our knowledge of English history for the following two centuries.

Both for what he did and for what he was, Alfred truly deserves his title "the Great." He was a brave warrior, a wise lawmaker, a patient teacher, and a watchful guardian of his people. Above all, he was a true and pure man, loving his family and training his children with great care. The secret of his success is told in his own words: "To sum up all," he said, "it has ever been my desire to live worthily while I was alive, and after my death to leave to those that should come after me my memory in good works."

52. Character of Alfred

In the latter part of Alfred's reign the war with the Danes began anew. Under his son and his three grandsons, who ruled one after another, the Danelaw was reconquered and again joined with the rest of England. A large admixture of Danish blood, however, continued in the north, leaving its marks in the rude freedom of the inhabitants.

53. The Danelaw reconquered

By the end of the tenth century the invasions of the Northmen had come to an end. Those who remained in Scandinavia settled down and organized the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. About the year 1000 they were converted to the Christian religion. As in other European countries, their wars were now fought in the interests of their kings. The period of viking raids and settlements was at an end.

54. End of the viking raids

IMPORTANT DATES

787. Northmen first attack England.
862. Rurik the Northman founds a kingdom in Russia.
871–900. Reign of King Alfred in England.
885–886. Great siege of Paris by the Northmen.
911. Normandy ceded to Rolf.
1000. America discovered by the Northmen.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the ninth century Northmen with the Franks of that time. (2) Compare the long ships of the vikings with the ancient Roman galleys. (3) Were the ships in which the Northmen discovered Greenland and America of the same kind as their long war ships?

(4) How did the failure of the Emperor Charles the Fat to aid Paris contribute to the downfall of the Carolingians in France? (5) Was the cession of Normandy to Rolf wise or unwise? Why? (6) Compare the settlement of the Angles and Saxons in Britain with that of the Franks in Gaul. (7) Was Alfred's treaty with the Danes wise or unwise? Why? (8) What qualities entitle Alfred to the name "the Great"? (9) Compare Alfred with Charlemagne. (10) Which had the greater permanent results, the achievements of the Northmen in Russia or their discovery of America?

Search Topics. — (1) THE NORTHMEN AT HOME. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, II, chs. xx, xxi; Keary, *Vikings in Western Christendom*, ch. v. — (2) HASTINGS, A TYPICAL VIKING. Harding, *Story of the Middle Ages*, 117–118; Keary, *Vikings in Western Christendom*, 358–365. — (3) THE GREAT SIEGE OF PARIS. Oman, *Art of War*, 140–148; Ogg, *Source Book*, 168–171; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 165–168. — (4) CESSION OF NORMANDY TO ROLF. Oman, *Dark Ages*, 501–503; Ogg, *Source Book*, 171–173. — (5) THE NORTHMEN IN RUSSIA. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, I, ch. iv. — (6) NORSE SETTLEMENTS IN ICELAND AND GREENLAND. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, II, 514–519; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 151–163. — (7) THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN. Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 164–194; Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, II, 519–530. — (8) ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST OF BRITAIN. Green, *Short History of England*, 7–16; Cheyney, *Readings*, 35–40. — (9) CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH TO CHRISTIANITY. Traill, *Social England*, Vol. I, 153–161; Cheyney, *Readings*, 46–56; Terry, *History of England*, 34–48; Ogg, *Source Book*, 72–77. — (10) CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF KING ALFRED. Green, *Short History*, 47–52; Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred; Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Alfred the Great"; Ogg, *Source Book*, 181–195; Cheyney, *Readings*, 63–69.

General Reading. — On the Northmen, Keary's *Vikings in Western Christendom*, Anderson's *Viking Tales of the North*, and Du Chaillu's *The Viking Age* (2 vols.) may be consulted. For Alfred, in addition to the histories of England covering this period, see the lives by Plummer, Hughes, Bowker, and Pauli, and the article by Freeman (entitled "Aelfred") in the great *Dictionary of National Biography*. The contemporary biography by Asser is the chief source for Alfred's history; it may be had in several English translations.

CHAPTER III

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

A. Origins

Feudalism was the form of political, social, and economic organization which prevailed throughout western Europe at the height of the Middle Ages. It was a natural result of the continued and ever increasing weakness in the government. With the coming of the Germans into the Roman Empire, the strong centralized government of the empire had been broken up, and disorder held sway. Charlemagne checked for a time the tendency of the government to fall to pieces; but with the decline of the Carolingian power after his death, through internal weakness and renewed barbarian invasions, decay again set in. The bonds of government everywhere relaxed, the obligations of the state to protect the persons and rights of its subjects remained unfulfilled, and the strong oppressed the weak.

55. Decay of central government

Because of this growing weakness of the central government, rich and powerful men everywhere in western Europe took upon themselves the burden of their own defense. Every lofty hilltop, every river-island and stronghold, became a site for the tower or castle of some lord. Later these castles were looked upon by the lower classes as centers of oppression, but at first they were viewed with different sentiments. They were then "the sure places of deposit for their harvests and their goods. In case of invasions they gave shelter to their wives, their children, themselves. Each strong castle constituted the safety of a district." The poorer freemen were obliged to surrender their independence and become the dependents of the great man who took them under his protection, binding themselves to render to him service

56. Beginnings of feudalism

Fustel de Coulanges, VI, 682

VASSAL DOING HOMAGE TO HIS LORD. From Parmentier's *Album Historique*

against all other persons. If they had land in their own right, they usually gave it up to the lord, who then gave them back the use of it. If they had no land, the lord often granted them the use of some of his own land. Thus the lord became the head of a complicated group of persons and lands. He gradually acquired most of the governmental rights over these, because of the inability or failure of the government to discharge its duties. Feudalism ended by becoming not only a system of land tenure, in which the ownership of the land was lodged in one person and its use in another; it became also a system of military, political, economic, and social organization.

In the fully developed feudal system we can distinguish three distinct elements. (1) The first of these was the personal element, or *vassalage*. This was the relationship which bound a free dependent to a lord. The dependent (vassal) rendered military service to the lord; in return the lord protected his vassal. The roots of this personal element may be traced in Roman history to the relation between patron and client, and among the early Germans to the relation between the German chieftain and his band of military followers (*comitatus*). In the Frankish kingdom such relationships became almost universal. The vassal subjected himself to his lord by "doing homage" and taking an oath of "fealty," or fidelity. In the ceremony of *homage* he knelt and placed his hands in those of his lord, and declared himself to be his lord's "man" (Latin, *homo*) and promised to serve him honorably from that day forth. Rising to his feet, the vassal then took the oath of *fealty*, swearing faithfully to fulfill his obligations to his lord. The relationship of lord and vassal became so general that, by the year 900, the system of independent freemen had practically disappeared in western Europe, and society had become a chain of dependents mounting from vassal to vassal up to the king.

57. Feudal elements: Vassalage

(2) The second element in feudalism was the *benefice* or *fief*. This may be defined as land (or other property) which a lord granted to another person to *use* without surrendering the complete *ownership* of it, and on the condition that the

holder of it should, in return, make certain payments from time to time to the lord, and perform certain services which were not dishonorable. Similar arrangements for using land had been known under the later Roman Empire. In the troublous times which followed the Germanic conquests, great landlords found that they could not dispose of the surplus produce of their estates, because of the decay of roads, the lack of markets, and the disappearance of money from circulation. It was an economic advantage, therefore, to grant away the use of a portion of their land in return for rents and services. At first the person receiving a benefice did not necessarily become the *vassal* of the grantor, nor was the service which he owed military. By the end of the ninth century, however, *vassalage* and *benefice-holding* were united. Thenceforth a benefice-holder was usually also a vassal of the lord of the benefice; and the vassal was normally a benefice-holder from the lord to whom he did homage. Originally, benefices were granted only for a term of years, or for life. Gradually, however, it became customary on the death of a tenant for a lord to regrant the estate to the tenant's heir. Primogeniture, — that is, the right of the eldest son to secure the whole estate — became the rule of feudal inheritance, as opposed to the equal division among all the children recognized by the Roman and Teutonic law. Personal property might be disposed of by will, but feudal land could not. In default of a recognized heir, it "escheated," or went back to its lord. The term *fief* is used especially to denote the later stage of the benefice, when it had become a fully hereditary estate held by a vassal on condition of military service. Back of all grants of *fiefs* lay the desire of the lord to increase the number of his heavily armed followers serving on horseback at their own expense. Benefices and fiefs may thus be looked upon as a "sort of money with which kings and lords paid for the services of which they had need." To the end of the Middle Ages there existed scattered here and there amid feudalized lands some non-feudal or "allodial" estates which were held in full ownership, and not from

58. Benefice or fief

Secretan, *Essai sur la Féodalité*, 98

any lord. But the maxim, "No land without a lord, no lord without land," expressed the general rule.

(3) The third element in feudalism was the right of *government* possessed by the lords — that is, the right which they possessed to perform within their territories most of the acts which under the Roman Empire had been performed by the state. The feudal lords held courts and tried cases; they exacted money contributions from their territories; they levied troops and waged war; and they even coined money. Different lords possessed these rights in varying degrees, but all the great lords, both laymen and churchmen, possessed some of them. Frequently such rights were acquired by grants from the crown exempting the estates of the recipient from the jurisdiction of the count and other royal officers. Thenceforth the count had no control over such lands. The functions which he formerly discharged passed to the lord of the estate, who exercised them not as powers delegated by the state, but in his own right and for his own profit. The counts in their turn made their offices and functions hereditary, along with the benefices which they held. Thus they became semi-sovereign princes owing little obedience to the king. Many lords also, who were neither royal officers nor possessed of governmental grants from the king, took similar rights when they saw others exercising them. In these various ways sovereignty, which should have been possessed entire by the state, was split up into a thousand fragments, and each lord seized such portions as he could.

59. Governmental rights

So far, feudalism has been spoken of as though it were a relationship between a single tier of lords and vassals. This, however, was far from being the case. Often, by the process known as "subinfeudation," a vassal who had received a great estate would himself subgrant portions of it to others. These persons became *his* vassals and undertook towards *him* the same obligations that he himself had contracted toward his own lord. A whole system of fiefs and vassals thus arose which may be thought of as pyramid-shaped. The king

60. The feudal pyramid

as supreme landlord stood at its apex. The greater and lesser lords, down to the holders of a simple fief, formed its successive grades. Monasteries frequently appear, under feudal conditions, both as lords and as tenants of fiefs. Bishops owed feudal service for the lands annexed to their offices, — though spiritually minded persons were scandalized at seeing churchmen, clad in coats of mail, lead their vassals to battle. Military service, and the tenure of land on this condition, became the ground of a new nobility, the various ranks in which were styled marquis, duke, count (or earl), viscount (vī′count), and baron. In this feudal pyramid each grade except the lowest had vassals and subvassals below it; each except the king had one or more lords above it.

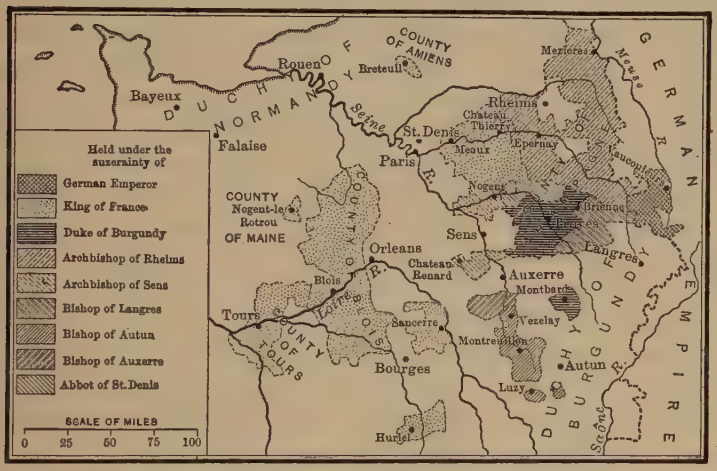
Below the whole feudal pyramid, and constituting the indispensable base upon which it rested, were the peasants, styled "serfs" and "villeins." They held little plots of ground from their lords on condition of manual services and regular payments, both of which were regarded as "ignoble." They, therefore, are not properly reckoned among the noble or feudal classes. The description of the peasants and their mode of living will be given in a later chapter (ch. ix). It should here be noted, however, that possession of at least a few families of villeins was almost a necessity to the feudal lord. It was only through their labor that he and his family were fed and clothed, and equipped with a castle, steeds, and costly armor.

B. Feudalism as a Working System

The theory of the feudal system was comparatively simple, but its practice was infinitely complex and confused. The simple pyramidal relationship just described is far from representing the real facts concerning the feudal structure. The same man often held fiefs from several different lords of different rank, and had vassals under him on each fief. Thus the count of Champagne (shăm-pān′) in the twelfth century held fiefs divided into twenty-six districts, each centering in a castle.

61. Break-up of state power

His lords included the German Emperor, the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, two archbishops, three bishops, and an abbot, to each of whom he did "homage" and owed "service."[1]

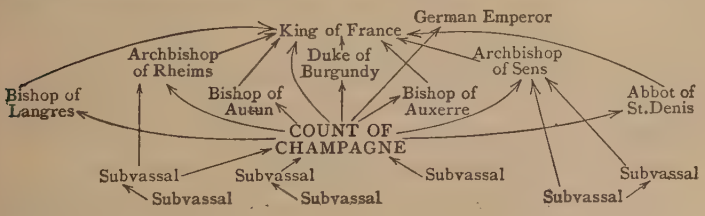


POSSESSIONS OF THE COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE, 12TH CENTURY

Portions of his lands and rights he "subinfeudated," on varying terms, to more than two thousand vassal knights, some of whom were also vassals for other fiefs from his own overlords.

In the Roman Empire, as also in modern states, all persons in the land owed loyalty, obedience, and service directly to the head of the state. Feudalism caused an almost complete disap-

[1] The following diagram, together with the map in the text, will serve to illustrate the feudal relations of the count of Champagne. The arrow indicates a lord to whom homage is done and from whom one or more fiefs are held.



pearance of such direct ties, and substituted for them the feudal tie, which bound each man only to his immediate lord or lords. In a feudal society a man owed scarcely any obligation whatever to those who stood above his lord, not even to the king himself. The feudal principle thus practically destroyed the principle of *sovereignty*, or the direct authority of the state. Perhaps it is better to say that it would have destroyed it, had not the state already practically disappeared, through its own weakness and the external dangers to which it was exposed.

The tie which bound the feudal group together was one of personal contract. It was based (as has been seen) on the grant and receipt of land, and was witnessed by the "homage" done and "fealty" sworn by each vassal to his "suzerain," — that is, his lord. By this contract the vassal was pledged to render "service" to his lord; the latter was bound to "protect" his vassal. The service due was, above all, *military* service — forty days a year, on horseback, at the vassal's expense, being the customary limit. In addition the vassal had to attend his lord's court when summoned, in order to aid him with counsel and advice. He was also obliged, when accused, to submit himself to the judgment of his fellow vassals in his lord's court. Furthermore, the lord might require "aids" in money, on certain exceptional occasions: (1) when the lord knighted his eldest son; (2) on the first marriage of his eldest daughter; (3) to ransom his person from captivity; and (4) to aid him in setting forth on a crusade. On entering upon his inheritance, the heir of full age paid a sum called "relief" (consisting usually of one year's revenue of the fief), did homage and fealty, and was then put in possession of his estate. If he was a minor, the lord often had the custody of his person and of the fief, with the right to take the profits, until the heir became of age. Finally, the vassal could not sell or otherwise alienate his fief without the lord's consent; and over the marriage of the vassal's heir the lord possessed some control.

62. Feudal obligations

It may well be supposed that, in a rude and disorderly age, the feudal obligations were but imperfectly observed. Lords

often failed to protect, and sometimes even dishonored their vassals. Vassals frequently refused to perform their obligations and defied their lords. What remedy did feudalism provide for such cases? When a vassal failed in the discharge of his obligations, he might be convicted of "felony," and his fief might be taken away from him. In case the lord failed to protect, or otherwise wronged his vassal, the latter might appeal to his lord's suzerain. But such a step was usually considered too tame or uncertain; and ordinarily feudal disputes were settled by resort to arms.

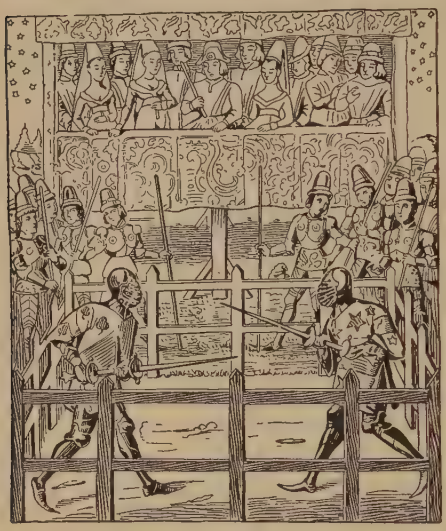
63. Remedies for breach of obligation

An account of the courts and modes of trial of the feudal period will make evident how difficult it must often have been to secure justice by peaceful means. The rights of jurisdiction which formerly belonged to the state were now possessed by the feudal lords. The trial of cases was a profitable right, because of the fines and confiscations which it brought; and it was for this reason that the right was sought after. Like other governmental powers, judicial rights were sometimes acquired by usurping them, and sometimes by express grant from the crown. In the fully developed feudal system, we may think of the right to administer justice in some degree as regularly accompanying the possession of feudal land. In these feudal courts there was administered feudal law, which was a crude outgrowth of the old Germanic customary law.

64. Jurisdiction and modes of trial

In the trial of cases there was no attempt to ascertain the facts by examining witnesses and weighing their testimony. The modes of trial were mainly three: by oaths (compurgation), by ordeal, and by battle. In trial by *oaths* the person accused swore that he was innocent, and produced a number of "oath helpers" who swore that they believed his oath to be "clean and without guile." In serious cases the *ordeal*, which was an appeal to the judgment of God, was used. In the ordeal by hot iron the accused had to carry a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance in his bare hand. In the ordeal by hot water he had to thrust his hand into a kettle of boiling water. In either case the hand was then bandaged and sealed up for three days. If the wound

healed properly, the person was declared innocent. In the cold water ordeal the accused was thrown into a stream of water, with hands and feet tied together. If he floated, he was guilty; but if he sank, he was innocent and was to be rescued. In trial by *battle*, the accuser threw down his gauntlet, which was taken up by the person accused. The judge then determined the time, place, and weapons for the combat. This form of trial also was an appeal to the judgment of God, for it was supposed that He would interfere to protect the innocent and reveal the guilty.



TRIAL BY BATTLE
From a 15th century MS.

65. Feudal warfare

Warfare may be said to have given rise not only to the favorite mode of trial of the feudal age, but also to its chief amusement, the "tournament," of which some account will hereafter be given. Even without these regulated or make-believe forms of battle, the clash of ill-defined interests, the hatred borne to neighbor and stranger, and the military habits of the time, made private warfare almost the normal condition of the Middle Ages. A brilliant French historian says: "War raged not only between suzerains and vassals and between the vassals of the same fief, but also in the bosom of all the feudal families. The son fought against his father, because he could not wait until his father's death to enjoy his lands; younger brothers attacked the elder because he was favored at their expense; nephews waged war on uncles,

Luchaire, in Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 178 (simplified)

because these wished to prolong their guardianship unduly, or refused to recognize the custom which excluded collateral heirs from the inheritance; and the son took arms against his widowed mother, because he disputed her right to a part of her husband's estates."

From the close of the tenth century the church exerted itself to check this incessant fighting, and two institutions arose, called respectively "the Peace of God" and "the Truce of God." By the Peace, warfare upon the church and the weak — including peasants, merchants, women, and pilgrims — was perpetually forbidden in those districts where the Peace was

66. Restrictions on private warfare

WARFARE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

From a 12th century MS.

adopted. By the Truce of God, a cessation of warfare was established for all classes during the period from Wednesday night to Monday morning of each week, and in all holy seasons (Lent, Advent, Whitsuntide, etc.). Thus the number of days a year on which warfare could be carried on was greatly restricted. Violation of the Peace, or of the Truce, was punished by the church. In some districts, sworn associations of the nobles and clergy, with special courts, treasuries, and armies, were formed to punish violations; but even thus the Peace and Truce were but imperfectly observed.

As governments grew stronger, dukes, kings, and Emperors exerted themselves to put down the abuse of private warfare. In Normandy, and in England after the Norman conquest (1066), the crown enforced peace with a strong hand. In France also, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the king became strong enough to make progress in this direction. In Germany the Emperors early proclaimed the public peace (*Landfrieden*); but "robber barons" continued to exist, and "fist-right" (the rule of the strongest) prevailed for long periods. It was only at the close of the fifteenth century that effectual steps were taken to enforce a permanent peace.

The feudal system, as we have been describing it, took definite form in the course of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

67. Duration of the feudal system

France was the land of its earliest and most complete development, but in some form it was found in all countries of western Europe. It should be noted that practice often conflicted with feudal theory, and that feudal customs varied greatly in different regions and at different times. Until the end of the thirteenth century, the system flourished with such vigor that this epoch may be styled preëminently the Feudal Age. In the fourteenth century a transformation set in, by which feudalism ultimately ceased to be a political force, and became a mere social and economic survival.

68. Advantages and disadvantages of feudalism

The disadvantages of feudalism as a political system consisted in (1) its incessant wars and conflicts, and (2) its neglect of many important government functions. Roads, bridges, and public improvements of all sorts fell into ruins, and little effort was made to repair the old or to construct new ones. There was no organized police; justice was hard to obtain; and "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" were at the mercy of the strong and unscrupulous. Care of the poor, the sick, and the orphan, and the many other functions which a modern state discharges, were left to the church or remained unattended to. The evils of such a system must be sufficiently evident.

The advantages of feudalism lay chiefly in the fact that it supplied a possible form of government at a time when complete

anarchy threatened. It kept alive the theory of the state and of a king who stood above all feudal lords, — no matter how weak both were in practice. A basis was thus furnished on which later generations could erect strong centralized governments. With all its defects, therefore, feudalism served a useful purpose. At the time of its origin it seemed almost the only possible alternative to complete anarchy.

69. Causes of its decline

The decline of feudalism was due to a number of causes. (1) Money, which had practically disappeared from circulation during the Germanic invasions, gradually came again into use. Military and other services which formerly were paid for by feudal grants of land now began to be paid for in money. Feudal tenures were slowly transformed into more modern forms of landholding. A decrease in the military power of the nobles followed, and a loss of their feudal rights and privileges. (2) The towns, which at the beginning of the feudal period did not exist as organized bodies, gradually arose and grew powerful through industry and commerce. The townsmen hated the feudal nobles because the latter preyed upon them and their commerce. Their aid, therefore, together with that of the clergy, was lent to restoring the power of the state and to breaking down the power of feudalism. (3) Many feudal nobles wasted their resources in the crusades (ch. viii) or on tournaments and lavish living, and thus weakened their defensive power. (4) In the fifteenth century changes in methods of warfare made foot soldiers (archers and pikemen) more nearly a match for mounted knights. The introduction of gunpowder also gave the king a more effective means of attacking feudal castles. (5) All these factors increased the power of the crown, which was the great opponent of feudalism. Wherever kings became strong enough they sought to undermine feudalism. They did this directly, by prohibiting private warfare, limiting castle-building, and otherwise reducing feudal powers. They did it indirectly by encouraging subvassals to rebel against their lords, and to enter into direct allegiance to the king. From the crown alone could come the peace and orderly government

which clergy, townsmen, and peasants alike demanded. All these classes, therefore, aided the growth of the crown at the expense of feudalism.

The overthrow of feudalism as a political power came at different dates in different countries. Here it needs only to be pointed out that feudalism remained a vital force everywhere in western Europe, until at least the beginning of the fourteenth century; and that even down to the nineteenth century feudal survivals may be traced in the laws and social usages of most European countries.

DEFINITIONS OF FEUDAL TERMS

vassal, the free dependent of a lord, bound to render military service in return for the lord's protection.

benefice *or* **fief,** land held by a vassal of his lord, on condition of military and other services.

homage, the act by which a vassal becomes the "man" of his lord.

fealty, the oath of fidelity taken by a vassal to his lord.

suzerain, the name given to a lord in relation to his vassal.

aids, money payments due from vassals when their lord knights his eldest son, marries his eldest daughter, ransoms his person from captivity, or goes on a crusade.

relief, the payment made to a lord by the vassal's heir, if of full age, to secure his inheritance.

wardship, the right of the lord to have the custody of an heir who is not of full age, and to receive the profits from the fief during the heir's minority.

escheat, the right of a lord to receive back a fief when there are no heirs.

subinfeudation, the process by which a vassal grants away part of his fief to one who becomes a subvassal under him.

primogeniture, the right of the eldest son to succeed to the whole inheritance upon his father's death.

serfs *and* **villeins,** peasants who hold lands of their lords on terms of manual services (plowing, harrowing, reaping, etc.) on the lord's own estates. Their land tenure was not feudal, but servile (that is, not free).

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics.—(1) How did the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants aid the development of feudalism? (2) What other things cooperated? (3) Define *commendation*, *vassal*, *homage*, *fealty*, *fief*, *wardship*. (4) How does a feudal society differ from a modern state as regards

taxation, coining money, administration of justice, maintenance of an army, etc.? (5) What were the chief defects of the modes of trial in the early Middle Ages? (6) Why are such institutions as the Peace and Truce of God no longer necessary? (7) Set down in one column the good features of feudalism, and in another its bad ones.

Search Topics. — (1) MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS OF LORDS AND VASSALS. Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 168–170; Seignobos, *Feudal Régime*, 41–44; Ogg, *Source Book*, 220–228; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 184–185. — (2) CEREMONY OF HOMAGE AND FEALTY. Ogg, *Source Book*, 216–219; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 179–184. — (3) NON-EUROPEAN FEUDALISM (Japan). *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XV, 258–266; Okuma, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, I, 23–42. — (4) PRIVATE WARFARE. Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 177–182; Seignobos, *Feudal Régime*, 56–57. — (5) THE PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXVII, 321; Ogg, *Source Book*, 228–232; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 194–196. — (6) WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE FEUDAL RÉGIME. Seignobos, *Feudal Régime*, 44–46. — (7) TRIAL BY ORDEAL. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XX, 173–175; Ogg, *Source Book*, 196–202; Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, 400–410. — (8) TRIAL BY BATTLE. Seignobos, *Feudal Régime*, 62; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Wager of Battle"; Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 83–84.

General Reading. — The best brief accounts of the origin of feudalism are in Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, Andrews, *Institutes of General History*. Feudalism as an institution may best be studied in Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime*. Valuable illustrative documents are given in the source books prepared by Ogg and by Thatcher and McNeal, and also by Cheyney in the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints*, IV, No. 3. Pollock and Maitland, *History of the English Law*, give an extended account of English feudalism, but this is too technical for high school pupils. For the teacher who reads French, the best accounts are in Esmein, *Cours Élémentaire d'Histoire du Droit Française*, and Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*. The older accounts, given by Guizot and Hallam, are misleading.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORMAN CONQUESTS

A. The Normans at Home and in Italy

When Rolf and his Northmen were granted lands in western France, in 911 (§ 45), no one dreamed that within little more than a hundred years the descendants of these fierce pagans would develop into one of the most civilized peoples of western Europe. It is to the story of how this came to pass that we must now give our attention.

70. The Normans at home

The name "Normans," by which this people is known in France, is merely a softened form of the word Northmen. In their later, as in their earlier, history they showed a remarkable spirit of war and adventure. In other respects, however, the Normans differed profoundly from the Northmen, and in usage the two names should be carefully distinguished.

Rolf and the Norman dukes who followed him were men of much ability. Under their rule Normandy became a feudal principality. It differed from the other fiefs of northern France, however, (1) in the ability with which it was governed, (2) in the greater attention which was given to learning and architecture, and (3) in the hardy and adventurous character of its inhabitants. "O France," exclaims a historian of the eleventh century, "thou wast bowed down, crushed to earth. Behold, there comes to thee from Denmark a new race. That race shall raise thy name and thy empire, even unto the heavens!" In the Norman conquest of England and of southern Italy, in the leading part which the Normans played in the crusades, and in the hardy character of their seamen to the end of the Middle Ages, evidences of their superior vigor and daring were abundantly given.

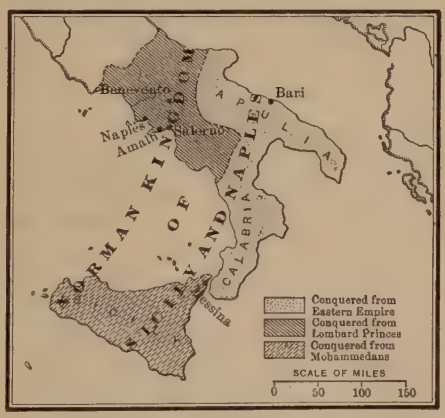
Dudo, *History of the Normans*

Since the days of Charlemagne, the East-Roman (Byzantine) or Greek Empire had preserved an uncertain foothold in southern Italy. Its sway was threatened by the growth of feudal lordships, by the pretensions of German kings, and by Saracen (Mohammedan) invasions. Sicily since 878 had been almost wholly Mohammedan. In the first half of the ninth century, Saracens had gained a footing in southern Italy also. Though they were temporarily dislodged, no permanent relief could be hoped for while the neighboring lands were in their hands.

71. Greeks and Saracens in Italy

It was this situation in the rich and fertile South which gave Norman adventurers their first opportunity for further conquest. While making a religious pilgrimage to a famous shrine in southern Italy, some Norman warriors were enlisted in a petty war between two Christian princes (1017), and thus discovered the weakness of the land. Soon other Normans flocked thither to take service under different princes and nobles, selling their swords to the highest bidders. Presently they began to establish a power of their own; and in 1071 they took Bari (bä're), the last possession of the Greek governors in Italy.

72. Beginning of Norman conquests there



NORMAN CONQUESTS IN ITALY

In these conquests five of the twelve sons of a poor Norman noble played principal parts. The fourth son, Robert Guiscard (gēs-car'; which means "the cunning"), made the greatest name for himself. The daughter of the Greek Emperor described him as he appeared to his enemies: "His high stature excelled that of the most mighty warriors.

His complexion was ruddy, his hair fair, his shoulders broad, his eyes flashed fire. It is said that his voice was like the voice of a whole multitude, and could put to flight an army of sixty thousand men." Like all the Normans, he was a cruel conqueror, and to this day ruined cities bear witness to his ferocity. Before Robert Guiscard died (in 1085) almost all southern Italy acknowledged him as lord. The conquests of Roger, the youngest of the family, were equally remarkable. On the invitation of discontented Christians he landed in Sicily; and after thirty years of untiring warfare he succeeded in conquering the last of that island from its Saracen rulers.

73. The kingdom of Sicily founded

One of the distinguishing traits of the Normans, and one which was of great value to them as rulers, was the ability which they showed to adapt themselves to new conditions; another was their willingness to let the people over whom they ruled keep their own language, laws, customs, and beliefs. These qualities were strikingly displayed in their new conquests. On the ruins of Greek, Lombard, and Saracen power, they erected a strong feudal state. The claims of Pope and Emperor over these lands led to some unavoidable friction and conflict. In the end, the Norman rule, under the title of the kingdom of Sicily, was formally recognized by the Pope; he insisted, however, that the kingdom be held as a fief of the papacy (1135). The new kingdom lasted, with some changes of rulers, until the formation of the present kingdom of Italy in the nineteenth century. One result of the establishing of the Normans as the ruling race in southern Italy was to facilitate the clearing of the central Mediterranean of its Mohammedan pirates.

B. The Norman Conquest of England

74. England after Alfred

At the same time that Norman nobles were winning dominions in Italy and Sicily, their duke was extending his power over England. We have seen that after Alfred's death, in 900, his son and grandsons reconquered the Danelaw. Early in the eleventh century, — as a result of the weakness

and folly of the English king and the strengthening of Scandinavian power through the organization of the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, — the invasions of the Danes were renewed. In 1016 Canute (ca-nūt′), king of Denmark and Norway, brought all England under his sway. He was a just and Christian king, and ruled his English kingdom with the same strength and wisdom that he bestowed on his Scandinavian realms.

Soon after Canute's death the old English line of kings was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (1042–1066), who was so called because of his piety. Edward proved a feeble ruler. He had been reared at the Norman court, where ways of life were less rude than in England; and the favor which he showed to Normans and Frenchmen angered his English subjects. His reign was filled with quarrels between his Norman favorites and the English, and with rebellions of his great nobles, or earls. When he died without children, in 1066, Earl Harold, the most powerful and capable man in the kingdom, succeeded him on the throne. Duke William of Normandy, however, had claims to the English kingship, and at once prepared to invade England.

75. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066)

William the Conqueror, as he is known in history, was the sixth duke of Normandy in descent from Rolf. He was only seven years of age when his father died on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and the minority of the young duke was one long struggle against his Norman barons. With the aid of the French king, William at last crushed his enemies, and then built up a military power which made Normandy one of the strongest governments of Europe. His claim to the throne of England was based on a promise from Edward the Confessor, who was his father's cousin, that the English crown should descend to him. In addition he had extorted from Earl Harold an oath to support this claim, when the latter was shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy. Though his claims were little more than pretexts, William landed an army, in September, 1066, on the south coast of England. Harold had been called to the

76. Duke William claims England

north to repel an invasion by the king of Norway, and returned too late to prevent William's landing. The earls of the northern

SHIPS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

From tapestry made in England for William's brother, Odo of Bayeux

counties treacherously refused Harold aid, and he was forced to meet the Normans with only his own troops.

The battle took place on a ridge near the town of Hastings. The strength of the English consisted in their mailed footmen armed with the battle-ax, while that of the Normans lay in their archers and mounted men at arms. Two different modes of warfare were contending, as well as two peoples and two civilizations. The battle raged all day, and for a long time the issue was in doubt. In spite of their heavy horsemen,

77. Battle of Hastings (1066)

DEATH OF HAROLD

From the Bayeux Tapestry. Harold is the second figure from the left.

the Normans were unable to break the English line. Three horses were killed under William, but he received no injury. Once the cry went forth, "The duke is down!" and the Normans began to give way. But William tore off his helmet, that they might better see his face, and cried: "I live, and by God's help shall have the victory!" To draw the English from their strong position, William ordered a portion of his troops to pretend to flee. This ruse was partly successful, but still the "shield wall" of Harold's guard held firm. At last an arrow struck Harold in the eye, piercing to the brain. With their heroic leader gone, the English army was soon destroyed (October 14, 1066). There was no English leader left to take Harold's place. Soon William was formally chosen king, and was crowned at Westminster, near London, on Christmas Day, 1066. Every English king or queen who has reigned since then has been a descendant of this Norman conqueror.

Before taking up the far-reaching effects of the Norman conquest, we must consider the government and institutions of the English kingdom before the coming of the Normans. The unit of local government was the *township*. Ordinarily this was a village, with its surrounding lands. By the time of the Norman conquest its inhabitants were usually under the rule of some local noble, and were sinking into a condition similar to that of the villeins of the Continent. A number of townships were grouped to form the next higher division, called the *hundred*.[1] Each hundred had its monthly "moot," or court. To this came the lords of the lands within the hundred, either in person or by their stewards. With them came also the parish priest, the "reeve" (village head), and the "four best men" of each township. This body was the most important local court for the trial of both civil and criminal cases.

78. English government: township, hundred, and shire

The hundreds, in turn, were grouped into about forty *shires*,

[1] It is uncertain whether this district was first called a "hundred" from the amount of *land* which it contained, the number of *families* which settled it, or the number of *warriors* it supplied to the army. In the state of Delaware certain local districts still bear this old English name.

or *counties* (as the Normans called them). Some of these (for example, Kent, Sussex, Essex) had in earlier days been independent kingdoms. The shire-moot, or shire-court, was called together twice a year by the "shire-reeve" (sheriff), who represented the authority of the king in the shire. Its presiding officers were the earl, or head of the shire, who was always a powerful noble of the district, and the bishop, whose diocese often corresponded closely to the territory of the county. The shire-court was made up of the landowners of the shire, and of representatives of the hundreds and townships. In this court all cases not disposed of in the hundred-courts were tried, and here also were settled many questions relating to the government of the district.

These local courts were an important means in training the mass of the English people in self-government. In the words of a modern English statesman, they are "the cradle of our liberties, in which are to be found the origin of our juries and the model of our parliaments."

The local institutions described above were continued by William the Conqueror and his successors with little change.

79. Central government strengthened

The Norman genius for organization, however, bound all parts of the kingdom more closely together, and established at the head of the state a central government which was strong enough to keep the turbulent nobles in check and to secure protection and justice to all subjects. This is one of the first instances of a strong central government under which local self-government was not destroyed.

As we have seen in an earlier section, Normandy by 1066 was completely feudalized. In England feudalism had developed

80. Feudal system in England

much more slowly than on the Continent, but in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and Harold we can already trace its effects. The Norman conquerors brought with them a full-grown feudal system, which they proceeded to establish in England. The property of those who fought against William at Hastings was treated as forfeited, and was either granted to new holders or confirmed to the old ones on the pay-

ment of heavy fines. In either event the tenure established was a feudal one, conditioned on the performance of military service, with all the "feudal incidents" of relief, aids, wardship, and marriage rights.[1]

William, however, took pains to see that in England feudalism should not become the menace to the crown that it was in France. An oath of allegiance to the king, taking precedence of the fealty due to feudal lords, was demanded from all freemen. Of this an old chronicler says: "There came to him all the land-owning men there were over all England, and all bowed down before him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him, that they would be faithful to him against all other men." The result of this was that, if a lord was disloyal to the king, his vassals were bound to fight against their lord and for the king. The Conqueror, moreover, continued the old Anglo-Saxon national militia, as well as the old assemblies of the people, as a check on the power of the lords. It also happened that

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1085

STATUE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR
At Falaise, his birthplace

[1] In order that he might know the resources of the realm, William caused an inquest of the lands, their holders, and their value to be made throughout England, the results being set down in what is known as *Domesday Book* (1086). "So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by." The value to the historian of this careful record, which is still in existence, may easily be imagined.

the lands granted his Norman followers, however extensive they might be, were widely scattered, and not in compact blocks, as they were in France. This fact made it more difficult than in France for a great lord to gather men to make war upon the king.

81. Other results of the conquest

In addition to the introduction of the feudal system and the strengthening of the monarchy, the Norman conquest had other important results for England. The insular position of that country had thus far kept it out of the main current of European development. Now, for several generations, the kings of England were also dukes of Normandy, and consequently vassals of the king of France. Thus, both for good and for evil, England was drawn into the conflicts of European politics. The Normans, moreover, brought with them to England their language (the Norman-French), their architecture, and their customs, which in many ways were more refined than those of the English. In the course of the next three centuries, the English and Normans in England united into a single national stock. The Anglo-Saxon tongue of the common people, the Norman-French of the nobles, and the Latin of the church and the royal law courts in time blended to form the English language as we find it in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare.

The victory of the Normans was a turning point in English history. Britons, Romans, English, Danes, and Normans, — all made their conquests and left their successive impressions on the life of the island. This, however, was to be the last of the invasions. Never afterward did a foreign foe take possession of English soil. Thenceforth, what England was to be was determined not by any outside power, but by its own inhabitants.

IMPORTANT DATES

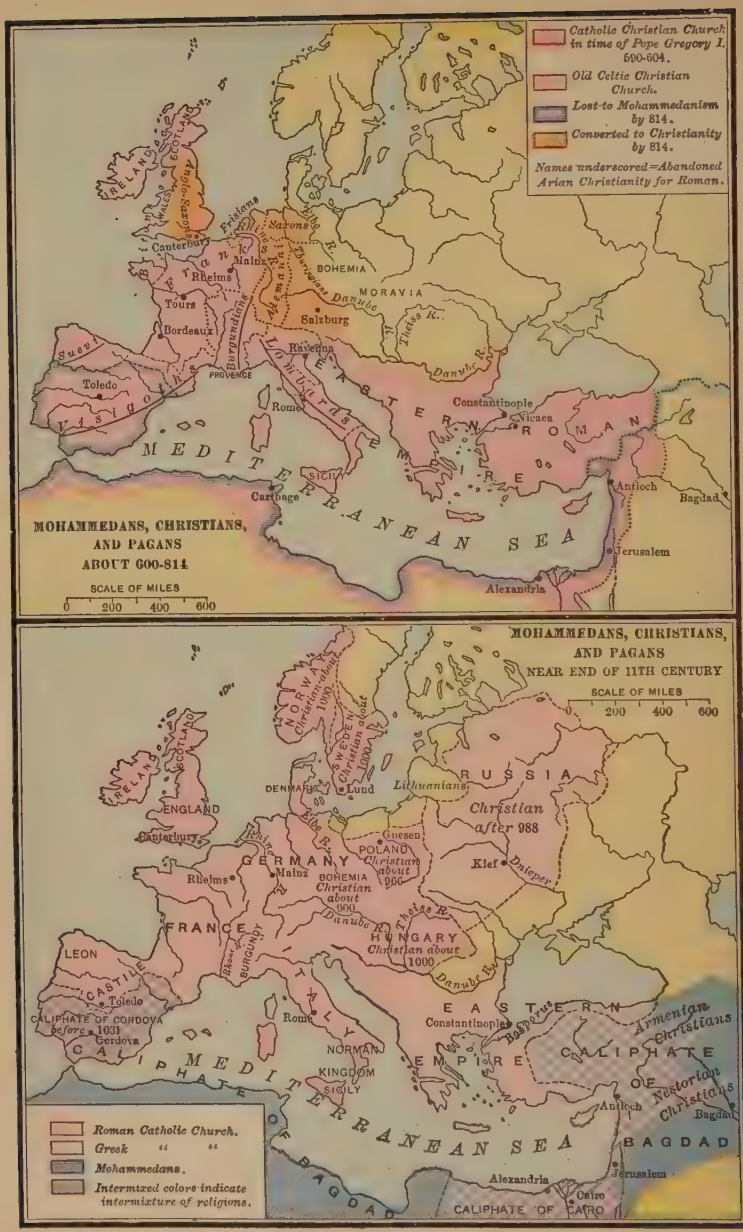
1016. Canute, King of Denmark, conquers England.
1017. Norman conquest of southern Italy begun.
1042. Edward the Confessor secures the throne in England.
1066. Death of Edward; battle of Hastings; William, Duke of Normandy, conquers England.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the rapid progress of the Normans in France with the progress of the Franks and English after their settlement in Gaul and in Britain. (2) What things aided the Norman conquest of Sicily and southern Italy? (3) How did the coming of the Normans enlarge the Pope's power over southern Italy and Sicily? (4) What things aided the Norman conquest of England? (5) Was William's claim to the English throne just or unjust? Why? (6) Why is the battle of Hastings considered one of the decisive battles in the history of the world? (7) What features of our local government can be traced back to ancient England? (8) Was the Norman conquest a good or a bad thing for England? Why?

Search Topics. — (1) THE NORMANS IN FRANCE. Green, *Short History*, 71–74; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 83–84; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), "Normans." — (2) SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST. Crawford, *Rulers of the South*, II, 70–124. — (3) ROBERT GUISCARD AND THE NORMANS IN ITALY. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Bury's ed.), VI, 184–193; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 210–214; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 106–108, 114, 117–118. — (4) ENGLAND ON THE EVE OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST. Green, *Short History*, 63–70. See also histories of England, by Gardiner, Tout, Terry, and Omān. — (5) EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. Freeman, *William the Conqueror*, ch. ii. — (6) CLAIMS OF WILLIAM TO THE ENGLISH THRONE. Freeman, *William the Conqueror*, chs. iii, v, vi; Terry, *History of England*, 131–136; Green, *Short History*, 77–78; Cheyney, *Readings*, 90–92. — (7) BATTLE OF HASTINGS. Ogg, *Source Book*, 233–241; Cheyney, *Readings*, 93–101; Traill, *Social England*, I, 299–300; Oman, *Art of War*, 150–164. — (8) GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST. Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, ch. ii; Cheyney, *Short History*, 78–83; Walker, *Essentials in English History*, 55–61. — (9) COMPARISON OF FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT. Green, *Short History*, 83–87; Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, ch. iv. — (10) EFFECT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Lounsbury, *English Language*, ch. iv, v; Halleck, *History of English Literature*, 48–56. — (11) CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY OF WILLIAM. Green, *Short History*, 74–77; Ogg, *Source Book*, 241–244; Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 107–108.

General Reading. — For the Normans in France and the Norman conquest of England, see Freeman's *William I*, *Short History of the Norman Conquest*, and his monumental *Norman Conquest of England* (6 vols.). For the Normans in Italy read Freeman's *Historical Essays*, Series III ("The Normans at Palermo"), and Crawford's *Rulers of the South*.


Catholic Christian Church in time of Pope Gregory I. 590-604.
Old Celtic Christian Church.
Lost to Mohammedanism by 814.
Converted to Christianity by 814.
Names underscored=Abandoned Arian Christianity for Roman.
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS ABOUT 600-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Nicaea
Antioch
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Carthage
Rome
Ravenna
Toledo
Bordeaux
Tours
Rheims
Canterbury
Mainz
Salzburg
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
PROVENCE
SICILY
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
Pyrenees
Burgundians
Saxons
Lombards
Visigoths
Suevi
Franks
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Picts
Britons
Angles
Saxons
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS NEAR END OF 11TH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
NORWAY
Christianized 1000
SWEDEN
Christian about 1000
DENMARK
Lund
Christianized 1000
RUSSIA
Lithuanians
Christian after 988
Kief
Dnieper
Gnesen
POLAND
Christian about 1000
GERMANY
Mainz
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
BOHEMIA
Christian about 900
Rheims
FRANCE
Danube R.
Theiss R.
HUNGARY
Christian about 1000
Danube R.
Canterbury
ENGLAND
LEON
CASTILE
Toledo
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA before 1031
Cordova
CALIPHATE OF
Rome
ITALY
NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
EASTERN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Bosporus
Armenian Christians
CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD
Nestorian Christians
Antioch
Bagdad
BAGDAD
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Cairo
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Roman Catholic Church.
Greek " "
Mohammedans.
Intermixed colors indicate intermixture of religions.

CHAPTER V

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

A. Some General Features

The church as we find it in the history of the Middle Ages means especially the Latin or Roman Catholic Church. The Greek Church, however, continued to hold sway in eastern Europe. Differences of language and civilization between the East and the West, together with the political disputes which have been touched upon in dealing with the rise of the papacy (§ 20), had early paved the way for a breach between the two churches. In religious usages there were some minor differences, such as the time of keeping Easter. There was also a dispute as to the validity of a change which the West had made in the wording of the creed adopted by the whole church at Nicae'a in 325. Above all, the Greeks refused to recognize the supremacy which the Pope claimed over the church. As a result of long-continued disputes, the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople (the head of the Eastern Church) excommunicated each other in 1054. Thenceforth members of the two churches looked upon each other as "heretics." Many efforts have since been made to heal the breach; but to the present time the two churches remain separate and mutually hostile.

82. Separation of Greek and Latin churches

The unbroken rule of the church over the lives and spirits of men, down to the time of the Reformation, is one of the most striking features of the Middle Ages. It is difficult for us to realize how extensive and absolute that rule was. In all western Europe there was but one church, ruled over by the Pope at Rome. This was not a mere voluntary association, concerned only with man's spiritual and

83. Power of the Latin Church

moral welfare; it was rather a state within the state. Or perhaps it may better be described as a great international state, whose territory included all western Christendom, and whose claims and jurisdictions crossed and conflicted with those of temporal governments. A recent legal writer says of the medieval church: "It has laws, lawmakers, law courts, lawyers. It uses physical force to compel men to obey its laws. It keeps prisons. In the thirteenth century, though with squeamish phrases, it pronounces sentence of death. It is no voluntary society. If people are not born into it, they are baptized into it when they cannot help themselves. If they attempt to leave it, they are guilty of the crime of treason, and are likely to be burned. It is supported by involuntary contributions, by tithe and tax."

Maitland, *Canon Law in England*, 100 (condensed)

Some of the special features which distinguish the medieval church from modern religious societies may be summed up as follows: —

84. Special features of the church

(1) *Its universality.* The whole Christian population was obliged to belong to it, just as to-day every one must belong to the state under which he lives.

(2) *Its much greater wealth.* Through gifts from pious or conscience-stricken individuals, and the industry of the monks, it became the greatest proprietor of land in Europe, owning probably one third of the soil suitable for cultivation.

(3) *Its power in temporal matters.* Church law and church courts decided cases relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance under wills, contracts made binding by oaths, etc. In addition, the church claimed the right to try all cases which involved clergymen, even accusations of crime against them. All cases which concerned persons under the special protection of the church, — such as students, crusaders, widows, and orphans, — were also triable in the church courts.

(4) *Its power of coercion through excommunication and interdict.* Excommunication cut off an offending person from the hope of heaven by excluding him from the fellowship of the church; it also made him practically an outlaw from society. "By virtue

of the divine authority conferred on the bishops by Saint Peter," reads one excommunication, "we cast him out from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church. Let him be accursed in his town, accursed in his field, accursed in his home. Let no Christian speak to him or eat with him; let no priest say mass for him, nor give him the communion; let him be buried like the ass. And as these torches cast down by our hands are about to be extinguished, so may the light of his life be extinguished, unless he repent and give satisfaction by his devotion." Excommunication applied to persons, the *interdict* to territories. The chief use of the interdict was to force disobedient rulers to submit to the church through fear of rebellion of their subjects. In time of interdict church doors were closed, the bells silenced, and the people of the district left without the consolations of religion. Marriages could not be celebrated, and even the dead were buried without ceremony in unhallowed ground.

RECEIVING THE TONSURE
From a 14th century MS.

These great powers of the church were exercised exclusively by the *clergy*, — that is, the priests and other officers of the church. They were set off sharply from the *laity*, as the rest of the Christian community was called. The one class was likened to the soul, and the other to the body of a man; and churchmen taught that "the least of the priestly order is worthier than

85. The clergy as an order

any king." To the clergy alone were committed the carrying on of the worship of the church, the administration of its sacraments, and the government and discipline of the Christian community.

The ceremony of "tonsure" marked the entrance of the candidate into the ranks of the clergy. In the Greek Church this meant shaving the hair from the whole head. In the Roman or Latin Church only the top of the head was shaved, leaving a narrow fringe of hair all around, — in memory, it was said, of Christ's crown of thorns. In addition to this distinctive mark (which was periodically renewed), the clergy wore garments of peculiar cut, distinguishing them from the laity and one rank from another. That they might serve God with more singleness of purpose, it was ordered in the Latin Church, from the fourth century on, that priests and the higher clergy should be "celibate," — that is, should not marry. In the Greek Church the practice of celibacy was generally confined to the monks. Even in the Latin Church several centuries passed before it became universal. In order that the clergy might be free in performing their religious duties, they secured the privilege of not being tried by the secular law and the secular courts. Thereafter clergymen were only under the church or "canon" law, and could be tried only by ecclesiastical courts. This privilege, which was known as "benefit of clergy," crept sooner or later into the laws of every nation of western Europe. Its evils were seen when persons who had no intention of becoming priests became *clerics*, or clerks, merely that they might secure protection in their misdeeds.[1]

In what has been said already concerning the power of the clergy, we have dwelt more upon the externals of their position.

[1] There were a number of minor grades among the clergy, below the ranks of priests, deacons, and subdeacons, who alone constituted the "major orders." The author of a twelfth-century textbook defines these minor grades as "doorkeepers, readers, exorcists [casters out of devils], and acolytes." The modern business meaning of the word "clerk" comes from the fact that the clergy were long the only educated class, and hence a *cleric* (clerk) was employed for all work involving writing and the keeping of accounts.

The real power of the clergy, as shown by the sway which they held over the minds of men, rested upon the position of the priest as *divinely appointed mediator between God and man,* and as the authoritative teacher in matters of faith and morals. In the teaching of the church, the "sacraments" were recognized as the ordinary channels of divine grace; that is, they were the means through which Christ's "vicarious atonement" on the cross was applied to the needs of the individual soul. Without this atonement man could not be saved from the consequences of his sinful nature, and after death must suffer eternally the punishments of hell. These sacraments (with the exception of baptism and matrimony) the clergy only could validly administer.

86. The sacraments

THREE SACRAMENTS: ORDINATION, MARRIAGE, EXTREME UNCTION

Part of a triptych painted in the 14th century; Antwerp Museum

The sacraments were seven in number. (1) In the sacrament of *Baptism* the child (or adult) was made a member of the Christian community. (2) *Confirmation*

admitted him into full church fellowship. (3) In the *Holy Eucharist* (or Lord's Supper), administered in the service called the "mass," the spirit of the participant was strengthened by the reception of the body and blood of the Savior, under the forms of the bread and wine. (4) *Penance* included confession to the priest at least once a year, the performance of various acts to test the reality of repentance, and absolution by the priest from the guilt of sin. (5) *Extreme Unction* was the anointing with oil of those about to die; it strengthened the soul for its dark journey and cleansed it from the remainder of venial sins. (6) *Ordination* was the rite whereby one was made a member of the various grades of the clergy. (7) *Matrimony* was the sacrament by which a Christian man and woman were joined in lawful marriage.

The theory underlying this whole system was that the sacraments derived their force from the power which Christ gave the Apostles, and which they transmitted to their successors through the sacrament of ordination.

87. Church services and worship

With the growth of the church in organization, its worship assumed definite form. Latin was the language of the West at the time that Christianity was introduced; so it became, and has remained, the language of the Roman Catholic Church. In many regions, however, portions of the service, as well as sermons, were given in the language of the people. The chief place in the service was given to the celebration of the "mass," or Lord's Supper. In the twelfth century the term "transubstantiation" was introduced to designate precisely that the substance of the bread and the substance of the wine were changed into the substance of the physical body and blood of Christ, while retaining the color, taste, and other physical properties of bread and wine. The same worship and reverence was then given to the consecrated bread, or *host*, as to God Himself. The spiritual benefits of the mass were available not only for those on earth, but also for departed souls undergoing purification for sins in purgatory. Men often gave sums of money or other valuable property to the church, to pay

for the performance of masses for the benefit of dead friends, or for themselves after death.

From the honors which were early shown to the memory of the martyrs arose the practice of venerating the saints, whose intercession was asked both for the living and for the dead. The chief of the saints was the Virgin Mary, who was venerated as the Mother of God. Countless churches were dedicated to her, and her aid and intercession were invoked in every need. Bones of martyrs, pieces of the cross on which Christ was crucified, and similar relics were sought out, cherished, and venerated, and made to work miracles of healing.

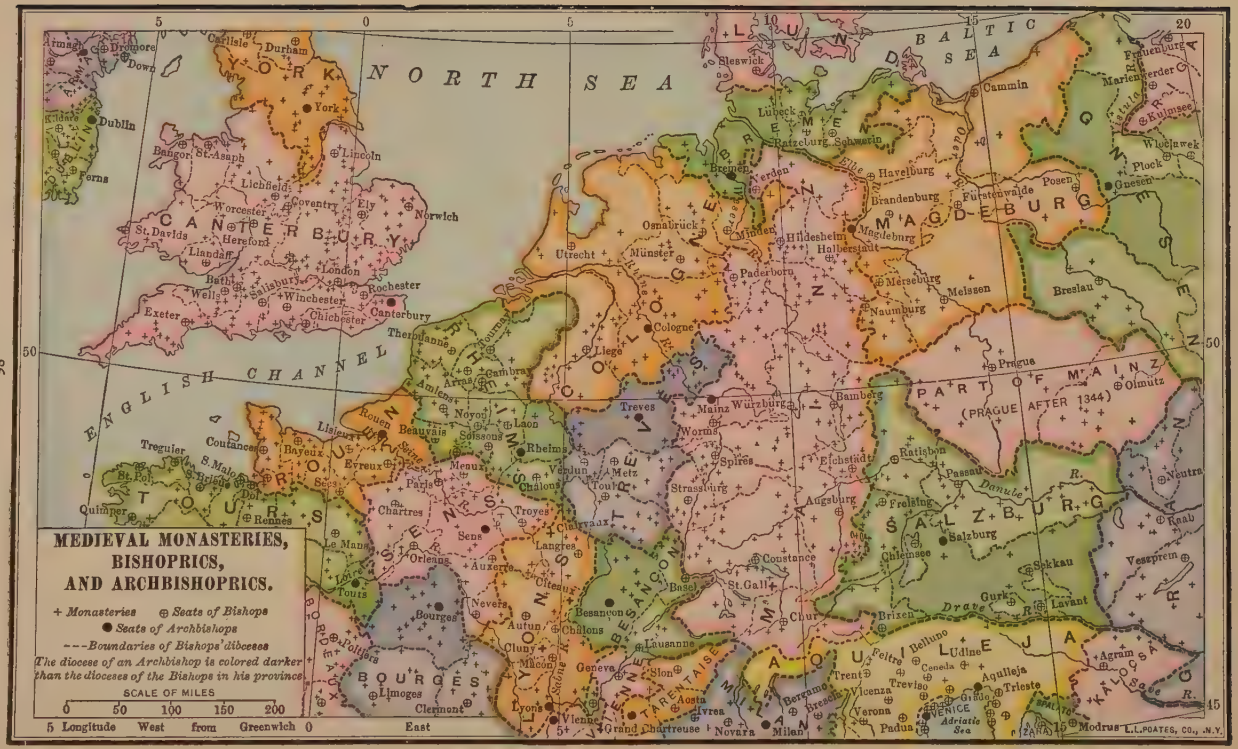
Christmas, Easter, and a number of other church festivals were celebrated with processions, and with a pomp and splendor of ceremonial which appealed powerfully to the popular imagination. Rude dramatizations of the Incarnation and Redemption were presented; and from these, and from "miracle plays" and "moralities," the modern drama was developed.

Preaching played a less prominent part in medieval religion than it does to-day, though from time to time great preachers arose to preach a crusade or a moral reformation. The parish priests, because of the great cost of hand-written books and the lack of schools, were usually poorly educated, and refrained from preaching.

B. The Church Organization

To carry on the great work of the church, officers of various ranks were necessary. The whole of western Christendom was divided into "parishes," each consisting usually of a single village or of a definite part of a town; and each of these had its parish church presided over by the *parish priest.* The priest was appointed by the bishop; but laymen who gave lands to found the churches usually reserved to themselves and their successors the right of "patronage," that is, of deciding who should be appointed. The priest brought the church most closely home to the lives of his parishioners. He conducted services, heard confessions, granted absolution, and baptized,

88. Parish priests


MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES, BISHOPRICS, AND ARCHBISHOPRICS.
+ Monasteries ⊕ Seats of Bishops
● Seats of Archbishops
---Boundaries of Bishops' dioceses
The diocese of an Archbishop is colored darker than the dioceses of the Bishops in his province.
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5 Longitude West from Greenwich 0 East 5
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BALTIC SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
YORK
CANTERBURY
TOURS
SENS
LYONS
BOURGES
ROUEN
TRÈVES
COLOGNE
MAINZ
MAGDEBURG
SALZBURG
PART OF MAINZ (PRAGUE AFTER 1344)
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GRAN
COLOCZA
MILAN
AQUILEJA
VENICE
Adriatic Sea
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St. Asaph
Lichfield
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Marienwerder
Frauenburg
Cammin
Sleswick
Osnabrück
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Paderborn
Merseburg
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Melssen
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Wloclawek
Marienwerder
Frauenburg
Osnabrück
Minden
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Münster
Paderborn
Merseburg
Naumburg
Melssen
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Modrus L.L.POATES, CO., N.Y.

married, and buried the folk of his parish. "The priest was the leader in the parish, and the churches were the gathering places not only for religious services but also for social diversions. Sunday was the holiday for the hard-working population, and it was spent in or near the church. In addition to the religious services, which all attended, the priest would read to the people letters from the absent — especially during the time of the crusades — and would announce any news that he had heard. Often between the morning and evening services there were games or other amusements." Munro, *Middle Ages* 31

The parishes were grouped into "dioceses," each under the *bishop* of that "see," or bishopric. The word "bishop" (*episcopus*) means "overseer," and it aptly characterized his functions. He watched over the work of the diocese, visited and disciplined the clergy, consecrated churches, and administered the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. The church over which he himself presided was called a "cathedral," and was usually the largest, finest, and most richly adorned in the diocese. The "tithe," or church due of one tenth of all the produce of the soil, was paid to his agents, and by him apportioned among the parishes. He presided in person or by deputy over the ecclesiastical court of the diocese, to which all the clergy, and laymen in many kinds of cases, were subject. His power over both clergy and people was very great; for, by virtue of the large estates which he held on feudal tenure, he was often a territorial prince as well as a high officer of the church. Closely as-

89. Bishops and archbishops

BISHOP ON THRONE

From a 13th century ivory carving in the Louvre

sociated with the bishop in conducting the cathedral services and in administering the affairs of the diocese, were a body of clergy called "canons," and known collectively as the "cathedral chapter," whose function it was to elect the bishop when a vacancy occurred.

The dioceses were grouped together into "provinces," over each of which was an *archbishop*. In addition to his powers and duties as bishop of one of the dioceses, the archbishop supervised the work of the church throughout his province. His special mark of distinction was the "pallium," which the Pope alone could confer. This was a narrow band of white wool, worn loosely around the neck. The archbishop's cathedral was usually in the most important city of the province, so he was spoken of as the "metropolitan." In each country there was a tendency for some one archbishop to gain preëminence over the others, and be recognized as "primate." Thus the archbishop of Canterbury was primate of all England, while the archbishops of Rheims (rēmz) and Mainz (mīnts) claimed preëminence respectively in France and Germany.

90. The Pope and his powers

At the head of the whole great system of the church stood the papacy. Many causes had contributed to make the bishop of Rome the "universal overseer," or head of the Latin Church. Among these were (1) the political importance of Rome, (2) the wealth of the church there, (3) the ability and moderation which its bishops showed in doctrinal disputes, and (4) the martyrdom and burial at Rome of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Most important of all, the Pope's headship rested upon (5) the belief that Peter had been made by Christ the chief of the Apostles, and given "the power of the keys," that is, the power "to bind and to loose."[1] Peter was regarded as the founder of the bishopric of Rome, and the power given him by Christ he was held to have transmitted to his successors. The

[1] "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." — Matthew, xvi, 18–19.

extent of the powers which the Pope claimed will be made evident in chapters which follow. Here we need only sketch in outline his chief functions: —

(1) The Pope was the *supreme lawgiver* of the church, his edicts being issued in the form of "bulls" (so called from the *bulla* or seal attached) and "decretals." The chief textbook of canon law in the Middle Ages declared that the Popes "are above all the laws of the church, and can use them according to their wish." Accordingly, we not only find the Pope making new laws as occasion demands, but also by his *dispensations* annulling the law of the church in particular cases, — for example, permitting cousins to marry, or freeing monks from their vows.

(2) He was the *supreme judge of the church*, for on one ground or another almost any case which arose in western Europe might be carried on appeal to his court at Rome. "The Popes alone judge," says the textbook of canon law quoted above, "and they cannot be judged by any one." Appeals involved the parties in vexatious journeys to Rome, large court fees, and long delays. Great inconveniences, and frequently a defeat of justice, were some of the results of this system.

(3) As *supreme administrator of the church*, the Pope could set aside local rights of election or appointment, and himself appoint to the bishoprics and other rich "livings" in the church. Ultimately the practice arose of demanding, under the name of *annates*, a year's revenue from each appointee to a bishopric, as the price of confirming him in his office.

(4) The Pope appointed *papal legates* to represent him at the various courts of Europe, to open and preside over councils, and to discharge other missions. Through these important agents the Pope's power was brought into every corner of western Christendom.

(5) As the *supreme guardian of the faith and morals* of western Christendom, the Pope fulfilled his loftiest function. When all deductions have been made, it must be admitted that, in the language of a Protestant historian, "the papacy as a whole showed more of enlightenment, moral purpose, and

Walker, *The Reformation*, 5

political wisdom than any succession of kings and emperors that medieval Europe knew." Popes often acted as protectors of the poor and the weak against the mighty. Kings and princes were excommunicated and threatened with deposition because of their sins and oppressions. A noted case was that of a great-grandson of Charlemagne, who had divorced his queen and married again, contrary to the teachings of the church and the Pope's command. After prolonged resistance he was compelled to put away his second wife, take back his injured queen, and recognize the Pope's authority.

(6) Finally, the Pope was the *ruler of a principality in Italy called the Papal States*, over which he exercised all the rights that a king has in his kingdom. In later times the administration, defense, and enlargement of the Papal States engaged much of the Pope's attention. The formation of this principality dates back to the downfall of Byzantine and Lombard rule in central Italy in the eighth century, and to the donations of land made to the papacy by the Frankish kings, Pepin the Short and Charlemagne (§§ 22, 27).

91. Forged Donation and False Decretals

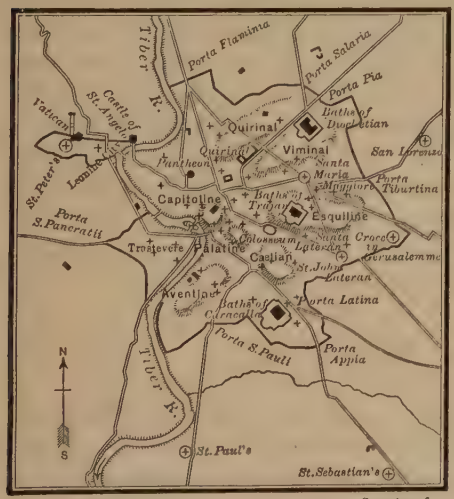
Because of their bearing on the claims of the papacy we must here say a few words about two documents which are now known to be forgeries, but which, down to the middle of the fifteenth century, were accepted unquestioningly as genuine. These are the forged Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The Donation of Constantine represents that Emperor as having been cleansed from leprosy by the prayers of the Pope. In gratitude for this he is said to have resolved to forsake Rome for a new capital on the Bosporus. Accordingly, so the document claims, he conferred upon the Pope "the city of Rome, and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy, and of the western regions." That is to say, the Emperor Constantine the Great is represented as conferring upon the Pope the *right to rule* over the Western Empire, which, of course, is historically not true. The False Decretals are a collection of imaginary letters of early Popes and decrees of councils, which show the Popes as acting *from*

the first as supreme rulers in the church. Both Donation and Decretals are now recognized by Protestants and Catholics alike to be forgeries of the clumsiest sort. The Donation was forged in the eighth century, and the False Decretals in the ninth. But the ignorance and lack of critical inquiry of the Middle Ages caused them to be accepted without question for six hundred years. The extent to which these documents aided the development of the Pope's power over the church and his acquisition of the Papal States is a matter of dispute. But a Catholic historian admits that they "did, in matter of fact, hasten the development and insure the triumph" of the principles of papal headship and temporal rule which they embody.

Alzog, *Church History*, II, 274

To assist the Pope in his work of governing the church, a clerical council was gradually formed, the members of which were called *cardinals*. This body was at first composed of the bishops of the seven great churches at Rome, together with other high clergymen of that district. Later other Italians, and gradually some foreign clergymen, were admitted. The importance of the cardinals as an organized body dates from 1059, when the chief part in electing the Pope was conferred upon them.

92. The cardinals



ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES

From time to time, to decide great questions which concerned the church, *general or "ecumen'ical" councils* of the whole church were

called. The first of these, held at Nicaea, in Asia Minor, in the year 325, condemned the Arian heresy (§ 16). The first eight councils were recognized by the Greek and Latin churches alike; but beginning with the ninth they were really concerned only with the affairs of the Latin Church. In the fifteenth century, troubles in the church revived the use of councils. It then became a burning question whether the Pope was above such assemblies, or they above the papacy; that is, whether the Pope, or the council of higher clergy representing the church as a whole, finally revealed the will of God.

93. General councils of the church

One source of the church's strength was its democracy. At a later time its higher offices, especially in Germany and France, became the exclusive possession of the well-born; but at the height of the Middle Ages this was not the case. The church long offered almost the only career in which a poor and humbly born boy of talent might rise to a position of power and importance. Until the growth of the lawyer class in the twelfth century, the priesthood was the only calling in which success depended mainly upon learning and intelligence. Even the papacy was not closed to low-born lads of ability. Among the Popes of this period we find the son of a peasant, of a shepherd, of a cobbler, of a baker, of a carpenter, and of a physician, and one who in his early days had begged his bread from door to door in the island of Crete.

94. Democracy of the church

C. The "Regular" Clergy

In the foregoing account of the church we have been concerned mainly with what were called the "secular" clergy, that is, clergy who lived in the "world" (*seculum*). There was in addition an enormous body of so-called "regular clergy" who might, under proper circumstances, fill any of the above offices. The "regular" clergy were those who lived under a "rule" (*regula*), such as those of the different monastic orders. In the West the rule of Saint Benedict, who died in

95. Benedictine monks

543, was the most important monastic ordinance. It breathed an essentially mild and practical spirit, as opposed to the wild extravagances of eastern zealots like Sim'eon Styli'tes, who dwelt for thirty years on the narrow top of a lofty column. Benedict's rule enjoined upon the brethren the three vows of *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience* to their abbot, or head. They were to labor with their hands, especially at agriculture. They were to join in public worship once during the night (about two o'clock), and at seven stated "hours" during the day. The monks were also encouraged to read and to copy books. They ate together in a "refectory," at which time one of their number was appointed to read aloud. The Benedictine monks slept in a common dormitory and not in separate cells. Each monastery was a settlement complete in itself, surrounded by a wall, and the monks were not allowed to wander forth at will. New monasteries were often located on waste ground, in swamps, and in dense forests. By reclaiming such lands and teaching better methods of agriculture the monks rendered a great service to society. An equal or greater service was rendered to the cause of learning by the labors of the monks in copying books, which otherwise would have perished in the dark days of the Middle Ages. They also conducted schools, in which boys were taught the elements of learning. In this way the seeds of the learning and culture of antiquity were kept alive by the monks, to blossom forth again in the period of the Renaissance. The house of Saint Gall in Switzerland is a type of the great monasteries of the Middle Ages. In the tenth century its estates amounted to 160,000 "plowlands," on which dwelt a populous community of laborers, shepherds, and workmen of various trades employed by the monastery, together with the serfs who were bound to work three days a week in tilling the monastery

BENEDICTINE MONK

From a 13th century MS.

lands. The convent itself numbered more than five hundred monks.

The Benedictine monasteries were entirely independent of one another. Theoretically, the bishop had the right of visiting and correcting the monasteries in his diocese; but frequently the monks secured papal grants which freed them from the bishop's control. Many monasteries, also, became very wealthy through gifts of lands and goods. Then luxury and corruption crept in; and great nobles sought to secure control of monastic estates, often by the appointment of "lay" abbots who drew the monastery revenues without taking monastic vows. Such periods of decay were followed by times of revival, and these in turn by new decline — and so on to the end of the Middle Ages.

96. Monastic reform; Order of Cluny

Monastery of St. Gall
From a plan made in 1596

The monastery of Cluny, in eastern France, was the center of such a revival in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The monasteries which it reformed were brought into permanent dependence on the abbot of the head monastery at Cluny, their "priors" or heads being appointed by him. The name "congregation" was given to such a union of monasteries under a single head. The congregation of Cluny grew until, in the twelfth century, it numbered more than two thousand monasteries. The strict self-denial of these monks, the splendor of the

worship in their great churches, their zeal for learning and education, and a succession of distinguished abbots, account for the spread of the Cluniac movement throughout Europe.

97. Other monastic orders

In course of time other reformed monastic organizations arose. The various orders were distinguished by differences in the color and cut of their garments, as well as in their mode of life. In addition to the organizations for men, there were also many for women. The "nunneries," or houses of these organizations, were numerous, widespread, and crowded. They offered a safe refuge to defenseless women in an age of violence; and nuns who possessed talent, high birth, or sanctity might rise as abbesses to positions of honor and influence.

98. The mendicant orders

In the thirteenth century arose new sorts of monastic organizations, largely as a result of the need of a more flexible force with which to combat a widespread heresy in France and Italy (see ch. x). These were the orders of Mendicant or Begging Friars. The older orders sought to shut out the world, and gave themselves up to prayer and meditation largely to save their own souls. The mendicant orders lived and labored in the world, seeking preferably the poorest quarters of the towns, where they worked to help and to save others. The Domin'icans (also called Black Friars) were founded by Saint Dom'inic (died 1221), a Spaniard of noble family. The Francis'cans (called Gray Friars) were founded by Saint Francis, an Italian. "No human creature since Christ," says a modern Protestant writer, "has more fully incarnated the ideal of Christianity than Francis. Amid the extravagance of his asceticism, there shines forth the Christian love and humility with which he devoted himself to the wretched and neglected — the outcasts for whom, in that rude time, there were few indeed to care." Both orders, after some hesitation, were authorized by the papacy, and became its stanch supporters. The Dominicans applied themselves especially to preaching and teaching, while the Franciscans turned rather to care of the poor and sick. Everywhere the friars were

Lea, *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 260

enthusiastically welcomed. "They went out two by two," says a contemporary; "they took neither wallet, nor money, nor bread, nor shoes, for they were not permitted to possess anything. They had neither monastery, nor church, nor lands, nor beasts. They made use of neither fur nor linen, but wore only tunics of wool, terminating in a hood, without capes or mantles or any other garment. If they were invited to eat, they ate what they found; if they were given anything, they kept none of it for the morrow. Once or twice a year they gathered together for their general chapter, after which their superior sent them, two together or more, into the different provinces. They were so increased in a little time that there was no province in Christendom where they had not their brethren." Nothing in this world, however, is proof against decay. Before two centuries had passed the mendicant orders also had sunk into decline, and their members were often held up to popular reproach and contempt.

Jacques de Vitry, in Zeller, *Philippe Auguste*, 80

In the heat of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, another notable order was founded, that of the Jesuits, which will be described in its place (§ 400).

In summing up this chapter, we may say that while decentralizing forces prevailed in the state, the church grew steadily in unity and in strength. The Pope's headship was advanced as the Emperor's power declined. Successive waves of monastic reform resulted in the formation of new orders of monks, and these made new efforts to revive and purify the church. Impressive church services were devised, and education began to spread among the clergy, though confined within narrow limits. The chief problem of the church was how to secure the clergy from oppression at the hands of feudal lords and other rulers. Before the eleventh century, the practical problems caused by the invasions of the Northmen and the decay of civil government so occupied men's minds as not to permit of much speculation on the relations of the spiritual and temporal powers. The church had need of the aid of temporal rulers to rescue and protect it from danger, and so did not

99. General summary

dare to quarrel with its champions. By the eleventh century these dangers were past. Men's minds then began to turn to questions of principles and theory. It was inevitable that the two great powers, the temporal and the spiritual, should come into conflict in their representatives, the empire and the papacy. It is to this conflict, which constitutes the chief feature of the history of the next two centuries, that we turn in the following chapter.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the power of a modern religious society with that of the medieval church on each of the four points in § 83. (2) Which of the seven sacraments are retained in Protestant churches? (3) How many archbishoprics are shown in the map on page 86? (4) How many bishoprics were under the archbishop of Mainz? (5) How many monasteries were in the archbishopric of Canterbury? (6) Was monasticism a good or a bad thing for religion? For society? For the state? Give your reasons. (7) Why does the church play a less prominent part in modern life than it did in medieval times?

Search Topics. — (1) St. Benedict and the Benedictine Rule. Wishart, *Monks and Monasteries*, 131–158; Ogg, *Source Book*, 83–90; Henderson, *Documents*, 274–314. — (2) Monastic Attitude of Mind. Wishart, 354–370. — (3) Services of Monks and Dangers of Monasticism. Emerton, *Introduction*, ch. xi; Wishart, 386–412; Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, ch. ix; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 129–136. — (4) Daily Life in a Medieval Monastery. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, ch. iii; Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, chs. ii, vi, vii. — (5) The Monastery of Cluny. Munro and Sellery, 137–152; Ogg, 245–249; Wishart, 177–180. — (6) St. Bernard and the Cistercians. Wishart, 192–197; Munro and Sellery, 153–158, 406–431; Ogg, 250–260. — (7) Monastic Orders for Women. Wishart, 106–115. — (8) Origin of the Drama. Halleck, *History of English Literature*, 134–142. — (9) Parish Priests and Their People. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People*, ch. ix; Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, ch. iv. — (10) An Account of a Papal Election. *Nineteenth Century* (magazine), April, 1897. — (11) St. Francis of Assisi. Wishart, 208–230; Jessopp, ch. i; Ogg, 360–379.

General Reading. — Among numerous excellent histories of the church those by Sheldon, Schaff, Milman, Niebuhr, Moeller, and Gieseler may be mentioned. Trench's *Lectures on Medieval Church History* is scholarly, brief, and readable. The best Catholic church history is by Alzog (3 vols.). The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (15 vols.) is a mine of information on many subjects.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
SCALE OF MILES
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Longitude East from Greenwich
L.L.POATES, ENGRG CO., N.Y.
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
Danzig
POMERANIA
Hamburg
MARCH OF THE BILLUNGS
Elbe R.
Groningen
Bremen
Weser R.
NORTH MARCH
Vistula R.
Gnesen
Posen
Warthe R.
FRIESLAND
SAXONY
Utrecht
Brunswick
Goslar
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
POLAND
Rhine R.
Paderborn
Halberstadt
Anhalt
SAXON OSTMARK
Oder R.
Breslau
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Aschen
Kaiserswerth
Cologne
HESSE
THURINGIA
Erfurt
THURINGIAN MARCH
LOWER LORRAINE
Fulda
Elbe R.
Bouvines
Cambray
FRANCONIA
Frankfort
Prague
BOHEMIA
1003-1004 under rule of Poles
Olmutz
MORAVIA
1003-1029 under rule of Poles
Laon
Mainz
Treves
Worms
Main R.
Bamberg
UPPER LORRAINE
GERMANY
Chalons
Metz
Spires
Wahlbisent R.
Hohenstaufen Castle
Ratisbon (Regensburg)
Danube R.
BAVARIAN OSTMARK (955 Hungarian)
Vienna
Troyes
Strassburg
Neckar R.
Ulm
Wittelsbach
Freising
Passau
Clairvaux
Rhine R.
Augsburg
BAVARIA
SWABIA
Basel
Constance
Salzburg
Pass
Besançon
Hansburg
St. Gall
Inn R.
Brenner Pass
CARINTHIAN MARCH
STYRIAN MARCH
HUNGARY
Cîteaux
Zurich
Cluny
Brixen
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
Geneva
Trent
Belluno
VERONA
Aquileja
CARNIOLA
Save R.
Lyons
Vienne
Bernard Pass
Bergamo
Milan
Brescia
Verona
Venice
Grande Chartreuse
LOMBARDY
Turin
Pavia
Po R.
CROATIA
Tortona
Ferrara
Rhone R.
Genoa
Parma
Bologna
Ravenna
Avignon
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
Used to
Gulf of Genoa
RAVENNA
EXARCHATE
PENTAPOLIS
Ancona
Marseilles
Pisa
Florence
Perugia
Spoleto
SPOLETO
ADRIATIC SEA
CORSICA
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Rome
Tiber R.
BENEVENTO
Benevento
Bari
MEDITERRANEAN
Naples
Brindisi
Salerno
SARDINIA
IONIAN SEA
Messina
SICILY

CHAPTER VI

EMPIRE AND PAPACY: THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT

A. The Revival of the Empire

The fall of the Carolingian rule in the eastern or German part of Charlemagne's Empire (911) coincided with a period of great confusion and disorder in those lands. This was due chiefly to the beginning of a new series of barbarian invasions. The newcomers were the Magyars (mŏd′yŏrz), or Hungarians, from central Asia. They were akin to the old Huns and Avars, and like them threatened to destroy European civilization. They were especially renowned for their insatiable greed and the fury of their fighting.

100. Invasion by the Hungarians

The weakness of the central government in Germany threw the burden of defense against these invaders upon the local counts and dukes. These officers used the opportunity to strengthen and make practically hereditary their offices, and so laid the foundations of a number of powerful semi-national duchies. The inhabitants of these duchies were originally separate peoples or "stems" of the German race — the Bavarians, Saxons, etc.; and from this fact these territories are often called "stem" duchies. In the tenth and eleventh centuries five of these duchies took definite shape, and formed the basis of German political geography thenceforth down to modern times. *Bavaria* lay on either side of the Danube at its northernmost bend; *Swabia* included the headwaters of the Danube and of the Rhine; *Franconia* lay to the north of Swabia, with lands on both sides of the middle Rhine; and *Saxony* lay north of Franconia, bordering on the North Sea. *Lotharin′gia* (or Lorraine′) lay to the west of Saxony, Franconia, and Swabia, and was sometimes German and sometimes French in rule.

101. German duchies formed

To the east of these stem duchies lay a fringe of border districts, the holders of which acquired such large powers that they became practically independent of their dukes. Bohe'mia, behind its mountain barriers, formed an alien Slavic wedge driven into the eastern borders of Germany.

Complete decay of Germany after the fall of the Carolingians was prevented by the election of the head of one of these stem duchies as German king. The first to be so chosen was the Franconian duke; but he proved to be weaker than the Saxon dukes, and after his death members of the Saxon house ruled Germany for four reigns.[1] The first of these reigns which calls for consideration is that of Otto I (936–973). He was called Otto the Great, and was one of the most important kings of Germany in the Middle Ages. He is described as having a powerful figure, a red face, a long wavy beard, and eyes that moved incessantly "as if they were watching their prey." His deeds show him to have been a man of energy, courage, and military skill.

102. Otto I, King of Germany (936–973)

RING SEAL OF OTTO I
Note the spelling Oddo

[1] The following genealogy will show the relationships of the Saxon kings and their immediate successors: —

THE SAXON AND FRANCONIAN (OR SALIAN) KINGS OF GERMANY

(1) HENRY I, THE **SAXON** (919–936)

(2) OTTO I, THE GREAT (936–973) Refounded Holy Roman Empire (962)

Henry, Duke of Bavaria

Liutgarde

Otto

Henry

(3) OTTO II (973–983)

(4) OTTO III (983–1002)

Henry

(5) HENRY II, THE SAINT (1002–1024)

(6) CONRAD II, THE **SALIAN** (1024–1039)

(7) HENRY III (1039–1056)

(8) HENRY IV (1056–1106)

Conrad (d. 1101)

(9) HENRY V (1106–1125)

Agnes = Frederick of **Hohenstaufen** (see table, page 115)

He strove to increase the kingly power over the dukes, and gained a measure of success in this, mainly by building up the power of the great churchmen in the state as a counterpoise to that of the great nobles.

The value of Otto's measures was revealed when (in 955) the Hungarians next advanced up the Danube valley. On the banks of the river Lech (lĕk), in Swabia, these formidable invaders were for the first time decisively defeated, and their forces slain, drowned, or scattered in the pursuit. Otto's victory was as great a deliverance for Germany as that of Charles Martel over the Moors had been for France. Soon thereafter the Hungarians settled down to agricultural and pastoral life and were converted to Christianity. In the year 1000 the Pope sent a crown to their king, and thus admitted the Hungarians to the family of European nations. Through their acceptance of Roman Christianity, the boundary of western Christendom was shifted far to the eastward.

Otto's reign saw also the beginning of an important German expansion northeastward, at the expense of the Slavs, which won for modern Germany some of its most important territory. Here also Roman Christianity progressed, through the establishment of an archbishopric at Mag'deburg (in 967), and of a number of bishoprics dependent on it. From these centers civilization and Christianity slowly spread among the neighboring Slavs.

103. Italy in the tenth century

But the most important event of Otto's reign arose out of his dealings with Italy. Since the downfall of the Carolingians that land had suffered many ills. Saracen and Hungarian raids had devastated it, and whole cities were ruined. Conflicts raged between the townsmen, led by their bishops, and the feudal nobles. The central government was disputed among a series of shadowy kings and Emperors, no one of whom won wide recognition. The papacy, which might have taken the lead in combating these evils, was itself a prey to corrupt and greedy local nobles; and violence, bloodshed, and scandal stained its history throughout the greater part of the tenth century.

In 951 the aid of Otto was sought by the widow of one of the contestants for the Italian crown. He led an expedition into Italy, and rescued and married the lady who had sought his aid. A revolt recalled him to Germany; but ten years later, on the invitation of the Pope, he went a second time into Italy. He now assumed the crown of Italy; and at Rome, on February 2, 962, the Pope crowned him Emperor. A few days later Otto confirmed all the grants that had been made to the Popes by Pepin and Charlemagne, and decreed that the papal elections should thereafter be conducted with the fullest liberty. The coronation of Otto revived the imperial title and refounded the Empire of Charlemagne, — to last (at least in name) for about eight centuries and a half longer. The new empire differed in some important respects from the former one. France no longer made part of it, and imperial interests were confined almost entirely to Germany and Italy. The very title used by his successors, that of "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," indicates its Teutonic nature. The close connection between Germany and Italy, which the empire brought about, proved hurtful to both. To Italy it brought the ruin of all hopes of nationality and of a native government. For Germany it meant the sacrifice of the substance of power at home for the shadow of dominion beyond the Alps. To the papacy alone the connection was of immediate value, for the imperial power protected it against the greed and corruption of local nobles.

104. Empire revived by Otto I (962)

Three members of the Saxon house followed Otto I on the German and imperial throne, — his son, his grandson, and his grandnephew; but the events of none of these reigns were important enough to call for mention here.[1] Upon the death without heirs of the last of the Saxon rulers, a new German house, that of the Franconians, or Salians, ascended the throne. Under its first two members, Conrad II

105. Franconian or Salian line

[1] Otto III, the grandson of Otto I, was the most notable of these three Emperors. He succeeded to the throne at the age of three years (983), and for a time the regency was in the hands of his mother, a Byzantine princess. His closest friend and teacher

and Henry III, the medieval empire is considered to have reached its height. Burgundy (see map, p. 98) was added to the empire by peaceable succession, and Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary became subject nations. The power of the German dukes was decreased, and a nominal control over Italy, with the imperial title, was maintained. But the most important event in these reigns was a slowly developing movement for church reform, which in the next reign produced one of the most dramatic struggles of the Middle Ages, — the Investiture Conflict between the papacy and the empire.

SEAL OF HENRY III
"Heinricus Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator Augustus"

B. THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT

In the chapter on the Medieval Church we have described the reform movement which spread from the monastery of Cluny throughout western Europe. The program of this movement did not stop with the purification of the monasteries. It extended as well to the secular clergy, whose condition in the tenth and eleventh centuries was deplorable. The three great evils most complained of in the church were *clerical marriage*, *sim'ony*, and *lay investiture*. (1) The clergy (with the exception only of the monks and of some bishops and priests) openly and freely entered into the

106. Need of reform in the church

was a French monk named Gerbert, who had studied in Spain, and whose rare mathematical knowledge made him seem a magician to after ages; in 999 Gerbert became Pope, with the name Sylvester II, — the first French Pope. From his mother and his teacher Otto III received exalted ideas of the imperial power, which he sought to put in practice. He abandoned Germany and made Rome his capital, where he surrounded himself with high-sounding officials and an elaborate ceremonial, in imitation of the Byzantine court. Soon the fickle Romans revolted; hurt at their ingratitude, Otto then wandered about Italy until his death at the early age of twenty-two.

marriage relation. One great danger of this practice was the temptation that it offered to married churchmen to provide for their children out of the lands in their possession, thereby impoverishing the church. Another objection was that it centered the thoughts and affections of the clergy upon their families, and prevented their single-hearted devotion to the church. (2) Simony was the purchase in any way of ecclesiastical office, the word being derived from the name of that Simon Ma'gus who sought to buy the gift of the Holy Ghost (see Acts, viii, 17–24). (3) Closely connected with this evil was the right exercised by Emperors and princes of "investing" newly elected bishops with the ring and staff, which were the symbols of their spiritual office, and requiring from them homage and fealty for the lands which they held. Accompanying the control thus secured were encroachments upon the freedom of election, so that the higher clergy almost everywhere became the appointees of temporal rulers. Says a Catholic writer, in speaking of this period: "Kings could dispose, absolutely and without control, of all ecclesiastical dignities. All was venal, from the episcopate, and sometimes even the papacy, down to the smallest rural benefice."

Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, II, 309

107. Henry III and the papacy

In the beginning this reform movement was perforce carried on independently of the papacy, which at that time was sunk under the control of the selfish nobles of central Italy. When the Emperor Henry III went to Italy, in 1046, he found three rivals claiming to be Pope, and each in possession of a portion of the city. At a council called near Rome, all three claimants were deposed for simony; and a German bishop of unblemished life and piety was chosen, — the first of a series of four German Popes. Of those who had filled the papal chair in the three preceding centuries, only four had not been born in Rome or the papal states; with these German Popes the papacy took on a more international character.

The Popes now took the lead in the reform movement; and under their direction synods (local councils of the clergy) were held in Italy, Germany, and France, which everywhere con-

demned the married and simoniacal clergy. But the greatest thing which these German Popes did was to bring to Rome the monk Hil'debrand, as adviser and chief subordinate officer of the papacy.

Hildebrand was of lowly German origin, but was born in Tus'cany. He had received his education and monastic training in a Roman monastery, of which his uncle was abbot. For a time he was an inmate of the monastery of Cluny. There one of these German Popes found him, and was so impressed with his ability and character that he took Hildebrand to Rome. Until Hildebrand's own election to the papacy in 1073, as Gregory VII, he was the real power behind the papal throne,— under five different Popes, covering a period of nearly a quarter of a century. Physically he was far from imposing. He was of small stature, ungainly figure, and feeble voice. But he possessed a mind of restless activity, uncommon penetration, and an inflexible will. The substance of his policy was to enforce the Pope's supremacy over the church and over all temporal princes. A famous Catholic historian sums up Hildebrand's design in these words: "Seeing the world sunk in wickedness and threatened with impending ruin,

HILDEBRAND (GREGORY VII)
From an old print

108. Rise of Hildebrand

Hefele, quoted in Alzog, *Church History*, II, 489

and believing that the Pope alone could save it, he conceived the vast design of forming a universal theocracy, which should embrace every kingdom of Christendom, and of whose policy the Ten Commandments should be the fundamental principle. Over this commonwealth of nations the Pope was to preside. The spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the sun to the moon, imparting light and strength, without, however, destroying it or depriving princes of their sovereignty."

109. Preparations for the struggle

While Henry III lived, Hildebrand did not dare shake off the Emperor's control. When that prince died, he left an infant of six years, Henry IV, to rule under the regency of his mother. "The princes," says a chronicler, "chafed at being governed by a woman or a child; they demanded their ancient freedom; they disputed among themselves the chief place; at last they plotted the deposition of their lord and king."

TERRITORIES OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA

With little now to fear from beyond the Alps, Hildebrand set about organizing new safeguards for papal independence. Everywhere he could count upon the reform party as favorable to his plans. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany gave him protection and resources, and finally donated to the papacy her vast estates, stretching almost to the Gulf of Genoa. New treaties also were concluded with the Normans of southern Italy, by which they became the Pope's vassals, and agreed to aid him against all men. Then in 1059 (§ 92) a decree was issued changing the method of papal elections. In the early church the Pope had been chosen by "the clergy and

people" of Rome. Under Charlemagne, and also under the Saxon Emperors and their successors, the Emperor practically appointed to that office. The decree of 1059 promoted the independence of the papacy by providing that the real selection should be in the hands of the cardinals, — that is, of the Pope's own clerical council.

110. Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085)

The time at last came, in 1073, when Hildebrand himself was to don the papal crown. The election was irregular and not according to the decree of 1059. The people, assembled in the church for the funeral services of the late Pope, raised the cry, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop!" One of the cardinals turned to the crowd and recalled how much Hildebrand had done for the church and for Rome. On all sides the cry was then raised, "Saint Peter crowns Hildebrand as Pope!" In spite of his resistance, Hildebrand was forthwith arrayed in the scarlet robe, crowned with the papal tiara, and seated in the chair of Saint Peter. In accordance with a practice which had prevailed since the tenth century, he took a new name as Pope, and thenceforth is known as Gregory VII.

111. Germany under Henry IV

The claims of Gregory to treat the temporal power as subordinate to the papacy made a struggle with the empire inevitable. The imperial power, at this time, was far from strong. The Emperor Henry IV had been allowed to grow up with alternations of stern repression and careless indulgence, and thus arrived at manhood without training to rule, with an undisciplined temper, and with a heedlessness of moral restraint which led him into many excesses. Finally, his rule was weakened by the disaffection of the Saxons, who had been the chief support of the throne under Otto I. In 1073 their discontent ripened into revolt; and although Henry, after one humiliating defeat, put down the rebellion, there continued to exist in Germany a disaffected party, with which Gregory formed an alliance.

In 1075 Gregory brought the question of investiture into a position of chief importance. He declared that investiture

by laymen, even by kings and Emperors, was void, and pronounced excommunication against all who disregarded his decree. Temporal rulers generally felt that this decree infringed their just rights. Bishops and archbishops, especially in Germany, were not merely officers of the church. By virtue of the lands attached to their offices, they were great feudal princes as well, and exercised high influence in the state. The Emperor, therefore, could not consent to give up all means of keeping out undesirable men from these positions. Henry IV resolved to make himself the head of the resistance

112. Investiture Conflict begun

Goslar, Birthplace of Henry IV (Modern condition).

to the Pope on this question. He continued to grant lay investiture, and he associated with persons whom the Pope had excommunicated.

When it was reported to King Henry that he was summoned to appear at Rome to justify his actions, he replied: "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but false monk. Thou hast attacked me, who am consecrated king, and who, according to the tradition of the fathers, can be judged by God alone and can be deposed for no crime save the abandonment of the faith. Condemned by the judgment of our bishops, and by our own, descend! Quit the place which thou hast usurped! Let another take the seat of Saint Peter, who seeks not to cover violence with the cloak

of religion, and who teaches the sound doctrine of Saint Peter!"

To this Gregory replied in February, 1076, by sentence of excommunication. "Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles," he wrote, "be thou my witness that the Holy Roman Church called me against my will to govern it! As thy representative I have received from God the power to bind and loose in heaven and upon earth. Full of this conviction, for the honor and defense of thy church, I deny to King Henry, who with unheard-of pride has risen against thy church, the government of Germany and of Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths of fidelity they have taken or may take to him; and I forbid that any person shall serve him as king."

POPE GREGORY VII, HENRY IV, AND COUNTESS MATILDA AT CANOSSA

From a twelfth century MS. in Vatican Library

113. Pope's triumph at Canossa (1077)

The most powerful of the German princes were already opposed to Henry, and declared that unless the excommunication was removed by a certain day, he would be treated as deposed and a new king elected. Henry's only hope was to break the alliance between the Pope and his enemies in Germany. To accomplish this he set off secretly across the Alps, in the dead of winter, accompanied only by his wife, his young son, and one attendant. At Canos'sa he found the

Pope, who was already on his way to Germany to arrange the government with the princes. The Pope at first refused to see the king, and for three days Henry was obliged to stand as a suppliant — fasting and barefooted — without the castle gates. At last Gregory yielded to the entreaties of the Countess Matilda, and admitted him to reconciliation. The excommunication was raised, but only on hard conditions.

114. The conflict continued

The humiliation of the Emperor at Canossa was the most brilliant victory that the papacy ever won over the temporal power; but it was merely an incident in a long struggle. Henry's German enemies were displeased that the Pope had removed the excommunication, and persisted in electing a new king. Civil war followed; and as Henry continued to give lay investiture, the Pope renewed his excommunication. A strong party now rallied to Henry's support, and he caused an assembly of German and Italian bishops to declare Gregory deposed and set up an anti-pope. In 1081 Henry mastered his German enemies sufficiently to come to Italy with an army. After three years' campaigning all Rome, except the strong fortress of St. Angelo, was in his hands.

115. Death of Gregory VII (1085)

The dauntless Gregory meanwhile had sent for aid to the Normans of southern Italy. Upon their approach, Henry hastily quitted Rome, which was taken and sacked by the Normans. When they retired, the Pope, who dared not remain behind, accompanied them. In May, 1085, Gregory VII died at Salerno in southern Italy. In his last hours he said, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." He had done much to clear the church of the scandals which clung to it, and he had raised the papal power to a higher pitch than ever before. But he had embroiled the papacy not only with the empire, but with most of the kings of Europe. Had his ideas triumphed, Europe would have been left practically under the sovereignty of the papacy, distant and disassociated from royal families or national feeling — a single monarchical rule supported by all the terrors of religious authority.

The death of Gregory VII was far from ending the Investiture Conflict. With varying success the Popes after Gregory continued the struggle, until Henry's death in 1106. The latter's undutiful son, Henry V, had rebelled in aid of the papal policy; but when once seated upon the throne he proved as stanch an upholder of the imperial claims as his father. A compromise was finally arranged in 1122, in what is called (from the German city where it was concluded) the Concor'dat of Worms. By its terms (1) the Emperor gave up "all investiture by the ring and the staff," and promised that there should be "freedom of election and of consecration." (2) In return, the Pope granted that the election of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or of his representative, so that objection might be made to persons unsatisfactory to him. It was also agreed (3) that the person so elected should receive from the Emperor, by being touched with his scepter, "the property and the immunities of his office," and should duly fulfill the obligations, such as homage, arising therefrom. In this settlement the papacy gained the abolition of lay investiture, and so secured greater freedom for the church. Some solid advantages, however, remained to the empire, and the compromise was one which Gregory VII would have been loath to approve. It gave, indeed, only a breathing spell in the struggle between the world-church and the world-state. The two institutions were mutually exclusive, and new occasions for controversy were not slow to arise. In the world-empire of Charlemagne or Otto I there was no room for an independent church. In the world-papacy of Hildebrand there was no room for an independent empire or kingdom. The conflict had to continue until the power of one or of the other was destroyed.

116. The conflict settled (1122)

IMPORTANT DATES

955. Otto I defeats the Hungarians.
962. Otto I revives the empire.
1073. Hildebrand, Gregory VII, becomes Pope.
1077. Emperor Henry IV at Canossa.
1122. The Concordat of Worms settles the Investiture Conflict.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the Hungarians, who were invading Europe from the east in the tenth century, with the Northmen, who were overrunning the western lands. (2) What changes of religion in the ninth and tenth centuries are shown by the maps on page 78? (3) Compare the empire of Otto I with that of Charlemagne. (4) What was the chief service that the Saxon Emperors rendered to Germany? To the papacy? (5) In what respects was the power of the Franconian Emperors greater than that of the Saxon? (6) How did the purifying of the papacy prove a bad thing for the Emperors? (7) To what extent do you think desire for power influenced Gregory VII? (8) Was his policy a good or a bad one for the world? Give your reasons. (9) Make a list of the forces supporting Gregory VII and those supporting Henry IV. (10) Was the interview at Canossa a victory for the Pope or for the Emperor? Why? (11) Show that the Concordat of Worms was a real compromise. (12) Why are conflicts between church and state less frequent to-day than in the Middle Ages?

Search Topics. — (1) Raids of the Hungarians. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 106–109, 130–134. — (2) Work of Henry I for Germany. Emerton, 103–110; Henderson, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, 117–122; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 12–18; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 167–170. — (3) Personality and Work of Otto I. Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 275–277; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 84–88, 133–144; Tout, 18–35; Thatcher and Schwill, 181–184. — (4) Character and Ideas of Otto III. Bryce, 144–148; Tout, 41–47. — (5) Theory of the Empire. Bryce, ch. vii. — (6) Character and Aims of Hildebrand. Emerton, 230–231, 240, 244–245; Tout, 124–127; Thatcher and Schwill, 261–265; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VII, ch. i; Pattison, *Leading Figures in European History* ("Hildebrand"); Ogg, *Source Book*, 261–264. — (7) Minority of Henry IV. Emerton, 232–239; Henderson, 189–210; Tout, 120–124; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 266–271. — (8) Henry IV at Canossa. Emerton, 253–254; Tout, 130–132; Milman, Bk. VII, ch. ii; Duncalf and Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History*, 29–90; Ogg, 273–278; Robinson, I, 282–283.

General Reading. — On the papacy and empire in the Middle Ages see Lees, *The Central Period of the Middle Ages*, Tout, *Papacy and Empire*, Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, and Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, in addition to the church histories mentioned in the preceding chapter. Stephens's *Hildebrand and his Times* is an excellent brief book. Fisher's *Medieval Empire* (2 vols.) gives a detailed account of the organization and working of the empire.

CHAPTER VII

EMPIRE AND PAPACY: FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS

A. Guelf and Ghibelline

With the death of Henry V without children, in 1125, the Franconian or Salian line of rulers disappears from German history. The most powerful of the noble families which were left was that of the Hohenstaufens (hō′en-stou-fenz). Their chief castle, from which the family took its name, stood on a spur of the Alps which separates the upper Danube from the Neckar valley. Because of the stanch loyalty with which its heads had supported the empire in the Investiture Conflict, they had been rewarded with rich grants of lands and offices in Swabia and Franconia. It was natural that the Hohenstaufens should aspire to the vacant kingship, but for the time their ambition was defeated. After the brief rule of a Saxon

117. Accession of the Hohenstaufens (1138)

Ruins of Hohenstaufen (From an old print)

king, however, a Hohenstaufen was chosen in 1138. But it was not until the accession, in 1152, of Frederick I, called Barbaros'sa from his red beard, that this most brilliant of the medieval imperial houses began to leave its impress on German and Italian history.

118. Imperial office becomes elective

With the accession of Frederick I came a definite recognition of the elective character of the imperial office. The kingship in Germany, as in all the kingdoms founded by the Teutonic invaders, originally presented a rude combination of the elective and hereditary principles. One family in each early German tribe had a hereditary claim to rule, but from among the members of this family the warriors were free to choose the bravest or the most popular as king. In England, Spain, and France (in spite of the temporary triumph of the elective principle in the accession of Hugh Capet), the hereditary principle gradually prevailed. Thus by the twelfth century the rulers in these countries followed one another in practically the order of hereditary right. In Germany, however, a contrary development had taken place. With the accession of Frederick it became established as "the cardinal principle of the law of the Roman Empire," to use the language of a contemporary chronicler, "that the succession depends not upon hereditary right, but on the election of the princes." This difference was due in part to the fact that both the Saxon and Franconian houses became extinct, in the male line, after only a few reigns, and so gave opportunity for free election. The desire of the great nobles to prevent the growth of a strong hereditary royal power was also a factor. But most important of all was the fact that the German king, after his coronation by the Pope, was also Emperor. The Popes never admitted that the imperial dignity was hereditary, or that the coronation as Emperor was to be considered a mere form. Papal influence, therefore, combined with favoring circumstances and the interest of the princes to keep up and strengthen the custom of election. The right of choice, which first belonged to the whole body of freemen, was by degrees

Otto of Freising, *Chronicle*

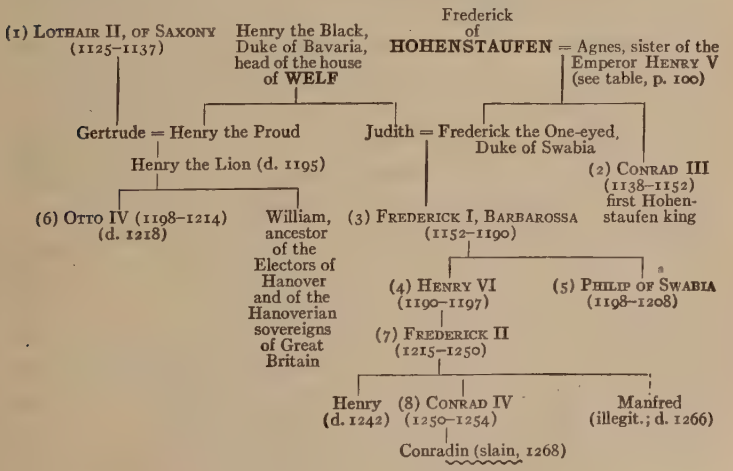
vested in their leaders. In a later chapter we shall see how this right to elect was subsequently given to a definite electoral college of seven members (§ 300).

119. Rivalries of Guelf and Ghibelline

The chief rivals of the Hohenstaufens in Germany, both before and after their accession to the throne, were the Welfs, who possessed the important duchies of Bavaria and Saxony.[1] For three quarters of a century the kingdom was torn by the quarrels of these two families. Their rival cries, "Hi Welfen!" and "Hi Waiblingen!" (vī′bling-en; from a little village in Swabia near the castle of Hohenstaufen), gave rise to new party names. Beginning as a struggle between rival families, the contest became a warfare of contending principles. The Hohenstaufen party stood for the principle of strong monarchical government and for imperial rule over Italy. The Welf party represented feudal opposition to the monarchy, and the independence of the Italian towns. In Italy the names of the two parties appear as *Guelf* (gwĕlf) and *Ghibelline* (gĭb′el-ĭn), the latter being a corruption of Waiblingen.

[1] The relationship of the members of these two houses will be apparent from the following table: —

THE HOUSES OF WELF AND HOHENSTAUFEN IN GERMANY


(1) Lothair II, of Saxony (1125–1137)
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, head of the house of WELF
Frederick of HOHENSTAUFEN
= Agnes, sister of the Emperor Henry V (see table, p. 100)
Gertrude = Henry the Proud
Judith = Frederick the One-eyed, Duke of Swabia
Henry the Lion (d. 1195)
(2) Conrad III (1138–1152) first Hohenstaufen king
(6) Otto IV (1198–1214) (d. 1218)
William, ancestor of the Electors of Hanover and of the Hanoverian sovereigns of Great Britain
(3) Frederick I, Barbarossa (1152–1190)
(4) Henry VI (1190–1197)
(5) Philip of Swabia (1198–1208)
(7) Frederick II (1215–1250)
Henry (d. 1242)
(8) Conrad IV (1250–1254)
Manfred (illegit.; d. 1266)
Conradin (slain, 1268)

It was impossible for the papacy to avoid taking sides. In Germany its influence was usually, and in Italy almost always, on the side of the Guelfs. "Broadly speaking, the Guelfs were papalists, the Ghibellines imperialists. The Ghibellines were the party who desired a strong government, the Guelfs the party who preferred particularism [decentralized government]. The Ghibellines would bring in the German, the Guelfs would cry 'Italy for the Italians.'" But these larger issues were gradually lost sight of in the feuds of factions. By the fifteenth century the names Guelf and Ghibelline lingered only in Italy, where they came to mean little more than party differences in the mode of building battlements, in wearing feathers in the cap, in cutting fruit at the table, in habits of yawning, passing in the street, throwing dice, gestures in speaking or swearing.

Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I, 331

B. Frederick Barbarossa, the Papacy, and the Italian Communes

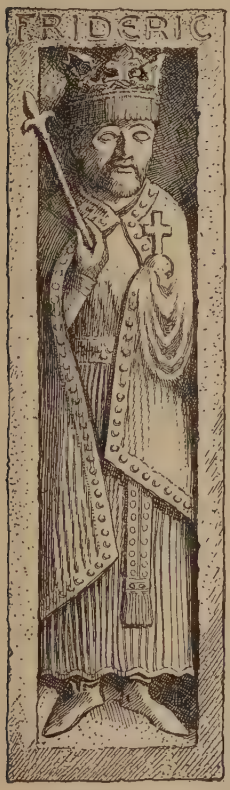
Frederick Barbarossa was in many respects the ideal Emperor of the Middle Ages. He combined the qualities of a skilled statesman and good general with the virtues of a crusader and hero of romance. His greatest ambition, as he wrote the Pope soon after his accession, was to restore the Roman Empire in all its ancient vigor. Frederick was no dreamer; he sought to know his rights as Emperor, and he used practical means to enforce them. He has well been called an "imperialist Hildebrand." Frederick's attempt to revive the imperial power in Italy caused a renewal of the contest between the empire and the papacy. It also brought him into conflict with a new power which was arising there, — the Italian towns, or communes (§ 194). The city of Mil'an, in Lombardy, was one of the most important of these; and Frederick's first Italian expedition was in part due to the attempts which that city was making to extend its rule over neighboring towns.

120. Frederick I, Barbarossa (1152–1190)

Hastening over the Alps by the Brenner Pass, in 1154, Fred-

erick taught the Italians that the Emperor's power was still to be feared. The arrogance of Milan was checked, and one of her allies destroyed. The Pope, who had been driven from Rome by a revolt, was restored, and Frederick was crowned Emperor.

121. Frederick Barbarossa in Italy



FREDERICK I

Twelfth century sculpture on wall of a Bavarian monastery

On a second expedition, in 1158, it was announced that the Emperor's control over the cities was no longer to be merely nominal, but that their officers would be appointed by him. The citizens of Milan revolted against this decree, and held out with heroic courage for three years. At last famine forced them to yield. Frederick then ordered that their city should be destroyed. The loudest complaints against Milan had come from other Italian towns; and it was their forces which now carried out the order of destruction (1162).

122. New conflicts with the papacy

It was soon evident that Frederick intended to establish a strong centralized government in Italy. This policy threatened the territorial independence of the papacy, as well as the rights of self-government enjoyed by the towns. Already the relations between Frederick and the Pope had become strained. When he went to Rome to receive the imperial crown, a bitter quarrel had arisen over his refusal to hold the Pope's stirrup while the latter dismounted. At another time a legate of the Pope delivered a letter to Frederick in which mention was made of the "benefits" (*beneficia*) conferred upon the Emperor by the Pope. When objection was made to the letter on the ground that the language used might bear the sense

of a feudal "benefice" granted by a lord to a vassal, the legate added fuel to the fire by asking, "Of whom, then, does he hold the empire but of our lord the Pope?" In a written declaration

THE LOMBARD LEAGUE (1167) AND THE TUSCAN LEAGUE (1196)

Frederick replied that "the empire is held by us, through the election of the princes, from God alone." Subsequently the Pope explained that the word *beneficia* in his letter meant benefits and not fiefs; but the distrust aroused could not be allayed. When this Pope died (1159) a majority of the cardinals chose as Pope, under the name of Alexander III, the legate whose bold language had called forth Frederick's declaration concerning the imperial office. In ability and lofty ambition this Pope proved a worthy successor of the great Hildebrand. The

minority of the cardinals elected an anti-pope favorable to the imperial cause. To the demand that the disputed election be referred to a council of the whole church, Alexander replied, "No one has the right to judge me, since I am the supreme judge of all the world." Frederick naturally supported the anti-pope; but France, England, and the rest of western Christendom recognized Alexander III. Alexander excommunicated the Emperor, and encouraged his Italian enemies on every hand to unite against him.

Hitherto the Lombard cities had been disunited and mutually hostile, and it had been easy for the Emperor to subdue them. Even the cities which had sided with the Emperor now saw that his harsh control endangered their liberties. With the help of the Pope, the chief towns of the plain of the Po, — from Milan to Venice, and from Ber'gamo to Bologna (bo-lōn'yä), — united themselves into the Lombard League to resist the Emperor's claims in Italy. The very cities which formerly had demanded the destruction of Milan now lent their aid to rebuild it. Out of hatred for German rule, Italy seemed about to arrive at a consciousness of national unity.

123. Formation of the Lombard League

MAIL-CLAD GERMAN HORSEMAN
From a twelfth century MS.

For several years Frederick was so occupied with troubles in Germany that he was not able to act effectively against the menacing combination which had arisen in Italy. In 1174, however, he led a new expedition thither. Two years later there occurred a decisive battle at Legnano (lā-nyä'nō), near Milan. The imperial army numbered

124. Battle of Legnano (1176)

six thousand horsemen, as against the eight thousand troops of the Lombard League. After a desperate conflict the Emperor was unhorsed, and the imperial forces fled. With difficulty and almost unattended Frederick reached a place of safety. "Glorious has been our triumph," wrote the Milanese to Bologna, "infinite the number of the killed among the enemy, the drowned, the prisoners. We have in our hands the shield, the banner, cross, and lance of the Emperor; and we found silver and gold in his coffers, and booty of inestimable value. But we do not consider these things ours, but the common property of the Pope and the Italians."

Frederick was now forced to make peace. At Venice, in 1177, — just one hundred years after Henry IV had humbled himself before Gregory VII at Canossa, — he acknowledged Alexander as Pope, and prostrated himself at his feet. The final peace with the communes was not concluded until 1183, at Constance, a city in Swabia. By this treaty the Emperor recognized the rights of the Lombard cities to elect their own officers, to build fortifications, to enter into leagues, to raise troops, and to coin money. Thenceforth these cities were practically self-governing republics, the barest overlordship remaining to the Emperor. Under these new conditions their commerce flourished more and more; but their political life, under the overstimulus of freedom, broke out incessantly into quarrels and riots.

125. Treaties of Venice and Constance

While Frederick was pursuing the shadow of power in Italy, his rival, Henry the Lion, of the house of Welf, was seizing its substance in Germany. He consolidated the rule of his family over Bavaria and Saxony, and continued the Saxon policy of extending German dominion over the Slavic lands to the northeast. In this way the boundary of Germany, which in Charlemagne's day was the Elbe River, was pushed eastward to the Oder. Henry's policy, however, was wholly selfish. He refused to lend any assistance to Frederick Barbarossa in his campaigns against the Lombard League. Frederick determined, therefore, to humble this rival, whose

126. Fall of the Welf house

power was growing to a dangerous pitch. A pretext was found in complaints of Saxon bishops, who accused Henry of oppressing them. After four times failing to appear for trial, he was sentenced to banishment and the forfeiture of his lands. Ultimately he regained part of his estates, which became the nucleus of the later duchy of Brunswick and electorate of Hanover (see maps, pp. 259, 482). The duchies of Saxony and Bavaria were shorn of much of their territory before being given to new holders. These changes practically marked the end of the "stem-duchy" system of territorial organization, and the beginning of a policy of division and subdivision which by the end of the Middle Ages made Germany a chaos of petty principalities and lordships. Actually the benefit of the downfall of Henry the Lion went not to the Emperor, but to the local nobility who supplied the force by which it was carried out.

127. Germany under Frederick I

Frederick's reign constitutes one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of medieval Germany. The rural districts advanced in prosperity. Forests were cleared, land increased in value, and agriculture was improved, while the condition of the peasants was materially bettered. The towns grew in population, wealth, privileges, and power; but the time was not yet come when they, like the cities of Italy, should be practically self-governing republics. At the same time the turbulent life of the nobles was somewhat softened and refined, and a courtly German literature was born in the lays of the "Minnesingers" (§ 220).

128. Death of Frederick (1190)

Toward the end of his long reign, Frederick Barbarossa "took the cross," and departed for the East on the Third Crusade (§ 167), where he died. Later ages, looking back to the splendors of his reign, feigned to believe that he was not dead, and applied to him the legend of another Frederick, now identified as a count of Thuringia. The vanished ruler, they said, was sleeping through the ages in a rocky cavern of a German mountain. When the ravens ceased to fly about its summit, he would awaken, and would return to chastise evildoers and bring back the golden age.

C. Frederick II, and the Fall of the Hohenstaufens

129. A disputed succession

The right of Frederick Barbarossa's son, Henry VI, to the imperial throne was secured by his election during his father's lifetime. He added southern Italy and Sicily to the lands ruled over by the Hohenstaufens, through his marriage with the heiress of the last Norman ruler of that kingdom. His early death in 1197 left as heir to the Hohenstaufen house his three-year-old son, later Frederick II. A contest for the imperial throne followed, in which the Hohenstaufens supported Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, while the Welfs supported the son of Henry the Lion, who is known as Otto IV.

130. Innocent III decides it

The dispute over the imperial election gave opportunity for the papacy once more to advance its claim to temporal power, and in Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) it found a worthy champion. Innocent III was in many respects the ablest and most powerful Pope of the Middle Ages. He was in the prime of life, had been trained in the study of Roman and canon law, and his severe and lofty character inspired universal respect. He firmly established the Papal States in Italy; and had as vassal kingdoms under him Sicily and Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Aragon, and Poland. Even King John of England was forced to surrender his kingdom into the hands of the Pope's legate, and receive it back as a fief of the papacy (§ 236). The papal suzerainty over the empire, which Frederick Barbarossa so vigorously rejected, was again asserted; and Innocent now claimed the right to decide the disputed imperial election. His decision was that Philip was unworthy as "an obstinate persecutor of the church, and the representative of a hostile house"; while Otto, though chosen by a minority, was "himself devoted to the church, of a race devoted to the church. Him, therefore, we proclaim and acknowledge as king; him we summon to take the imperial crown."

Milman, *Latin Christianity*, V, 510–514

Although Otto was given the crown because of his supposed friendship to the church, he soon laid claim to what the Pope

regarded as unwarranted rights in Italy, and defied the Pope's excommunication. Innocent III therefore joined with Otto's German enemies in declaring him deposed, and put forth against him the young Hohenstaufen, Frederick II, now seventeen years old. Foreign alliances were entered into on both sides. The Hohenstaufen supporters were aided by King Philip Augustus of France, who had his own interests to further. Otto was supported with men and money from his uncle, King John of England, who was at war with France. The decisive battle took place at Bouvines (boo-vēn′), in northern France, in July, 1214. The issue involved not merely the possession of the imperial crown; it also involved the French occupation of Normandy and other English fiefs in France, and the cause of English liberty against the tyranny of King John (§ 236). Thus the day of Bouvines has well been called "the greatest single day in the history of the Middle Ages." It ended in victory for the partisans of Frederick II, and to him now passed the German and imperial crowns.

131. Battle of Bouvines (1214)

Frederick II was already beginning to show the qualities which won for him the name "the wonder of the world." From contact with his Greek and Saracen subjects in Sicily he had gained a culture unknown in the North. He also developed a toleration if not indifference in religion, and a looseness of personal morality, which gave his enemies openings for attack. He was an impassioned poet, a profound lawgiver, and a subtle politician. The spirit which he displayed was really more modern than medieval.

132. Character of Frederick II

SEAL OF FREDERICK II (BEFORE 1220)
"Friedericus Dei Gratia Romanorum Rex et semper Augustus et Rex Siciliae"

Frederick had been reared as a ward of Innocent III, but the intimate relations thus estab-

lished did not prevent his engaging in a desperate struggle with the papacy after Innocent's death. Before his coronation as Emperor, Frederick solemnly swore to abolish all laws injurious to the liberties of the church, to cede Sicily to his son to be held as a fief of the papacy and not of the empire, to restore to the papacy the inheritance of the Countess Matilda (§ 109), and to undertake a new crusade. These promises he broke almost as soon as they were made.

133. His reforms in Sicily

Instead of surrendering the kingdom of Sicily to his son, Frederick kept it in his own hands, and proceeded to carry out a remarkable series of reforms which made it for a time the strongest and best-governed kingdom in Europe. Because these measures reproduce or anticipate the means used in other countries to build up centralized modern states, they are worthy of special mention. They included the following:—

1. In judicial matters the king's courts were put above the feudal and ecclesiastical courts.
2. The nobles and clergy were made subject to taxation equally with the townsmen.
3. All castles built by the feudal nobles without authority from the king were to be destroyed.
4. The right of private warfare, trials by ordeal, and serfdom on the royal domains were abolished.
5. Representatives of the towns were admitted to the central assembly, which before was merely a feudal council.

Milman, *Latin Christianity*, V, 398

An English historian says of Frederick's rule in Sicily: "The world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable. A new order of things appeared to be arising, an epoch to be commencing in human civilization."

134. His policy in Germany

Frederick's policy in Germany was directly opposed to that embodied in his Sicilian reforms. In Germany, as a result of his necessities there, he "threw to the winds every national and monarchical tradition," and granted privileges to the nobles and great churchmen by which they became

truly "lords" of their lands, possessed of all rights and jurisdictions. On the other hand, he gave large privileges to the towns, seeking in them a support against the Pope and rebellious nobles. The net result of his policy was the enfeeblement of the central authority. Germany more and more ceased to be a state, such as England and France were becoming, and grew into a confederation of sovereign principalities.

Frederick's tardy fulfillment (§ 172) of his vow to go upon a crusade brought upon him repeated excommunications from the Pope. His Sicilian reforms made him, in the Pope's eyes, an oppressor of the clergy. His immoral private life increased the friction with the church; and the toleration which he showed his Mohammedan subjects, and his use of them as troops in his wars, caused him to be suspected as a heretic. But the main cause of the bitter and unrelenting hostility which successive Popes now showed to the Hohenstaufens is to be found in the fact that Frederick retained Sicily and Naples. Their possession, along with Germany and northern Italy, enabled him to hem in the Papal States on all sides, and to threaten the territorial independence which the Popes deemed necessary to their security.

135. His struggle with the papacy

As a result of these causes, there began in 1239 the last stage of the fatal struggle of papacy and empire, — a struggle which brought political ruin on both powers. The Pope renewed his excommunication, and absolved Frederick's subjects from their allegiance. Both Pope and Emperor appealed to Europe in letters of impassioned denunciation. The Pope called a church council to be held at Rome, but Frederick prevented its assembling by capturing the fleet carrying most of its members. In the midst of the struggle the Pope died, and one of Frederick's friends was elected as his successor. When Frederick heard the news he exclaimed, "I have lost a good friend, for no Pope can be a Ghibelline." His prophecy proved true, for the new Pope vigorously continued the policy of his predecessor. At a church council held at Lyons in 1245, Frederick was pronounced guilty of perjury, heresy, and sacrilege. He was declared

deposed, and the war against the Hohenstaufens was turned into a crusade, with the same spiritual rewards as for warring against the Mohammedans.

Revolt now broke out in Germany, and in Italy Guelf and Ghibelline fought each other on every hand with furious hatred.

136. Death of Frederick II (1250) To the end of his life Frederick was able to maintain the imperial cause, though with increasing difficulty. In December, 1250, he was attacked by a disease from which, after a short illness, he died. An English writer of that time called him "the greatest prince of the world"; but his powers were lost on an age not ripe for them.

After Frederick's death his reforms were overthrown, and his empire crumbled to pieces. His son was obliged to abandon

137. Fall of the Hohenstaufens Germany in order to secure his inheritance in Italy. For a time Frederick's descendants waged a desperate struggle in the latter land against the Pope's policy of exterminating them root and branch. To overthrow the Hohenstaufens, the Pope sought aid from the newly arising national kingdoms beyond the Alps. When he failed to gain his end through English aid, the Pope turned to France. In 1265 a treaty was concluded with Charles of Anjou (äN-zhoo′), the brother of the French king, by which he was to be given the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, under suzerainty of the Pope, in return for driving out the descendants of Frederick II. Three years later Charles defeated the Hohenstaufens in battle, and cruelly put to death Frederick's young grandson, the last representative of that imperial house. The papacy was thus freed from the menace to its territorial independence. But this end was gained only by fixing upon its borders a French power, from which it was to suffer, before a half century passed, a humiliation infinitely worse than anything threatened by Hohenstaufen rule.

Germany after the overthrow of the Hohenstaufens was for nearly a score of years without any generally recognized ruler.

138. The Great Interregnum (1256–1273) The Great Interregnum, as this period is called, lasted from 1256 to 1273. Private warfare was waged on every hand. Robber knights, sallying forth from their castles,

wasted the lands of their neighbors, swooped down upon merchant trains, and from time to time attacked the cities themselves. It was a time of unrestrained anarchy, the only law which was recognized being "the law of the fist." This, for Germany, was the immediate effect of the overthrow of the empire by the papal power.

CHARLES OF ANJOU INVESTED WITH THE CROWN OF THE TWO SICILIES BY A BULL GIVEN BY THE POPE (CLEMENT IV)

Fresco pictured in Viollet-le-Duc

In Europe as a whole equally remarkable changes were taking place. "From whatever point we may view it," says a French historian, "the death of Frederick II and the fall of the house of Hohenstaufen mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. The Middle Age proper, in the form which it had worn since the days of Charlemagne, was now at an end. This is as true in the history of thought and the arts as it is in political history. In the course of the long struggle between church and empire, a new society had been formed, with different features and a spirit that was wanting to the old. From Charlemagne to Frederick II the papacy and the empire occupy the first place in the history of the time; but now the papacy had crushed the empire." The old ideal of two powers divinely commissioned to rule the world in conjunction —

139. General results of the Hohenstaufen struggle

Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, II, 231

the ideal expressed in the figures of the "two swords," and of the "two lights" (the sun and the moon) — was now abandoned. The papacy itself for a time sought to be the supreme head in temporal affairs as well as in spiritual. This conception was embodied in the person of a Pope (Bon'iface VIII), who arrayed himself in the papal crown and the imperial robe, and exclaimed, "I am Caesar — I am Emperor!" But, though the empire had fallen, the national monarchies of Europe were just arising; and with Philip IV of France, the head of the most formidable of these, the papacy soon came into disastrous collision.

IMPORTANT DATES

1152. Accession of Frederick Barbarossa.
1159. Alexander III elected Pope; new contest between papacy and empire.
1176. Frederick defeated by the league of Lombard towns at Legnano.
1183. Peace of Constance.
1190. Death of Frederick Barbarossa.
1198–1216. Innocent III Pope.
1214. Battle of Bouvines.
1215. Frederick II becomes Emperor; new quarrels with the papacy.
1250. Death of Frederick II, followed by fall of the Hohenstaufens.
1256–1273. Great Interregnum in Germany.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What advantages were possessed in the Middle Ages by a settled hereditary succession over a line of elective rulers? Why are there not the same advantages to-day? (2) Did the Welfs or the Hohenstaufens represent the cause of progress in Germany? In Italy? Give your reasons. (3) What were the grounds of the Emperor's claim to control the Italian cities? (4) On what historical grounds might the Pope claim that the Emperor was his vassal for the imperial crown? (5) Why should the Popes oppose the development of the Emperor's power in Italy? (6) Which was of greater importance for history, the Emperor's attempts to control Italy or the quiet expansion of Germany to the northeast? (7) Had Frederick I or the Italian communes the better right in their struggle? (8) Compare the papal power under Innocent III with that under Gregory VII. (9) In what respects do the measures of Frederick II in Sicily show him to have been ahead of his time? (10) Was the weakening of the cen-

tral power in Germany good or bad for that land? (11) Why could "no Pope be a Ghibelline"? (12) Why was the opposition of the Popes to Frederick II greater than to Frederick I? (13) State in your own language the significance of the overthrow of the Hohenstaufens.

Search Topics. — (1) GUELF AND GHIBELLINE RIVALRIES IN ITALY. Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, 29–31; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XII, 668–669. — (2) RISE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNES. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 284–288, 522–528; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 237–239; Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, ch. ii. — (3) PERSONALITY OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 303–304; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 246–247, 271–273. — (4) ARNOLD OF BRESCIA. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 293–297, 454–456; Bémont and Monod, 306–308; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VIII, ch. vi. — (5) HENRY THE LION. Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 264–268. — (6) CRUSADE AND DEATH OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 299–300; Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, 529–535. — (7) ACQUISITION OF THE KINGDOM OF SICILY BY THE HOHENSTAUFENS. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 205–206. — (8) CHARACTER AND WORK OF POPE INNOCENT III. Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 313–316; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 321–325; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. IX, ch. i, close of ch. x. — (9) EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES. Henderson, *Short History*, 92–93; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 328–331; Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 314–325. — (10) PERSONALITY OF FREDERICK II. Freeman, *Essays*, First Series; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 207–209; Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 358–360; Ogg, *Source Book*, 402–409. — (11) SICILIAN REFORMS OF FREDERICK II. Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 360–364; Bémont and Monod, 326–328; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. X, end of ch. iii.

General Reading. — In addition to the books mentioned in previous chapters, see Balzani's *Popes and the Hohenstaufens*, Butler's *Lombard Communes*, Testa's *War of Frederick I against the Communes of Italy*, Kington's *Frederick II* (2 vols.), and Freeman's essay on Frederick II in his *Historical Essays*. For the Catholic view of Frederick II, and other topics dealt with in this chapter, see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

EUROPE
ABOUT THE TIME OF
THE FIRST CRUSADE (1097)
First Crusade
Third
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
IRELAND
Dublin
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
London
Chester
Oxford
Evesham
Hastings
Canterbury
Calais
FLANDERS
Bouvines
NORMANDY
St. Denis
Paris
Blois
Chartres
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
ANJOU
AQUITAINE
Clermont
Lyon
Toulouse
Avignon
Marseilles
BURGUNDY
Arles
Rhone R.
Genoa
KINGDOM OF ARLES
Milan
Verona
Venice
ADRIATIC SEA
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Benevento
Naples
SARDINIA
CORSICA
Richard
Richard's Fleet
Barcelona
Valencia
Toledo
Lisbon
Cordova
Granada
Seville
Strait of Gibraltar
KINGDOM OF LEON
COUNTY OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
ARAGON
COUNTY OF BARCELONA
Tunis
Messina
SICILY
Syracuse
MALTA
Tripoli
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
GERMANY
Cologne
Mainz
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
AUSTRIA
BOUILLON
DENMARK
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Augusta
Richard of Cornwall
Longitude
0
10
East
20
10
0
10
50
40
30

ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA
AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Trebizond
EASTERN EMPIRE
SELJUKIAN DOMINIONS
SULTANATE OF ROUM
ASIA MINOR
Armenians
Edessa
CONQUESTS OF CRUSADERS
Antioch
Euphrates R.
CYPRUS
Tripoli
SYRIA
Jerusalem
ARABIA
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Red Sea
Novgorod
Esthonians
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Kief
Dniester R.
LAND OF THE PETCHENEGS (Turkish People)
CASPIAN SEA
Danube R.
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
EMPIRE
GEORGIA
Godfrey
Baldwin
Tancred
Bohemund
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Trebizond
MACEDONIA
Nicæa
LANDS OF THE SELJUKIAN TURKS
ARMENIA
Manzikert
SULTANATE OF ROUM
ASIA MINOR
CAPPADOCIA
Armenians
Edessa
Frederick Barbarossa
Leopold
Saleph R.
Seleucia
Antioch
Mosul
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
Athens
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Richard
Tripoli
Tyre
Damascus
Acre
Philip Augustus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jaffa
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Damietta
Alexandria
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
ARABIA
from Greenwich
30 Cairo
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CRUSADES

A. The Christian and Mohammedan East

From the close of the reign of the Emperor Justinian (§ 17) to the middle of the eleventh century, the Greek, or Eastern, Empire served as a bulwark against the onslaughts of the Mohammedans and eastern barbarians. The territories of that empire, however, became much diminished. In the seventh century the Mohammedans conquered the fertile provinces of Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa (§ 18), while hordes of Slavs and Bulgarians from beyond the Danube poured across the northern frontier and occupied a large part of the Balkan peninsula. With the strong Bulgarian kingdom thus erected south of the Danube (679) the Eastern Emperors waged constant warfare throughout the next three centuries. Success at last crowned their efforts; and at the beginning of the eleventh century, by conquest of the Bulgarians, the northern frontier was again pushed back to the Danube. The Greek Emperors then turned to face a new enemy which was appearing in the east.

140. Greek Empire (565–1096)

In spite of constant and desperate conflict, the prosperity of the Greek Empire was real and substantial. The coinage was sound, taxation just, manufactures flourishing, trade widespread, and the government, though absolute, was not oppressive. The orphan asylums and hospitals, the paved and lighted streets, the parks and police system of Constantinople, anticipated much that we regard as modern. In the Eastern Empire were continued the Roman traditions in literature, learning, and art; and attempts were made to simplify instruction by condensing all learning into vast en-

141. Its substantial prosperity

cyclopedias. At a time when in the West kings and princes gave themselves up entirely to war and the chase, and could scarcely sign their names, Emperors in the East often held first rank among scholars. War was there studied as an art, while in the West it remained a mere matter of hard fighting. From the eighth to the twelfth century the Greeks alone possessed the secret of the "Greek fire" (composed of saltpeter, sulphur, charcoal, and bitumen) whose fierce flames, black smoke, and loud explosions destroyed hostile fleets and carried terror to the hearts of their enemies. An elaborate ceremonial was devised to regulate every act of the Emperor; and to impress foreign envoys golden lions roared and lashed their tails at the foot of the throne, while golden birds sang in a golden tree. Despite such follies, it is not too much to say that "in the history of medieval civilization before the eleventh century, Byzantium [Constantinople] played a rôle analogous to that of Athens and Rome in antiquity, or Paris in modern times. Its influence extended over the whole world; it was pre-eminently 'the city.'"

Bayet, in Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 223

Damascus: Fountain in the Grand Mosque

Present condition

The conquests of the Mohammedan Arabs have already been traced in an earlier chapter (§ 18). In the field of culture their achievements were so great as to justify the remark that "from the eighth to the twelfth century, the ancient world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium, and that of the Arabs."

142. The Mohammedan world (736–1096)

Mohammedan civilization displayed much the greater expansive force, spreading over large parts of Asia, northern Africa, and southwestern Europe. "From the river Indus to the Pillars of Hercules the same religion was professed, the same tongue spoken, the same laws obeyed." Its four chief centers were Damascus, in Syria; Bagdad, on the river Tigris; Cairo, on the lower Nile; and Cordova, in Spain. Greek, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Spanish, and Hindu elements entered into this civilization. But the Arabic was the master element, for Arabian genius combined all into one living creation bearing the stamp of its own nature.

Wahl, in Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, I, 773

Interior of Mosque of Cordova, Spain

Present condition. Built by Mohammedans in the eighth and tenth centuries

143. Mohammedan industries

In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, science, and art the Mohammedan world compared favorably with Christian Europe. Agriculture was not despised, as it was among the feudal nobles of Europe, and rich Mohammedans reveled in gardens of roses, jessamines, and camellias. Irrigation was extensively practiced, and tree-grafting became a science. Among new plants introduced into Europe by the Arabs were rice, sugar cane, hemp, artichokes, asparagus, the mulberry, orange, lemon, and apricot.

In manufactures Mohammedans excelled. The sword blades of Toledo and Damascus were world-renowned. Equal skill was shown in the manufacture of coats of mail at once supple and strong; of vases, lamps, and like articles of copper, bronze, and silver; of carpets and rugs which are still unsurpassed; and of vessels of fine glass and pottery. Sugars, sirups, sweetmeats, essences, and perfumes were of Mohammedan production. Paper, without which the invention of printing would have been valueless, came to Europe through the Mohammedans. Cordova was long famous for its manufactures of skins and fine leather.

Old Arabian Money

Commerce was widely followed, and no one looked down upon this occupation, to which Mohammed had been bred. In each city was a "bazaar," or merchant's quarter. The Arab sailors ruled the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Caspian Sea. Caravans threaded their way from oasis to oasis to the heart of Africa, and across the wilds of Asia to China and India. The magnetic needle, first discovered by the Chinese, was known to the Arabs long before its introduction in the form of the compass into Europe.

144. Arabian literature and science

In literature (especially poetry) and in science the Arabs attained a high degree of development. The University of Cairo at one time had 12,000 students. In Spain, in the tenth century, a library of 400,000 manuscript volumes (each probably a mere part of a complete work) is said to have been gathered. The Arabian philosophers were well versed in the writings of Aristotle (ăr'ĭs-tŏt-'l) and the Christian philosophers of Alexandria, whose works they read in Arabic translations. In mathematics Mohammedan scholars led the world. Algebra was practically their creation, though its elements were derived from the Greeks and Hindus. The so-called "Arabic" system of notation was introduced by them, and displaced the

clumsy Roman numerals which before were universally employed. The chief novelties of the new system were the use of the cipher, and the idea of "value of position." In optics and astronomy the Arabs made considerable advance. In chemistry many of our common terms, such as "elixir," "alcohol," "alkali," are of Arabic derivation and record our indebtedness to Arab researches. In medicine the Arabs were skilled practitioners, far in advance of Christian Europe; they seem even to have known something of anæsthetics. Pharmacy was practically created by them, and many of their preparations are still in use.

In the eleventh century the religious and political unity of the Mohammedan world was broken. The real power had passed from the hands of the Arabs into those of their mercenary soldiers, the Seljukian (sel-jook'i-an) Turks, — so called from the chief (Seljuk) who first united them. They were of Asiatic stock, like the Huns, Magyars, and Bulgarians; but unlike the Magyars and Bulgarians, they embraced Mohammedanism instead of Christianity. In 1058 the leader of these Turks occupied Bagdad, with the title "Sultan of the East and West." Thenceforth, the "caliph" (§ 18) was merely the religious head of the Mohammedan state. The Turkish princes — of whom, at the end of the century, there were a number, rival and independent — were the veritable sovereigns. The military prowess of the Turks spread Mohammedanism over new areas. They cared little, however, for Arabian art and learning; for they were far below the Arabs both in the culture which they possessed, and in their capacity for civilization.

145. Rise of the Seljukian Turks

This was the condition of the Mediterranean East when a new element was added to the age-long strife between Asia and Europe through the calling of the First Crusade.

B. The First Crusade

Throughout the Middle Ages the terror of the hereafter weighed with more awful force upon mankind than it does today. Ignorance of natural science led men to see supernatural

agencies in such exceptional occurrences as floods, droughts, tempests, and the appearance of comets; and the writings of these times are full of encounters with devils and demons. With this temper of mind went a belief in the power of penitential acts to avert God's wrath, and in the miracle-working power of relics of the saints, — especially objects connected with the life and death of Christ. Very early in the history of the church, pilgrims began to visit spots made holy by their connection with the Christian religion. Some of these pilgrim resorts were in Europe, such as the tomb of Saint Thomas Becket, at Canterbury (England); or that of Saint James of Compostella, in Spain; or those of the Apostles Peter and Paul, at Rome. The most important centers of pilgrimage, however, were the holy places of Palestine, which were connected with the life and death of Jesus Christ.

146. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land

PILGRIM

From a thirteenth century MS.

The motives which sent men, and sometimes women, on pilgrimages were various. Such visits made more real the lives and teachings of Christ and the saints. People also believed that their prayers would more certainly be heard when they were uttered in a place made sacred by the life of some holy man, and that their bodies would thus be healed from disease and their souls cleansed from sin. Love of adventure, a restless spirit, and a desire to see new lands, also impelled men to pilgrimages. After the religious revival in the eleventh century, which was described in dealing with the Investiture Conflict, there came a great outburst of zeal for pilgrimages to Palestine. The route followed from northern and western Europe was either overland, down the valley of the Danube, or else to some Mediterranean port (such as Marseilles in France, or Venice in Italy) and thence by small sailing vessels to the Syrian coast. On land the pilgrims usually traveled on foot, though nobles

went on horseback. The greatest single company which went to the Holy Land, before the crusades, set out from Germany in the year 1064, and numbered 7000 persons. The danger which attended such expeditions is seen from the fact that out of this number only 2000 ever returned to their homes. The others perished on the way, — from sickness, hardship, accident, and conflicts with hostile peoples.

Just at the time when pilgrimages were at their height, the Turkish conquests in Syria erected a new barrier to their progress.

147. Causes of the crusades; Desire to recover the Holy Sepulcher

Western Christendom was soon filled with tales of outrages committed upon Christians and their shrines. The result was an outburst of indignation that the Sepulcher of Christ should be in the hands of the infidel. Men became ready to do all and sacrifice all to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the unbelievers. This exalted state of mind, and the desire to recover the Holy Sepulcher from Mohammedan hands, must be reckoned the chief cause of those armed pilgrimages which we call the crusades.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER
Present condition

148. Spirit of adventure

A second cause of the crusades lay in the fact that the time had now come when the knights of western Europe might look about for wider fields of adventure. The Hungarian and Northman raids were over. Europe

was settling down to comparative peace and quiet under its feudal governments. The modern nations, with their problems, had not yet arisen. Commerce and city life were still in their infancy. Thus there was no sufficient outlet at home for the spirit of adventure, which in the Middle Ages always ran high.

The East, too, was regarded as a land of fabulous riches, where not only fame but fortune might be won. The hope of gain — of winning lands, principalities, and booty — was undoubtedly a factor in causing the crusades. In this respect the crusades resembled the movement of expansion which caused the Norman conquests of southern Italy and England, and the German advance eastward beyond the Elbe. Under the influence of a hope of gain, "a stream of emigration set towards the East, such as would in modern times flow towards a newly discovered gold-field — a stream carrying in its turbid waters much refuse, tramps and bankrupts, camp-followers and hucksters, fugitive monks and escaped villeins, and marked by the same motley grouping, the same fever of life, the same alternations of affluence and beggary, which mark the rush for a gold-field to-day."

149. Hope of gain

Another powerful incentive was the hope of gaining spiritual rewards, — the earthly as well as heavenly forgiveness for their misdeeds. A complete remission of all sins was promised to those who took part in these holy wars. By going upon a crusade a man earned an "indulgence" which wiped out all accumulations of penances (ecclesiastical penalties) which the church had imposed upon him for his sins. He also gained protection in this world; for from the moment that a man "took the cross" the church took him under its protection, and forbade all attacks, even by way of legal proceedings, upon his person or his property. Men conscious of their sins and wishing to make their peace with heaven, equally with wrongdoers who sought immunity from the consequences of their crimes, were thus appealed to by these rewards.

150. Promise of spiritual rewards

Though the chief object of the crusades was the rescue of

Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels, the first call grew out of the danger which threatened the Eastern Empire. In 1071, the Turks defeated the forces of the Eastern Emperor in a great battle, which caused almost the whole of Asia Minor to pass into their hands. One of their chieftains established himself at Nicaea, almost within sight of Constantinople, and took the title "Sultan of Roum (room),"—that is, of Rome. Several years passed before the Emperor Alexius Comne'nus found himself free to give Asia his attention. He then sent an embassy to the Pope, as the head of Latin Christendom, and sought to enlist western knights for the Turkish war. The result was the calling of the First Crusade.

151. Advance of the Turks

Pope Urban II met the clergy and nobles of France in a great council at Clermont, in France, in 1095. He presented to this meeting the request of the Eastern Emperor for aid. Himself a Frenchman, he addressed his hearers with burning eloquence in their own tongue. "Christ Himself," he cried, "will be your leader when you fight for Jerusalem. Let not love of any earthly possession detain you. You dwell in a land narrow and unfertile. Your numbers overflow, and hence you devour one another in wars. Let these home discords cease. Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves! Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth, and return home victorious; or else, purpled with your own blood, you shall receive an everlasting reward."

152. Council of Clermont (1095)

To this appeal his hearers made answer: "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" Those who pledged themselves to the work received a cross of red cloth, to be worn on the breast going and on the back returning. The crusader (from Latin *crux*, a cross) was thus given the protection granted to pilgrims. On their part the crusaders were considered to have taken a vow to fight the infidels, and not to return until they had beheld the Holy Sepulcher.

Many of the common people, inflamed by popular preachers, undertook the crusade before the time set by the council, and

without adequate preparation. Their chief leaders were a monk called Peter the Hermit, and a knight named Walter the Penniless. Multitudes perished miserably on the route down the Danube River, or left their bones to whiten the plains of Asia Minor. Only a few, more fortunate, escaped to await the coming of the main crusade.

153. The crusade of the people (1096)

CRUSADER
From a thirteenth century MS.

In the summer and fall of 1096 the lords and knights set out. They were provided with sums of money, often obtained by the sale of their belongings at ruinous prices; and they were accompanied by attendants on foot and by carts laden with provisions. The Pope had been asked to lead the crusade in person. He declined the request but commissioned a bishop as his legate. There was no general leadership, each crusader going at his own cost, and obeying his own will. Naturally, however, individual crusaders grouped themselves about the better known nobles, — such as Raymond, count of Toulouse (too-looz′); Bo′hemond, son of Robert Guiscard; Godfrey of Bouillon (boo-yôn′); and Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror.

154. The crusade of knights (1096–1097)

The crusaders assembled at different places, and departed as they were ready. There were four main companies. The Ger-

mans and those from the north of France followed the valley of the Danube. Others traversed Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and proceeded thence by land to Constantinople. The stateliness and beauty of that capital, in contrast with the poverty and bareness of western cities, filled the crusaders with awe and admiration. "How great a city it is; how noble and comely!" wrote one of their number. "What wondrously wrought monasteries and palaces are therein! What marvels everywhere in street and square! Tedious would it be to recite its wealth in all precious things, in gold and silver, and in saintly relics." The Emperor Alexius had expected a few thousand men in response to his call, whereas scores of thousands came. "Some of the crusaders," wrote the Emperor's daughter, "were guileless men and women marching in all simplicity to worship at the tomb of Christ. But there were others of a more wicked kind. Such men had but one object, and this was to get possession of the Emperor's capital." Mutual hatreds quickly sprang up; and the Emperor was glad, in the spring of 1097, to speed the "Franks" (as the crusaders were called) across into Asia Minor.

155. Crusaders at Constantinople

Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 50

After several weeks' siege, the city of Nicaea surrendered; it passed, however, not to the crusaders, but to the Greeks. Suffering from thirst and attacked by the Turks, the crusaders then made their way through Asia Minor, with the loss of most of their horses. To add to the difficulties of their situation, quarrels arose among rival leaders. In front of Antioch (ăn′tĭ-ŏk), which they reached in October, 1097, they were checked for more than a year by its strong walls and their lack of skill in the construction and operation of siege engines.

The events of this period, and the sentiments of the crusaders, are indicated in the following letter. It was written by Stephen of Blois (blwä), a powerful French noble, from before Antioch, in March, 1098: —

156. Letter of a crusader (1098)

"Count Stephen to Adele, his sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks, — his greeting and blessing: —

"You may be very sure, dearest, that the messenger whom I send left me before Antioch safe and unharmed, and through God's grace in the greatest prosperity. Already at that time we had been continuously advancing for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus. You may know for certain, my beloved, that of gold, silver, and many other kinds of riches I now have twice as much as your love had assigned to me when I left you. University of Pennsylvania, *Translations*, I, No. 4 (condensed)

"You have certainly heard that, after the capture of the city of Nicaea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid conquered them. Next we conquered for the Lord the sultanate of Roum, and afterwards Cappadocia. Thence, continually following the wicked Turks, we drove them through Armenia, as far as the great river Euphrates. Having left all their baggage and beasts of burden on the bank, they fled across the river into Arabia.

"The bolder of the Turkish soldiers, indeed, entering Syria, hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed an innumerable host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise. **157. The siege of Antioch**

"By God's grace we here endured many sufferings and innumerable evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Before the city of Antioch, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very similar to our winter in the West. **158. Sufferings of the crusaders**

"When the emir of Antioch — that is, prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes. These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, **159. Victories over the Turks**

ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses; for there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful, against them. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to carefully watch over your land, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. You will certainly see me just as soon as I can possibly return to you. Farewell."

Antioch fell in June, 1098, betrayed to the crusaders by one of its inhabitants. Three days later an immense army sent by the Seljukian sultan arrived for its relief, and the crusaders themselves were forced to stand siege. Through the aid of a vision thrice repeated, the Holy Lance which pierced the side of Christ was discovered buried in the soil. Many disbelieved, but others were fired to prodigies of valor by the sacred relic. The Turks were at length beaten off, and the crusaders proceeded southward along the coast.

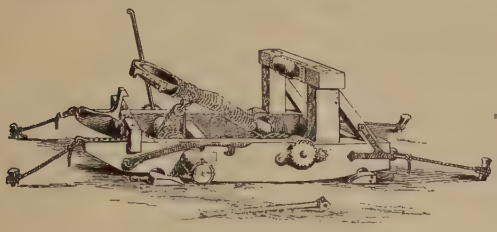
160. Advance to Jerusalem

Owing to quarrels and delays on the road, it was June, 1099, before they came in sight of Jerusalem. A few months before, the caliph of Egypt had wrested the city from the Turks; and he now offered free access to the Holy Sepulcher for unarmed pilgrims in small numbers. These terms were refused. After several weeks of fighting, an attack was made on the city from two sides. The Mohammedans were beaten back from the walls by showers of stones from the hurling machines, and blazing arrows carried fire to the roofs of the buildings. Battering rams broke openings in the solid walls, and by means of scaling ladders the Christians swarmed upon the ramparts. Thus the city fell (July 15, 1099).

161. Capture of the city (1099)

Then followed scenes which showed how little the teachings of Christ had sunk into the crusaders' hearts, and that in spite

of flashes of lofty idealism, the crusader in Palestine was little different from the rude, superstitious, selfish baron at home.



HURLING MACHINE

The force was supplied by the twisted ropes about the crossbar to which the hurling arm was attached.

"When our men had taken the city, with its walls and towers," says an eyewitness, "there were things wondrous to be seen. For some of the enemy were reft of their heads, while others, riddled through with arrows, were forced to leap down from the towers; others, after long torture, were burned in the flames. In all the streets and squares there were to be seen piles of heads, and hands, and feet; and along the public ways, foot and horse alike made passage over the bodies of the dead." Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 91

The vow of the crusaders was fulfilled. But at what a cost of lives, both Christian and Mohammedan; of agonies of battle and sufferings on the way; of women made widows, and children left fatherless!

C. The Conquests Organized

The next task for the crusaders was to organize and safeguard their conquests. They were familiar with only one form of government, that of the feudal system. Consequently, as the land was gradually conquered it was divided into a number of fiefs, each of which was given to a crusading leader. Jerusalem, with the country about it, was formed into "the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" and was given to Godfrey of Bouillon. The rest was formed into three principalities, — Antioch, Edes'sa, and Tripoli, — each with its own feudal head, and with many vassal lords. The peasants — who were al-

162. Feudal principalities in Palestine

ready, for the most part, Christians of various Eastern faiths — kept their lands, paying tribute to their Latin masters, as they formerly had done to the Mohammedans.

CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE

Most of the crusaders now returned to their homes in Europe, only those who had secured feudal lordships in Palestine remaining behind. If the Mohammedans had been united they might easily have driven the Christians into the sea; but they were quarreling among themselves, and besides had learned to fear the mail-clad "Franks." The Christians were thus given time to prepare their defenses. Huge castles were everywhere built. New companies of crusaders also began to arrive; and Italian merchants — from Venice, Genoa, and Pisa (pē'sä) especially — came in large numbers for the purpose of trade.

Besides the constant reënforcements from the West, the Franks depended for the defense of the Holy Land on three special orders of knighthood which now arose: (1) the Knights Hos'pitalers of Saint John, formed originally to care for sick pilgrims; (2) the Knights Templars, so called from their headquarters in the inclosure of the ancient temple of Jerusalem; and (3) the Order of Teutonic Knights, which was composed of Germans, whereas the members of the others were mostly French. The Hospitalers wore a white cross on a black mantle, the Templars a red one on white, and the Teutonic

163. The three military orders

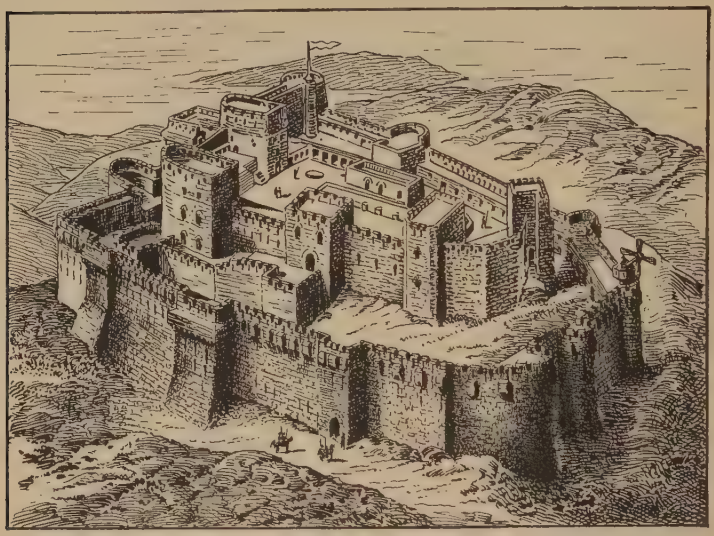
Knights a black cross on a white ground. The members of these orders were *monks*, vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience, and living under a rule; but they were also *knights*, trained to arms and bound to perpetual warfare against the infidel. They constituted a permanent force of military monks, resident in the Holy Land, with their own grand-masters, fortresses, domains, and treasuries. In course of time the military orders acquired immense possessions in Europe also. After the end of the crusading epoch, the Templars were forcibly dissolved and their goods confiscated. The Teutonic Knights transferred themselves to the shores of the Baltic Sea, and there continued to wage war against the heathen. The Knights Hospitalers, taking refuge in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and finally in Malta, preserved an independent existence until the close of the eighteenth century.

KNIGHT TEMPLAR
From a thirteenth century MS.

The Christian states founded by the crusaders extended north and south about 525 miles, but their breadth (except in the north) was only about 50 miles. They were surrounded on nearly all sides by Mohammedan territory, so that border warfare was almost incessant. In spite of such conflicts, there was much intercourse of a friendly nature between the resident Franks and the Mohammedans, both without and within the borders of the Christian states. Sometimes Frankish lords and Mohammedan princes formed alliances against mutual foes, and at times these alliances were cemented by intermarriages. The crusaders, being comparatively but

164. Relations of Christians and Mohammedans

a handful of soldiers and traders, were compelled to rely largely upon the peoples of the East, both Christian and Mohammedan, for service and subsistence. Native Syrians tilled their lands;



A Fortress of the Knights Hospitalers in Syria (Restoration)

Greek and Arab architects built and adorned their houses and churches; Greek engineers taught them the art of fortification; and Jewish or Arab physicians cared for them in time of sickness. Thus in innumerable ways the Westerners profited by the more advanced civilization of the East; and through the instrumentality of returning crusaders, more enlightened ideas, together with new products, slowly spread through western Europe.

D. The Later Crusades

The crusades continued throughout the twelfth and the greater part of the thirteenth centuries. It is customary to describe them as "First," "Second," and so on; but this obscures the fact that there was a constant movement of crusaders

to and from the Holy Land. At times some exceptional occurrence produced an increase of zeal, and it is to these exceptional expeditions that the numbers apply, though other movements of equal importance are passed by without notice. Thus, forty-five years after the First Crusade the conquest of Edessa by the Mohammedans produced the Second Crusade (1147–1149). This was led by two kings, Louis VII of France, and Conrad III of Germany. It was miserably mismanaged, and failed lamentably.

165. Continuance of the crusades

After another forty years, rumors began to reach Europe of a great Mohammedan leader who had arisen in Egypt and was threatening Palestine. This was Sal'adin, one of the greatest rulers the Mohammedans ever had. He was wise in counsel, brave in battle, and as chivalrous in conduct and sincere in his faith as the best of his Christian foes. In July, 1187, Saladin captured in battle the king of Jerusalem and the grand master of the Templars. Three months later Jerusalem itself fell into his hands. The humanity with which the Christian inhabitants were then treated was in marked contrast to the fearful slaughter which had attended the crusaders' capture of the city ninety years before. The Christian states thereafter were reduced to a few strongly fortified towns near the coast.

166. Rise of Saladin

The loss of Jerusalem caused another outburst of crusading zeal. The three greatest kings of western Europe—Richard I, the Lion-Hearted, of England; Philip II, surnamed Augustus, of France; and Frederick Barbarossa, of Germany — now took the cross, and assumed the lead of the Third Crusade. The Emperor Frederick, who had gone in his youth on the Second Crusade, was the first to start on the Third Crusade. Thorough organization and strict discipline enabled him to lead his army by the Danube route without the customary losses. But while crossing a mountain torrent in Asia Minor the old Emperor was drowned (June, 1190), and thereupon the German expedition went to pieces.

167. Third Crusade organized (1189)

The preparations of Richard and Philip were delayed by their

mutual hostilities, and it was not until after the death of Frederick that they actually started, both expeditions going by water. At Messina (mes-see′na), in Sicily, the two expeditions met and spent the winter. Here the two kings wrangled, and Richard fought with the citizens. Philip at last departed without Richard, reaching Syria in April, 1191. The English, following later, again turned aside — this time to conquer Cyprus, whose king had permitted the plunder of pilgrim vessels on his coast.

168. Richard the Lion-Hearted and Philip Augustus

In June, Richard joined Philip before Acre (ä′ker), the siege of which had dragged on for more than twenty months. "The Lord is not in the camp," wrote one of the besiegers about this date; "there is none that doeth good. The leaders strive with one another, while the lesser folk starve and have none to help. The Turks are persistent in attack, while our knights skulk within their tents." The arrival of Richard

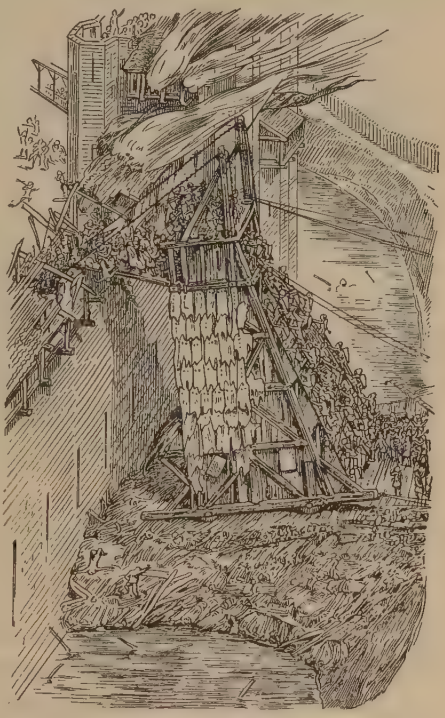
Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 323

Present View of Acre

infused new energy into the operations. He was an undutiful son, an oppressive king, and (in spite of his superficial chivalry and courtesy) a violent and cruel man. But he was a warrior of splendid strength and skill, and one of the best military engineers of the Middle Ages. In July, Acre surrendered.

When the ransom agreed upon was not forthcoming, Richard massacred 2000 hostages left in his hands.

After the fall of Acre, Philip, who was only half-hearted in the crusade, returned to France. In January, 1192, Richard advanced almost to within sight of Jerusalem, but this was the limit of his successes. In October news of a rebellion at home, which was aided by Philip, forced him to return. He landed almost alone at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and sought to make his way in disguise through Germany. He was recognized near Vienna, and was thrown into prison by the duke of Austria, whom he had grievously offended on the crusade. He had made an enemy of the Emperor also by allying himself with German rebels. The result was that Richard obtained his liberty only after two years of captivity, and on the payment of a ruinous ransom. The remainder of his life (he died in 1199) was spent in warfare with Philip of France. Saladin, who had done so much to revive the Mohammedan power, died in 1193.



MOVABLE TOWER

Such as was used by Richard I against Acre

The enthusiasm which produced the crusades was slowly dying out, but the exhortations of the papacy could still call it

forth to momentary activity. Pope Innocent III (§ 130) appealed to the princes of Europe, as vassals of Christ, to continue the attempt to recover the Holy Land. No king responded to this call, but a number of knights and nobles (mostly French) gathered at Venice in 1201 for the Fourth Crusade. The Venetians, who had commercial interests to further, induced them to turn their arms against Constantinople. A

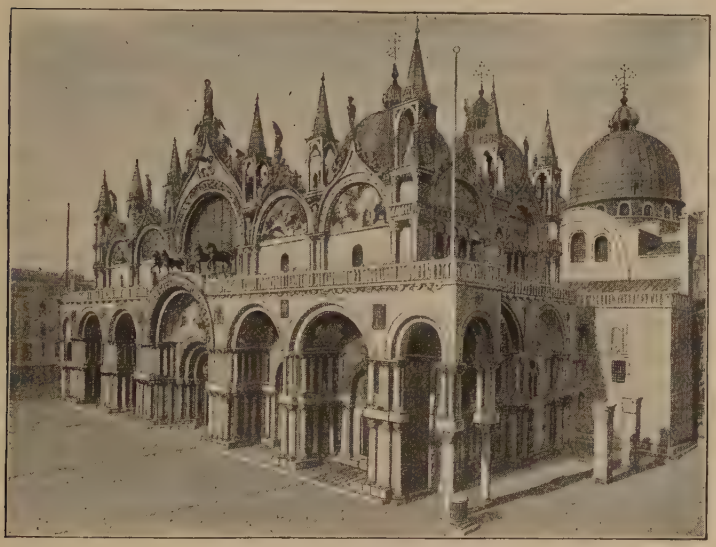
169. Fourth Crusade (1201–1204)

SALADIN'S EMPIRE, AND THE RESULTS OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE

revolution there furnished them with a pretext, in spite of the opposition of the Pope, for attacking that Christian city.

Constantinople fell in 1204, and was mercilessly sacked. In three great fires the most populous parts of the city were destroyed. Violence and indignity were the lot of the survivors; Pope Innocent accused the crusaders of respecting neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession. The city was systematically pillaged. Even the churches were profaned and stripped of their rich hangings and their gold and silver vessels. Precious works of art — the accumulation of a thousand years — were destroyed; and statues of brass and bronze were broken up and melted for the metal which they contained. The Venetians at

this time carried off to Venice the four bronze horses which still adorn the front of Saint Mark's church. The more pious gave



St. Mark's Church, Venice

A notable example of the Byzantine style of architecture. Façade remodeled in fifteenth century

themselves to the search for holy relics,—a venerable and profitable booty. As a result of this sack, Constantinople lost forever that unique splendor which it possessed at the beginning of the crusades.

In the division of the conquered territory the Venetians got the lion's share. They received practically a monopoly of the trade of the Eastern Empire, together with the possession of most of the islands and coast lands of the Aegean and Ionian seas. These conquests and privileges they retained for several centuries. The remainder of the empire (so far as it came into the crusaders' possession) was divided among their chiefs, and a feudal state was erected, the "Latin Empire of Constantinople." In 1261 the Greeks reconquered Constanti-

170. Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)

nople and restored the former empire. But it never regained its former strength. Its downfall before the assaults of the Turks, two centuries later (1453), was largely a result of the weakening of its resources by the Latin Christians at the time of the Fourth Crusade.

171. The Children's Crusade (1212)

A Children's Crusade, in 1212, illustrated at once the folly and the religious zeal which existed alongside of the self-seeking of princes and traders. A French shepherd boy named Stephen claimed that he was commanded by Christ to lead an army of children to rescue the Holy Sepulcher. He induced thousands of boys and girls to follow him to Marseilles, in the belief that the sea would open up to give them passage dry-shod to Palestine. Many perished miserably on the way; the rest, still more miserable, were kidnaped and sold into slavery. In Germany a lad named Nicholas gathered a similar following of children, to the number, it is said, of 20,000. They succeeded in reaching Rome, where they were persuaded by the Pope to return home.

172. The last crusades (1228–1291)

Throughout the thirteenth century there was much talk of crusades, and Europe was often taxed for them; but little was accomplished. When the Emperor Frederick II (§ 135) at last went to the Holy Land (1228–1229), he succeeded in restoring Jerusalem for a time to the Christians. This, however, was due to wars among the Mohammedans, and Frederick's skillful diplomacy, and not to his victories. In 1244 Jerusalem was again lost to the Turks, — this time finally. No great outburst of crusading zeal followed this calamity. However, in 1248, King Louis IX of France ("Saint Louis") set out with a French army for Egypt, which since the beginning of the century had been recognized as the key to the Mohammedan power. He was successful for a time, but eventually was captured and forced to ransom himself by giving up his conquests and paying a large sum of money. In 1270 King Louis again undertook a crusade, this time to Tunis, where he died of the plague. Finally Acre — the last Christian post in Syria — fell in 1291.

The reason that the crusades ceased, without having accomplished their object, must be sought in the changed circumstances and attitude of Europe. The two centuries which had elapsed since their beginning had seen the following important movements: the great struggle between the papacy and the empire; the rise of commerce and of the towns (ch. ix); the origin and development of the universities and scholastic philosophy, the revived study of Roman law, and the rise of a lawyer class (ch. x); the decline of feudalism and the rise of monarchical states. The Europe of 1300 thus differed greatly from the Europe of 1100. The simple, uncalculating, religious enthusiasm for the recovery of the Sepulcher of Christ had given place to preoccupation with weighty problems nearer home. Men still talked of going on crusades, but they rendered only lip service to the cause. Perhaps they had begun to ask themselves what real difference it made whether Jerusalem was ruled by Christian or infidel, provided Christ ruled in their lives and hearts. Within another half century, Mohammedan power had passed from the Seljukian to the yet more formidable Ottoman Turks. Soon afterwards (1357) the Turks established themselves on the European side of the Bosporus, and began that piecemeal conquest of the home provinces of the Eastern Empire which was completed a century later by the taking of Constantinople (§ 317). In the face of this new and formidable danger the resources of Europe were taxed to the utmost. Further expeditions to the Holy Land thenceforth were scarcely thought of. The age of the crusades was at an end.

173. Why the crusades ended

E. Results of the Crusades

The tendency has been to exaggerate the influence of the crusades, and to lessen the importance of other factors in changing the institutions and life of Europe. Nevertheless, the migration year by year of thousands of persons to and from the Mohammedan East, during a period of nearly two centuries, could not but have important results for

174. Results often exaggerated

the Christian West. The most important of these were as follows: —

(1) In respect to military usages, Europe owed to the crusades the drum, trumpet, tents, quilted armor for the protection of the common soldier, the surcoat worn over the knightly coat of mail, the whole system of armorial "bearings" (heraldic devices on shields, etc.) by which knights proclaimed their family and lineage, and many improvements in the art of building and taking fortified places. "The siege of great fenced cities like Nicaea, Antioch, or Jerusalem," says a writer on the art of war, "was almost an education in itself to the engineers of the West."

175. Military usages

Oman, *History of the Art of War*, 526

SHIELD OF RICHARD I

The "lions" of this shield became the arms of England.

(2) On the development of commerce and city life, the crusades exerted a powerful influence. Italian cities such as Venice, Pisa, and Genoa grew rich through the transportation of pilgrims and crusaders and their supplies, and through the importation of eastern products into Europe. In the North, Rat'isbon, Augsburg, Nu'remberg, and the market towns of northern France developed as distributing centers for the importations of Italy, and regular routes of inland commerce were established. Money became increasingly necessary; banks were established, and means of exchange devised. "It was not simply during the crusades," says a German historian, "but as a result of them, and of the commerce which they had called into being, that money became a power, — we might almost say, a world power."

176. Commerce and cities

Prutz, in *International Monthly*, IV, 268

(3) A multitude of new natural products and manufactures — such as sugar cane, buckwheat, rice, garlic, hemp; the orange,

watermelon, lemon, lime, and apricot; new dyestuffs, cottons, muslins, damask, satin, and velvet — were introduced from the East in the Middle Ages. It is difficult, however, to say which of these came as a result of the crusades, and which from peaceful intercourse with Constantinople, Syria, northern Africa, and Spain. In this connection may be mentioned certain changes in habits, such as the increased use of baths, an exaggerated taste for pepper and spices in foods, and the wearing of the beard. The introduction of windmills into Europe seems also to have been a result of the crusades.

177. New products and manufactures

(4) The political and social organization of Europe was already undergoing profound modification, and the crusades helped on the change. Crusaders often freed their serfs to get money, or for the good of their souls. The wealth gained by townsmen in commerce enabled them to buy or wrest important rights of self-government from their lords. The feudal nobles, especially of France, were greatly weakened by the enormous waste of their numbers and resources in the East; and the lower classes and the crown were correspondingly strengthened. In Germany, where as a class the nobles had little to do with the crusades, they were neither impoverished nor reduced in numbers, nor was their military and political importance diminished. For this reason, among others, Germany was later than France in entering upon the path of social progress, industrial development, and real national unity.

178. Political and social results

(5) The most important influence of all was in the world of thought. The hundreds of thousands who made the journey to the East had their minds stimulated and their mental horizons broadened by beholding new lands, new peoples, and new customs. "They came from their castles and their villages," says a French writer, "having seen nothing, more ignorant than our peasants. They found themselves suddenly in great cities, in the midst of new countries, in the presence of unfamiliar usages." European knowledge of geography — especially of nearer and even of farther Asia — was greatly enlarged. Men who had "walked

179. Influences on thought

Seignobos, in Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, II, 246

in new ways and seen new things and listened to new thoughts" experienced an inevitable broadening of view, and lost something of the narrow one-sidedness which was a mark of medieval culture. Thus the way was paved for the subtle change in intellectual atmosphere, beginning in the fourteenth century, which we style the Renaissance. This we may reckon the greatest though the most indefinite result of the whole crusading movement. But other factors, it must not be forgotten, were already working in the same direction.

IMPORTANT DATES

1096–1099. The First Crusade; capture of Jerusalem.
1187. Recapture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1189–1192. The Third Crusade: Richard the Lion-Hearted and Philip Augustus.
1204. The Fourth Crusade captures Constantinople.
1229. Frederick II recovers Jerusalem by treaty; lost again, 1244.
1248 and 1270. Crusades of Louis IX of France to Egypt and Tunis.
1291. Fall of Acre; end of the crusading movement.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Make a list of the points in which Byzantine civilization was ahead of Western civilization. (2) Make a similar comparison of Arabian civilization with that of western Europe. (3) Compare the coming of the Turks into the East with that of the Germans into the West. (4) Were the causes of the crusades more in external events or in the prevalence of a particular state of mind? (5) What motives besides the religious one led Stephen of Blois to go on the crusade? (6) Why did the crusaders slay the Mohammedans at Jerusalem? (7) Compare the organization and leadership of the Third Crusade with that of the First. Why did it accomplish less? (8) Was the Fourth Crusade more of a religious or a political war? (9) Why were the later crusades directed against Egypt? (10) Did the crusades on the whole do more good or harm?

Search Topics. — (1) The Eastern Empire before the Crusades. Munro, *Middle Ages*, ch. x; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, ch. xxii; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 212–224; Robinson, *Readings*, I, 340–343. — (2) Saracen Civilization. Munro, ch. ix; Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, 357–360. — (3) Medieval Pilgrimages.

Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, 338–403; Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 15–17; Mombert, *Short History of the Crusades*, ch. i; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Pilgrimage." — (4) Council of Clermont. Archer and Kingsford, 28–33; Ogg, *Source Book*, 282–288; Robinson, *Readings*, I, 312–316; Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, 513–522. — (5) Motives of Crusaders. Adams, *Civilization*, 263–267; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 312–340; *Pennsylvania Reprints*, I, Nos. 2, 2–8, 12–19; Thatcher and McNeal, 512–523. — (6) Peter the Hermit in Myth and in History. Thatcher and Schwill, 363–365; Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, 523–526; *Report of American Historical Association*, 1900, I, 501–504. — (7) Relations of Crusaders with the Eastern Emperor. Archer and Kingsford, 51–54; Thatcher and Schwill, 368–370; *Essays on the Crusades*, Pt. III (Diehl, "The Byzantine Empire and the Crusades"). — (8) The Crusaders at Nicaea and Antioch. Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 54–76; Thatcher and Schwill, 371–379. — (9) Capture of Jerusalem. Archer and Kingsford, 84–92; Duncalf and Krey, *Parallel Source Problems*, 95–133. — (10) Templars and Hospitalers. Archer and Kingsford, ch. xi; Wishart, *Monks and Monasteries*, 197–204; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, ch. iv. — (11) Christians and Mohammedans in Palestine. Archer and Kingsford, *Crusades*, 291–294; *Essays on the Crusades* (Munro, "Christian and Infidel in the Holy Land"); University of Pennsylvania, *Reprints*, I, No. 4 ("Letters of the Crusaders written from the Holy Land"). — (12) Regulations for the Third Crusade. Archer, *Crusade of Richard I*, 8–10, 37–39. — (13) Richard the Lion-Hearted in Palestine. Archer and Kingsford, ch. xxii; Oman, *Art of War*, 303–317; Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 279–299; Archer, *Crusade of Richard I* (sources). — (14) Saladin. Lane-Poole, *Saladin; Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Saladin." — (15) Children's Crusade. Gray, *The Children's Crusade;* Cox, *Crusades*, 222–223; Thatcher and Schwill, 424–425; Mombert, *Short History of the Crusades*, 234–236. —(16) Crusades of St. Louis. Archer and Kingsford, 390–451; Perry, *St. Louis*, 154–195, 284–296; Thatcher and Schwill, 427–429.

General Reading. — The best histories in English are by Archer and Kingsford, Cox, and Mombert (the last-named somewhat uncritical). Sybel's *History and Literature of the Crusades* is still an excellent brief guide. Prutz, Munro, and Diehl, *Essays on the Crusades* (republished from the *International Monthly*) possesses great value. In the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints* (Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 4, and Vol. III, No. 1) are interesting documents; while Archer's *Crusade of Richard I* is made up entirely of selections from the sources. Michaud's *History of the Crusades* (3 vols.) should be used with caution.

CHAPTER IX

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

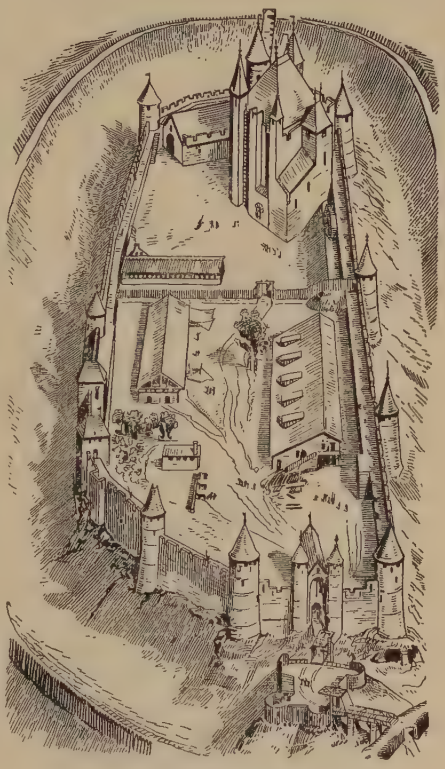
A. Life of the Nobles

180. The feudal castle

In the Middle Ages the most defensible hilltops of western Europe were occupied by the frowning castles of the feudal lords. To-day one sees their ivy-crowned ruins on every hand. The castle of the earlier Middle Ages consisted merely of an inclosure of stakes or palisades set in the ground, with a ditch around it and a sort of blockhouse in the center. In the eleventh century men began to build stone castles; and soon the engineering skill of the Normans, together with the experience gained in the crusades, made these structures intricate and complex.

The castle of Arques (ärk), built in Normandy (about 1040) by the uncle of William the Conqueror, is a type of the early stone castle. It was built upon a hilltop, and was defended by a palisade, ditch, and two drawbridges, with their outer works. It was surrounded by a thick "bailey" wall with battlements along the top, which was strengthened by towers placed at intervals of a bowshot. Entrance was gained through a narrow vaulted gateway, placed between two towers; this was defended by heavy doors, and by "portcullises" (iron gratings descending from above). The inclosure within the wall was divided into an "outer ward" and an "inner ward." It contained separate buildings for stables, kitchen, and the like; and was large enough to shelter the surrounding population in time of war. At the extremity of the inner ward stood a strong tower called the "keep," which was the most important part of every castle. In early times the lord of the castle, with his family, lived in the keep; but its gloom and cold usually led to the erection

of a separate "hall" within the inclosure for residence in time of peace. The keep of the castle of Arques was a triumph of complicated defenses. Its walls were eight to ten feet thick, with winding passageways and stairs concealed in them, and with cunningly devised pitfalls to trap the unwary. Here the last stand against an enemy was made. A postern gate in the outer wall, near the keep, gave a means of escape in case of defeat.



CASTLE OF ARQUES

Restoration of Viollet-le-Duc

Of more elaborate type than the castle of Arques was the *Château Gaillard* (shà-tō′ gä-yär′; "Saucy Castle"), erected on the borders of Normandy by Richard the Lion-Hearted as a defense against Philip Augustus of France. The construction of this great work was completed in a single year. To Philip's boast that he would take it "though its walls were of iron," Richard defiantly answered that he "would hold the castle though its walls were of butter." And Richard proved the truer prophet.

Hurling engines, movable towers, and battering rams were of little avail against such formidable castles. Until the introduction of gunpowder, they were usually taken only by

Château Gaillard. Restoration of Viollet-le-Duc

At *A* is shown a row of piles in the river Seine to prevent the passage of boats; *B* is a bridge; *C* is the little town near which the castle stood.

treachery, surprise, starvation, or by undermining the walls. As the power of the kings increased, especially in France and England, the right of the nobles to erect castles was rigidly restricted. Luxury, too, came in, and gradually the castle lost its character of a fortress, and became merely a lordly dwelling place.

The training of the feudal noble, like his habitation, was all for war. The church gave to this training a religious consecration, and *chivalry*, or the ideals and usages of knighthood, was the result. In his earlier years the young noble was left to the care of his mother. At about the age of seven he was sent to the castle of his father's lord, or to that of some other knight, and his training for knighthood began. With other lads he served his lord and mistress as page, waited at table, and attended them when they rode forth to the chase. From his lord and mistress he learned lessons of honor and bravery, of love and courtesy; above all, he learned how to ride and to handle a horse. When he was a well-grown lad of fourteen or fifteen, he became a squire. He then looked after the grooming and shoeing of his lord's horses, and saw that his lord's arms were kept bright and free from rust. In war the squire accompanied his lord. He carried his lord's shield and lance, assisted in arming him for battle, and stayed watchfully at hand to aid him in case of need.

181. Training for knighthood

When the squire reached the age of twenty or twenty-one, and had proved his courage and military skill, he was made a knight. The ceremony was often elaborate. First came a bath, — the mark of purification. Then the candidate put on garments of red, white, and black, — red for the blood he must shed in defense of the church, white to image the purity of his mind, and black as a reminder of death. All night with fasting and prayer he watched his arms, before the altar of the church. With the morning came confession, the holy mass, and a sermon on the proud duties of a knight. The actual knighting usually took place in the courtyard of the castle, in the presence of a numerous company of knights and ladies. The armor and sword were fastened on by friends and relatives. Then the lord gave

the "accolade," with a blow of his fist upon the young man's neck, or by touching him with the flat of his sword on the shoulder, saying: "In the name of God, and Saint Michael, and Saint George, I dub thee knight! Be brave and loyal!" Exhibitions of skill by the new-made knight followed, with feasting and the giving of presents. The details of the ceremony varied in different times and places. Frequently, after a battle, a squire who had shown distinguished bravery was knighted upon the battlefield, with nothing more than the accolade.

The command "Be brave and loyal," summed up the qualities expected of the knight in the early Middle Ages. In the course of time the ideals of knighthood came to include much more than courage and loyalty to one's lord. Knighthood was then regarded as membership in an informal order or brotherhood, which had definite rules of conduct binding upon its members. The knight must be faithful to one ladylove, to his companions in arms, to his lord, his king, his country, and his God. He must defend the weak, particularly women and priests. He must be courteous, magnanimous to foes, true to his plighted word, and generous to the needy. In practice this ideal was rarely attained. Too often chivalry was only a "picturesque mimicry of high sentiment, of heroism, of love and courtesy, before which all depth and reality of nobleness disappeared to make room for the coarsest profligacy, the narrowest caste spirit, and a brutal indifference to human suffering."

182. Ideals of chivalry

Green, *Short History of the English People*, ch. iv, § 3

The military superiority of the knight over the common man was due almost entirely to his equipment. Down to the eleventh century, the knight's armor consisted of a leather or cloth tunic covered with metal scales or rings (such as is shown in the picture of the battle of Hastings on p. 72), with an iron cap to protect the head. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the "hauberk" was usually worn. This was a coat of link- or chain-mail, often reaching to the feet, and possessing a hood to protect the neck and head. Plate armor — weighing fifty pounds or more — and the visored

183. Arms and armor of the knight

helmet appear in the fourteenth century. A shield or buckler of wood and leather, bound with iron and emblazoned with the knight's coat of arms, was carried on the left arm. The weapons were chiefly the lance, the iron mace, and the straight sword. The weight of the armor made necessary a strong, heavy horse (the *dextra'rius*) to carry the warrior in battle. When on a journey he rode a lighter horse (the "palfrey"), while a squire or valet led the heavy horse, laden with the knight's armor. No number of foot soldiers of the ordinary sort could stand before mounted warriors thus equipped. It is in this military preëminence of the knight that we find one of the chief reasons for the long continuance of the feudal power.

As war was the chief business of the noble, so the tournament — a sort of mimic battle — was his favorite amusement. The tournaments became elaborate entertainments, held especially on such occasions as the knighting of a king's son or the marriage of a great lord's daughter. Knights came from far and near to these contests, in order to display their prowess, or to recoup their fortunes from the spoil of defeated opponents. At times the combat was between a single pair of horsemen; at other times whole companies engaged on each side. Sometimes the conflict was with blunted swords and lances without heads; at other times it was with ordinary weapons. The tournament was usually fought in "lists," or level spaces marked off by a rope or railing, and surrounded with places for the spectators. The knights wore the scarfs or colors of their ladies upon their helmets, and fought under the inspiration of their eyes. The vanquished in the contest forfeited his horse and armor to the victor, and had to ransom his person or remain captive. Fortunes were often lost and won at these tournaments. The sport was a bloody one, though usually more horses were slain than men. In spite of occasional prohibitions by kings and Popes, the tournament continued to be one of the chief amusements of the knightly classes until chivalry itself declined with the passing of the Middle Ages.

184. **Knightly tournaments**

The thick walls and narrow windows of the feudal castle made

its apartments cold and dark in winter, and close in summer. The life of the nobles, therefore, was spent as much as possible in the open air. After war and tournaments, the chase was their chief outdoor amusement. It afforded training in the management of horse and weapons, and also served the very useful purpose of supplying the castle larder with game. Falconry — the flying of trained hawks at small game — became a complicated science with many technical terms, and was practiced with zest by ladies and lords alike; but the chase with hounds of deer, wild boars, and bears, was the more exciting sport. Within doors the chief amusements were chess, checkers, backgammon, and similar games. The great hall was the center of this life. About its large fireplace, master, mistress, children, and dependents gathered to play games, to listen to tales of travel and adventure from chance visitors, and to carry on household occupations. While the boys were trained to be knights, the girls learned to spin, sew, and embroider, to care for wounds, and to direct a household. Like their brothers, they were often sent away from home for a time, to receive the finishing touches of their education as maids of honor to some noble lady.

185. Daily life of the nobles

FALCONRY

From a German manuscript of the 13th century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The furniture of the castles was substantial but scanty. Embroidered tapestries hung amid the weapons on the walls, and skins were placed underfoot for the sake of warmth. Chairs and benches, tables, chests, and wardrobes stood about the hall. Perhaps the great corded bedstead of the master and mistress — with its canopy, curtains, and feather bed — was also placed here; but more often this occupied a separate chamber. The men servants and attendants slept on the floor of the great hall, or in the towers along the bailey wall.

186. Furniture and costume

Costumes varied with time and place, as did the armor. Long pointed shoes were invented by a count of Anjou to hide the deformity of his feet, and within a short time the style spread over Europe. Dress of the close-fitting Carolingian pattern was used until the end of the eleventh century, when it was displaced by long garments in imitation of those worn by the Byzantines. These were abandoned in the thirteenth century for other fashions. The headdresses of the ladies, especially in the later Middle Ages, were often as extraordinary as the pointed shoes which covered the feet of the men.

French Noble, 14th Century [1]

The secrets of dyeing were long in the hands of the Jews. In the thirteenth century the Italians learned the art, and the dyers then formed one of the most important guilds in Florence and other cities. Many dyestuffs were introduced into the West at the time of the crusades. Cochineal, which gives a brilliant red, was not known until the discovery of Mexico; and the aniline dyes, which now are largely used, date only from the nineteenth century. It is not too much to say that the most

[1] The points of the fashionable long-pointed shoes were often fastened by cords or small chains to the garters, to facilitate walking.

brilliantly tinted garments of the Middle Ages were poor and dull in hue compared with those now within reach of the poorest person.

187. Food of the nobles

The meals were served in the hall, on easily removable trestle tables. Noble visitors were always welcome, and all except those actively engaged at the time took their places at the board according to rank. The viands were brought in covered dishes across the court from the kitchen, which was a separate building. Jugs and vessels of curious shapes, often in imitation of animals, were scattered about the table. Before each person was placed a knife and spoon, and a drinking cup, often of wood or horn. Forks were unknown until the end of the thirteenth century, and food was eaten from a common dish with the fingers. Before and after each meal, pages brought basins of water and towels for washing the hands. There were no napkins; pieces of bread were used for cleansing the fingers during the meal, and then thrown under the table to the dogs. Dinner, served at midday, was announced by the blowing of horns. It was a long and substantial repast, consisting often of as many as ten or twelve courses, mostly meats and game. Dressed deer, pigs, and other animals were roasted whole on spits before an open fire. Roast swans, peacocks, and boars' heads are frequently mentioned in medieval writings. Pasties of venison and other game were common. On festal occasions live birds were sometimes placed in a pie, to be released "when the pie was opened" and hunted down with falcons in the hall at the close of the feast. Wine was drunk in great quantities. Pepper, cloves, ginger, and other spices were used by the wealthy in both food and drink, even the wines being peppered and honeyed. Coffee, tea, and all the native products of America (tobacco, Indian corn, potatoes, etc.) were of course unknown. The lavish waste of such a mode of life as here described kept the nobles in financial straits. It was one of the many causes of the decay of the feudal nobility, as compared with the growing power of the commercial classes who dwelt in the towns.

β. Life of the Peasants

Writers of the Middle Ages said that God had created three classes: knights to defend society, churchmen to pray, and peasants whose duty it was to till the soil and support by their labor the other classes. The peasants were divided into serfs and villeins. (1) The serfs were personally unfree, *i.e.* they were "bound to the soil," and owed many special obligations to their lord. Unlike slaves, however, they possessed plots of land which they tilled, and usually could not be sold off the estate. (2) The villeins were personally free and were exempt from the grievous burdens of the serfs. Equally with the serfs they owed their lord many menial services and dues for the land which they held of him. The dues took the form of money payments, and gifts of eggs, poultry, and part of the young of their flocks. The grinding of the peasants' meal, baking of their bread, pressing of their wine, oil, and cider, all had to be done with the lord's mill, oven, and press; and heavy fees were charged for the use of these. The services which the peasants owed consisted chiefly in cultivating the "demesne," or that part of the estate which was kept in the lord's own hand, and from which he drew the profits. Two or three days' work a week, with extra work at harvest and other times of need, was the usual amount exacted.

188. Serfs and villeins

During the later Middle Ages serfs were gradually raised to the rank of villeins; and villein services were precisely fixed, and finally commuted for the payment of small money rents. This emancipation of the peasants came much later in some countries than in others. In France it was, for the most part, accomplished before the opening of the Hundred Years' War (1337). There still existed some serfs in France, however, when the French Revolution began, in 1789. In England, as we shall see, the emancipation of the serfs began later than in France, but was practically completed by the time of the Reformation. Germany was more backward, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the serfs were

189. Gradual betterment of their lot

freed in Prussia. Poland and Russia were more backward still.

The peasants dwelt in villages, often situated at the foot of the hill on which stood the lord's manor house or castle. Near by was the parish church, with an open space in front and a graveyard attached. The peasants' houses usually consisted of but one room. They were flimsy structures, of wood or of wattled sticks plastered with mud, and were thatched with straw. There were few windows, no floors, and no chimneys. The door was often made in two parts, so that the upper portion could be opened to permit the smoke to escape. The cattle were housed under the same roof with the family, as is still the case in some parts of rural Switzerland and Germany. The streets were unpaved, and were often impassable with filth. About each house usually lay a small, ill-tended garden.

190. Houses and furniture

Within the houses there was very little furniture. Here is a list of the things which one well-to-do peasant family in France owned in the year 1345: —

2 feather beds, 15 linen sheets, and 4 striped yellow counterpanes.

1 hand-mill for grinding meal, a pestle and mortar for pounding grain, 2 grain chests, a kneading trough, and 2 ovens over which coals could be heaped for baking.

2 iron tripods on which to hang kettles over the fire; 2 metal pots and 1 large kettle.

1 metal bowl, 2 brass water jugs, 4 bottles, a copper box, a tin wash-tub, a metal warming-pan, 2 large chests, a box, a cupboard, 4 tables on trestles, a large table, and a bench.

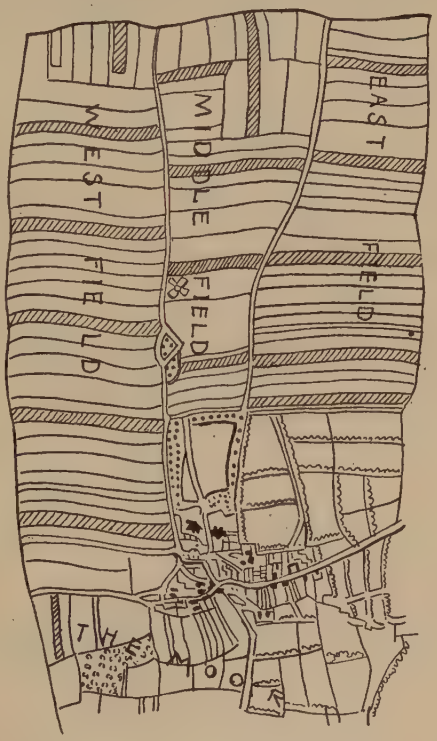
2 axes, 4 lances, a crossbow, a scythe, and some other tools.

The lands from which the villagers drew their living lay about the village in several great unfenced or "open" fields, normally three. Besides these fields, there were "common" lands to which each villager sent a certain number of cattle or sheep for pasturage; and the woodland and waste, to which the peasants went for fuel, and in which they might turn a limited number of pigs to feed on the acorns and nuts.

191. Medieval agriculture

The rights of hunting and fishing belonged exclusively to the lord and were jealously guarded.

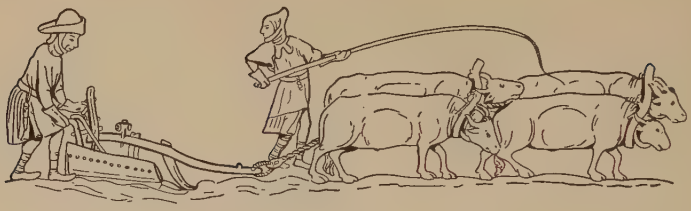
The time not taken up with labors on the lord's demesne was used by the peasant in tilling his own small holding in the open fields. A full villein holding usually consisted of about thirty acres, scattered in long narrow strips in the different fields, and intermixed with the holdings of other tenants. The origin of this curious system of intermixed holdings in open fields has never been satisfactorily explained; but it existed over the greater part of western Europe and lasted far down into modern times. The different strips were separated from one another by "balks" of unplowed turf. The plows were clumsy wooden affairs, which penetrated little below the surface. They were drawn by teams of from four to eight oxen; but the cattle of the Middle Ages were smaller than those produced by scientific breeding to-day.



PLAN OF A VILLAGE WITH OPEN FIELDS

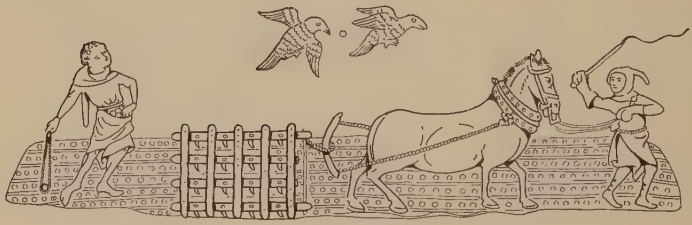
From a plan of the Common Field of Burton-Agnes, Yorkshire, England. The shaded strips, about one tenth of the whole, were the parson's share, or glebe. The lord's demesne usually consisted of strips similarly distributed.

A rude rotation of crops was practiced to avoid exhausting



PLOWING

BREAKING CLODS



HARROWING

REAPING

the soil. All the strips in a given field were planted with a winter grain (wheat) one year, the next year with a spring grain (oats), and the third year were plowed and lay fallow. Thus one third of the land was always resting. Under this primitive system of agriculture the yield was far less than now. In England, at the close of the thirteenth century, wheat yielded as low as six bushels an acre, and nine or ten bushels was probably a full average crop.

Bee-keeping was more usual in the Middle Ages than in modern times. The honey was used instead of sugar for almost all purposes of sweetening, and the wax was needed to make the tall candles in the churches, and also the seals used on official documents. Every great estate or "manor" was self-supporting to a surprising extent. Ale was home-brewed; wool was spun and cloth woven in the household; and the village blacksmith and carpenter performed the services beyond the powers of the household circle. For salt, and the rare articles that the village did not itself produce, the people of the manor resorted to periodical markets and fairs in neighboring towns.

192. Each manor self-sufficing

Except in time of war and famine, the condition of the peasant in the thirteenth century was not so bad as it became in later times. He was assured of a rude plenty, for his possession of land saved him from the grinding poverty which to-day is the lot of the unemployed. But his labor was incessant, and his food, clothing, and habitation were of the rudest and poorest. He was ignorant and superstitious, and oppression made him sullen. He was a butt for the wit of the noble classes and the courtly poets, and the name "villain" (villein) has been handed down to us as the synonym for all that is base. In a poem — which was doubtless written to please the nobles — the writer scolds at the villein because he was too well fed, and (as he says) "made faces" at the clergy. "Ought he to eat fish?" the poet asks. "Let him eat thistles, briars, thorns, and straw, on Sunday for fodder; and pea-husks during the week! Let him keep watch all his days, and

193. General condition of the peasants

Le Despit au Vilain, in Leymarie, *Histoire des Paysans*, 498

have trouble. Thus ought villeins to live. Ought he to eat meats? He ought to go naked on all fours, and crop herbs with the horned cattle in the fields!" With such sentiments animating the masters, it is not surprising that, as time went on, many and terrible uprisings of the peasants broke out against their feudal lords.

C. Medieval Cities and Commerce

194. Revival of city life

The economic life of the medieval monasteries and manors was almost entirely agricultural. City life, which had declined with the Germanic invasions, began to revive in the eleventh century, and then a slow transformation set in which made the life of the time more complex. Manufactures and commerce arose again; and the industrial isolation and self-sufficiency of the earlier period gave place to an interdependence of communities and classes. Alongside the armored knight and the tonsured "clerk," there now appeared the sturdy figure of the "burgher," or townsman. To the two upper classes, or "estates," of society (the nobility and the clergy), there was added the Third Estate, composed of the citizens of the towns. The burghers grew rich and powerful, and in time came to look down on the masses of unskilled laborers and peasants below them with almost as much contempt as that with which they themselves were regarded by the nobles and higher clergy. The twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were the time of the most rapid growth of this new power.

In the chapter on the Hohenstaufen Empire brief mention has been made of the revival of city life in Italy (§ 120). The movement came earlier there than elsewhere largely because the location of Italy encouraged Mediterranean trade; and this same factor influenced the growth of the towns of southern France as well, where they began to develop at about the same time as those in Italy. The movement spread also to northern France, and along the trade routes over the Alps to the Danube and Rhine valleys, whence it passed to the coasts of the Baltic

Sea. In England the towns developed later than on the Continent, and in that land they never gained so much political power and independence as elsewhere in Europe.

The towns of the Middle Ages arose in various ways. Many of them occupied the sites of ancient Roman cities. Although Roman municipal *governments* had perished everywhere in western Europe at the time of the Germanic invasions, the survival of the material features of the Roman cities, — such as their walls, streets, and buildings, — and the favorable location for commerce which they occupied, aided the revival and growth of city life. Cities also arose in course of time about many centers where towns had not previously existed. In some places the center of such growth was a monastery which offered employment and protection to artisans and peasants. In other places the center was some strong castle, placed perhaps at the ford of a river or other location favorable for commerce. In many cases the growth of the town was the result of a right to hold a fair or periodical market at the place in question. Kings and lords frequently granted to a village or a group of merchants such rights, and the natural result was a concentration of industry and commerce, and the slow rise of a city organization. **195. Origin of the towns**

The inhabitants of these centers of population were at first mere serfs and villeins, under the feudal lordship of the neighboring monastery, bishop, or lord. As commerce and wealth increased, a desire for freedom and self-government grew, but their attainment came only gradually and was the result of the coöperation of several factors. Union among the inhabitants was perhaps first fostered by the necessity of erecting or repairing the city walls and of protecting their rights of trade; but organizations for religious purposes also helped to bind them together. In course of time organizations called guilds arose (§ 200) and proved a powerful aid in uniting and strengthening the townsmen; for it was discovered that it was easier for them, when organized in such bodies, to obtain concessions from the lord than for single individuals to do so. **196. Freedom and self-government**

The crusades favored the growth of towns, alike by stimulating commerce, by weakening the powers of resistance of the feudal nobles, and by creating a need for money which the townsmen were willing to furnish in return for grants of privileges. Sometimes the townsmen bought their freedom from their lords; sometimes they won it after long struggles and much fighting. Sometimes the nobles and the clergy were wise enough to join with the townsmen, and share in the benefits which the town brought; sometimes they fought them foolishly and bitterly. In Italy the feudal nobles were forced to throw in their lot with the towns, and to take up their residence for

A Medieval Italian Town (Siena)

Showing the battlemented towers of rival families

part of every year within the city walls. Danger from without was thus reduced, but another danger followed. Every Italian city soon bristled with tall, battlemented towers, the strongholds of rival clans; and family, factional, and regional fights, the expression of hereditary hatreds, became alarmingly frequent. In Germany and in Italy, the power of the king was not great enough to make much difference one way or the other. In France, the kings favored the towns against their lords, and used them to break down the power of the feudal nobles. Then, when the kings' power had become so strong that they no longer feared the nobles, they checked the power of the towns, lest they in turn might become powerful and independent.

The rights won by the townsmen were embodied in written charters, which were carefully preserved in the great archive chests of their town halls. The privileges granted ranged from (1) mere safeguards against oppression at the hands of the lord's officials, who still composed the only municipal government, to (2) grants of complete administrative and judicial independence, with a government chosen by the citizens.

197. Charters of the towns

Towns which secured the right to elect their own officers and govern themselves were called "communes." They had greater unity and greater legal privileges than towns which were not communes.[1] Often they entered into the feudal structure, both as vassals and as suzerains. They were ruled either (as in northern France) by a mayor and aldermen, or (in southern France and Italy) by a board of "consuls" without a mayor. The outward signs of a commune were (1) the possession of a corporate seal, (2) of a belfry, which served as watch tower, depot of archives, and magazine of arms, and (3) of stocks and pillory for the punishment of offenders. The charter of a commune was usually the outcome of a long series of disagreements, usurpations, and bloody insurrections; and frequent payments to lord and overlord were necessary to preserve its hard-won liberties. The commune governments were free in the sense that they were practically exempt from external

198. Towns with rights of self-government

[1] The charter granted the little town of Lorris is an example of the grants to towns which were not communes. It contains the following provisions: (1) No townsman shall pay more than a small quitrent for his house and each acre of land. (2) He shall pay no toll on grain and wine of his own production, nor on his purchases at the Wednesday market. (3) He shall not be obliged to go to war for his lord unless he can return the same day. (4) He shall not be forced to go outside the town for the trial of his lawsuits, and various specific abuses connected with the courts shall be reformed. (5) No one shall be required to work for the lord, except to bring wood to his kitchen, and to take his wine twice a year to Orleans, and then only those who have horses and carts, and after due notice. (6) No charge shall be made for the use of the oven, nor for the public crier at marriages; and the dead wood in the forest may be taken by the men of Lorris for their own use. (7) Whoever wishes may sell his property and freely depart; and any stranger who remains a year and a day, without being claimed by his lord, shall be free.

This charter proved so popular that it was copied, in whole or in part, by eighty-three other towns of France. It was profitable alike to the little towns that received it and to the lords who granted it.

control. Their citizens, however, were often far from enjoying individual liberty, for the member of a commune was bound to his town as closely as a serf to the soil. He belonged all his life to a certain class, to a trade, to a guild, to a parish, to a ward. The city government regulated his private life as minutely as his guild did the carrying on of his business. The number of trees he might plant in his orchard, the number of priests and candles he might employ at funerals, were often precisely regulated.

Belfry of Bruges

Built from 1291 to about 1390; 352 feet high

199. Daily life in the towns

The medieval towns were crowded within walls, which (like the castles) were defended by battlements and towers. Outside lay the settlements (called in France *faubourgs*) of the unprivileged inhabitants. In the belfry, watch was kept day and night. Its warning bell announced the approach of enemies; it sounded the alarm of fire, the summons to court and to council, and the hours for beginning and quitting work; it also rang the

"curfew" (*couvre feu*) at night, which was the signal to extinguish lights and cover fires. The streets were narrow, unpaved, and full of mudholes; and hogs and other animals roamed them at pleasure. Extensive gardens belonging to convents and hospitals caused the streets to twist and turn, and presented rare glimpses of green amid the wilderness of high pointed roofs.

In the thirteenth century the wealthier citizens began to erect comfortable houses. The ground-floor front was usually taken up by an arched window-opening in which the merchant displayed his wares. In the rear was carried on the manufacture of the articles sold in the shop. The shopkeepers were grouped by trades. Here was the street of the tanners, there that of the goldsmiths; elsewhere were the drapers, armor makers, parchment makers, and money changers. Churches, of which great numbers were built in the thirteenth century, rose amid the shops and houses, which pressed up to their very walls. In towns which were the seats of bishops, giant cathedrals towered above everything else. The business quarters, with their open booths and stalls placed in the streets, resembled bazaars, through which pedestrians could with difficulty thread their way. Horses and carts were obliged to seek less crowded thoroughfares. At meal time, business ceased and booths were closed. When curfew sounded at the close of day, the streets became silent and deserted, — save for the watch, making their appointed rounds, and the adventurous few whom necessity or pleasure led to brave the dangers of the unlighted streets.

200. Industry and the guilds

In the twelfth century the chief occupation of the citizens was still agriculture; but under the protection afforded by town walls and charters, and by the growing power of the king, industry and commerce developed rapidly. Manufacturing was carried on entirely by hand labor, and the tools were those which had been employed by workmen from times immemorial. Each trade was organized into a guild, which laid down rules for carrying it on and had the power to

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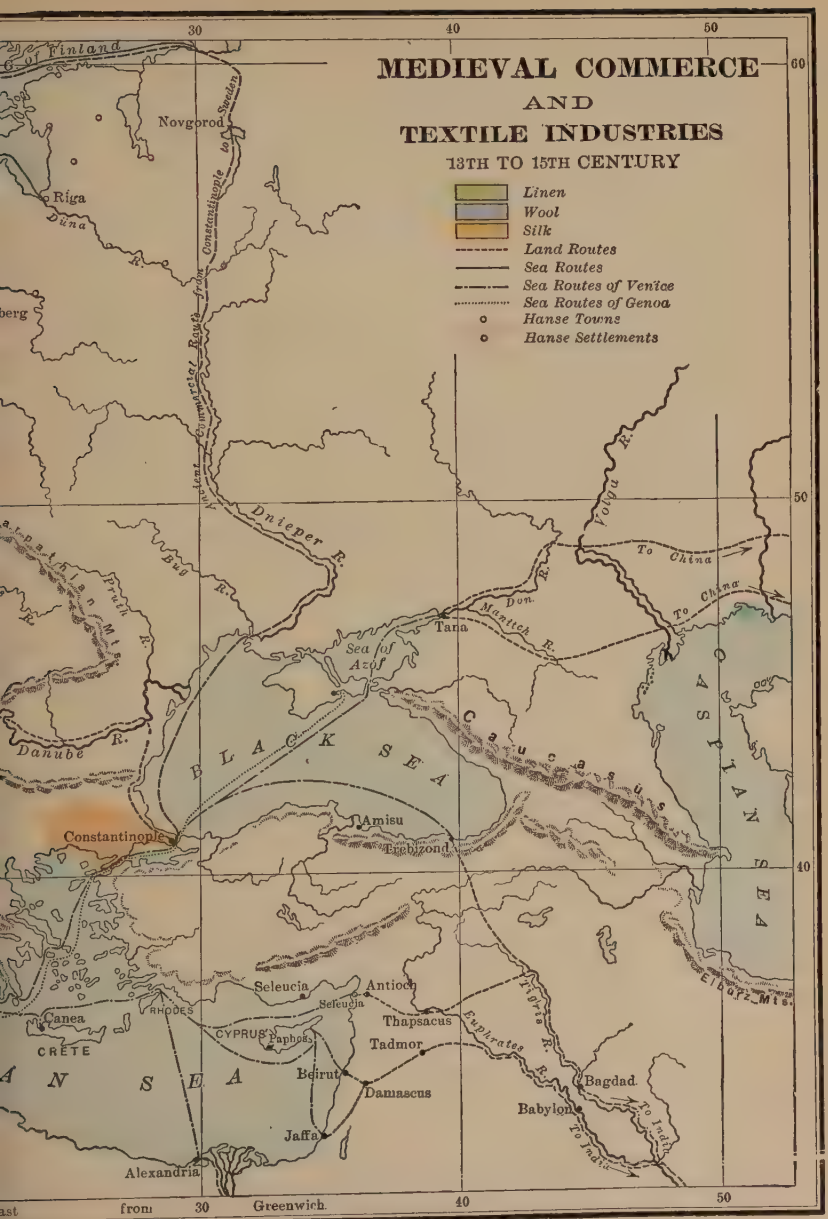
Bergen
Skager Rack
NORTH SEA
Copenhagen
Stockh
Oresund
Lübeck
Hamburg
Stettin
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Frankfort
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Erfurt
York
Hull
Grimsby
Yarmouth
Amsterdam
Stourbridge
London
Bristol
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Cologne
Southampton
Boulogne
Ypres
Namur
Cambrai
Frankfort
English Channel
Beauvais
Laon
Mainz
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Paris
Seine R.
Strassburg
Ulm
Passau
Danube R.
Vienna
Lorris
Orleans
Troyes
Augsburg
Loire R.
Tours
Basel
Brenner Pass
Chalons
Julier Pass
Lyons
Milan
Verona
Venice
Rhone R.
Po R.
Adige R.
Drave R.
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Genoa
Florence
Beaucaire
Pisa
Siena
Narbonne
Marseilles
Pyrenees
CORSICA
Oporto
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Barcelona
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
SARDINIA
Tagus R.
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Guadalquivir R.
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Messina
SICILY
Seville
Algiers
Tunis
Syracuse
Strait of Gibraltar
Oran
Tripoli
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L.L.POATES, ENGRG CO., N.Y.
Longitud


MEDIEVAL COMMERCE
AND
TEXTILE INDUSTRIES
13TH TO 15TH CENTURY
Linen
Wool
Silk
Land Routes
Sea Routes
Sea Routes of Venice
Sea Routes of Genoa
Hanse Towns
Hanse Settlements
Gulf of Finland
Novgorod
Riga
Dvina R.
Constantinople to Sweden
Inland Commercial Route from
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Pripet R.
Volga R.
To China
Don R.
Tana
Sea of Azof
Mastich R.
Caucasus Mts.
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Danube R.
Amisu
Trebizond
Constantinople
Seleucia
Antioch
Thapsacus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Elburz Mts.
RHODES
Canea
CRETE
CYPRUS
Paphos
Tadmor
Beirut
Damascus
Bagdad
Babylon
To India
Jaffa
Alexandria
30
40
50
60
Greenwich
from

inspect goods and to confiscate inferior products. The guildsmen were divided into three classes: (1) the apprentices, who served from three to thirteen years, and paid considerable sums for their instruction; (2) the workmen ("journeymen"), who had finished their apprenticeship and received wages; and (3) the masters, who had risen in the trade and had become employers.

Apprentices and workmen were lodged and fed with the master's family above the shop. It was usually easy for a frugal workman to save enough to set up as a master in his turn. Under these conditions antagonism between capital and labor did not exist. The guilds had religious, benevolent, and social features, in addition to their industrial functions. Each guild maintained a common fund, made up largely of fines assessed upon members for breaches of the guild regulations. This was used for feasting, for masses, for the relief of the sick and for the burial of dead members. Guilds formed of members pursuing the same trade, such as weaving or dyeing, were called craft guilds. Older, richer, and more influential in developing the liberties of the towns, were the merchant guilds, the members of which engaged in more distant commerce.

201. Medieval commerce

After the Germanic invasions, commerce had for a time almost ceased. There was little demand for foreign wares or costly articles of luxury, and the roads were too insecure to make the transportation of goods profitable. Under the early feudal *régime*, where downright robbery was not practiced, the lords exacted ruinous tolls at every bridge, market, and highway. It was only after the crusades had stimulated enterprise and created new tastes that commerce played a chief part in medieval life.

The Italian towns, because of their central position in the Mediterranean, were the first to feel this quickening impulse, and Amalfi (ä-mäl'fē), Pisa, Genoa, and Venice early became important commercial centers. The trade of Venice was originally confined to salt and fish, the products of its waters. In the time of the crusades it developed a vast commerce in spices, perfumes,

sugar, silks, and other goods, which came from the East by way of the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea. In the fourteenth century Venice possessed a merchant marine of three thousand vessels, and each year sent large fleets through the Strait of Gibraltar to Flanders and the English seaports. Land routes led from Venice over the Brenner and Julier (zhü-lyā′) passes of the Alps to the upper Danube and the Rhine, where they joined the route from Constantinople and the Black Sea. Venetian trade enriched Augsburg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Nuremberg, and a host of towns on the Rhine River. From Genoa a much-traveled route (until blocked by the Hundred Years' War, ch. xiii) led through France by way of the river Rhone. The great northern market for all this commerce was Bruges (brüzh), where products of the South and East were exchanged for the furs, amber, fish, and woolen cloths of the North. Merchants from seventeen kingdoms had settled homes in Bruges, and strangers journeyed thither from all parts of the known world. In the fifteenth century Antwerp wrested from Bruges this preëminence, largely as a result of the untrammeled freedom of trade which it granted.

VENETIAN SHIPS

From a painting by Carpaccio in Venice

Great fairs were held periodically in certain cities, under the license of the king or of some great lord who profited by the fees paid to him. Such fairs were a necessity in a time when ordinary villages were entirely without shops, and merchants, even in cities and towns, carried only a limited variety and quantity of goods. Examples were the fairs in England held at Smithfield (just outside of London) and at Stourbridge;

202. Commercial organizations

in France at Beaucaire (bo-câr′) and Troyes (trwä); and in Germany at Leipzig (līp′sĭk) and Frankfort-on-the-Main. To these cities, during the time that the fair was held, came merchants and traders from all over Europe; and thither, too, came the

A Medieval Fair. Depicted by Parmentier in *Album Historique*

people for miles around to lay in their yearly stock of necessaries or to sell the products of their industry.

In the Middle Ages merchants seldom traded as individuals, nor did they look to the state to protect their interests abroad, as is to-day the case. They traded rather as members (1) of the merchant guild of their town, which often secured special rights and exclusive privileges in other towns and countries; or (2) of some commercial company, such as that of the Medici of Florence (§ 331); or (3) of some great confederacy of towns, such as the Hanseatic (han-se-ăt′ic) League of northern Germany.

The Hanseatic League gradually arose from a union of German merchants abroad and German towns at home. Its objects were common defense, security of traffic by land and sea, settlement of disputes between members, and the acquiring

and maintaining of special privileges in foreign countries. A chief article of its commerce was herring and other salt fish, which were consumed in enormous quantities all over Europe, owing to the rules of the church which forbade the eating of meat on Fridays and for the forty days during Lent. Other articles of trade were timber, pitch, furs, amber, and grain. The league was completely formed by the thirteenth century. At its greatest extent, it included more than ninety cities of the Baltic and North Sea regions, both seaports and inland towns. Lü'beck (on the Baltic) was its capital, and there its congresses were held and its records kept. Hamburg, Brem'en, Cologne (co-lōn'), Danzig (dän'tsiĸ), and Wisby (on the island of Gothland) were important members of the league. Warehouses and trading stations were maintained at Nov'gorod in Russia, Bergen (bĕr'gen) in Norway, Bruges in Flanders, and London in England.

203. Hanseatic League (1200–1450)

In the fourteenth century the Hanseatic League was drawn into a series of wars with Denmark. Their cause was the attempt of Denmark to levy tolls on vessels entering or leaving the Baltic Sea, and on those fishing in Danish waters. The league now became a great political confederation, with frequent assemblies, a federal tax, and a federal navy and military forces. After 1450 came a period of decay. This was due to the rise of foreign competition in trade, to the revival of Denmark, to the consolidation of the power of the German princes, and to an unexplained shifting of the herring "schools" from the Baltic to more distant feeding grounds. The final downfall of the Hanseatic League, however, did not come until the Thirty Years' War, in the seventeenth century. The part which this civic league played in promoting trade, suppressing piracy and robbery, training the people to orderly life and liberty, and spreading comforts and conveniences in half-barbarous lands, can scarcely be overestimated. It was the great agency in advancing, in northern Germany and neighboring lands, that civilization and enlightenment which it was the work of the towns in general to promote throughout Europe.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Point out in the pictures the different parts of a castle. (2) What were the good features of chivalry? Its defects? (3) Find different types of armor in the illustrations of this book. (4) Mention any spectacles or amusements to-day which take the place of tournaments. (5) What part of your training was almost wholly omitted in the case of medieval boys and girls? (6) Make a list of some of the necessaries of modern life which were lacking in the Middle Ages. (7) Compare the life of the farmer to-day with that of the medieval peasant. (8) Compare the position of the workingman of to-day with that of the guild artisan. (9) What advantages did the towns gain from their charters? (10) What differences would you note between a medieval commune and a modern city? (11) Compare the commerce of the Middle Ages with that of to-day in respect to its extent, organization, commodities dealt in, and means of transport. (12) Why do we not have to-day such organizations as the Hanseatic League?

Search Topics. — (1) CHIVALRY. Gautier, *Chivalry*, ch. i; Cornish, *Chivalry*, ch. xvi; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters*, 353–368, 406–438; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, 112–121; Munro, *Middle Ages*, 240–247; Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe*, 257–262; Seignobos, *Feudal Régime*, 32–34, 64–65; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 276–277. — (2) DESCRIPTIONS OF TYPICAL MANORS. Seebohm, *English Village Community*, 1–13, 22–32; University of Pennsylvania, *Reprints*, III, No. 5, 1–24, 31–32; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 399–406; Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 212–217. — (3) MEDIEVAL METHODS OF AGRICULTURE. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 33–39; Cunningham, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, 166–175; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), I, 389–390. — (4) ORIGIN OF MEDIEVAL TOWNS. Giry and Réville, *Emancipation of the Medieval Towns*, ch. i. — (5) HOW THE TOWNS OBTAINED THEIR LIBERTIES. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 528–538; Giry and Réville, *Emancipation of the Medieval Towns*. — (6) OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN. Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 358–365; Munro, *Middle Ages*, 154–155; Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 171–172. — (7) THE MERCHANT GUILD. Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 59–64; Cunningham, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, 54–56. — (8) THE CRAFT GUILDS. Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 64–71; Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 165–167; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 409–412; Cheyney, *Readings*, 209–211. — (9) MARKETS AND FAIRS. Cheyney, *Social and Industrial History of England*, 75–79; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters*, 506–508; Gibbins, *History of Commerce*, 77–82; Traill, *Social England*, I, 460–470. — (10) TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, Pt. I. — (11) COMMERCE OF VENICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Weil, *Navy of Venice*, 314–327; Hazlitt, *Venetian Republic*, IV, ch. xxv. — (12) Hanseatic League. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, 181–202; Gibbins, *History of Commerce*, ch. iv; Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 168–170; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*. — (13) The Jews in the Middle Ages. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England* (Introduction); Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, § 70 and § 93; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 426–428; Cheyney, *Readings*, 227–231; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, 153–156. — (14) A Medieval Tournament. Gautier, *Chivalry*, 456–469; Cornish, *Chivalry*, ch. v; Cutts, *Scenes and Characters*, 412–418. — (15) Falconry and the Chase. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Falconry"; Indewick, *Forests and Forest Courts*. — (16) Dress. Lacroix, *Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages; Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), VII, 237–239.

General Reading. — The profusely illustrated works by Lacroix are the best single source for the life of the Middle Ages. Gautier's *Chivalry* (illustrated) sketches the life of the nobles as depicted in medieval French literature. Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française* ("Château," "Donjon," etc.) gives the best account of the medieval castle; see also Oman, *Art of War*, Bk. VI, ch. vii, and an article in *The History Teacher's Magazine* for November, 1912. For the peasants and medieval agriculture see works by Seebohm, Ashley, and Vinogradoff, together with Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime*. Luchaire's *Manuel des Institutions Françaises* is the best account for France. Giry and Réville's *Emancipation of the Medieval Towns* (translated from Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*), is the best brief account in English of the medieval towns. Additional references of value are the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), VI, 784–790; and the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1898, 415–425.

CHAPTER X

THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

A. Universities and Learning

Except for the "Dark Age" comprised in the period of the Germanic invasions, the Middle Ages were far from being a time of intellectual and artistic stagnation. From the tenth century to the close of the medieval period there was an active and vigorous intellectual life, which manifested itself in many ways. It may be seen in the schools and universities of the period, in the highly developed scholastic philosophy with which the universities were largely concerned, and in the study of the civil and canon law. The methods of thought and the subject matter of this intellectual life were different in many ways from those of to-day, but the reality and activity of it cannot be questioned.

204. Intellectual life of the Middle Ages

The universities of to-day, which throughout the world are the chief agencies in promoting higher education and advancing knowledge, are largely an inheritance from the Middle Ages. They first arose as an outgrowth of the earlier monastic and cathedral schools, maintained for the education of the clergy. In these schools were taught the "seven liberal arts" bequeathed to the Middle Ages by dying Greece and Rome. The liberal arts included Latin grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics (the art of formal reasoning), which formed the *triv'ium;* and the four sciences of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, constituting the *quadriv'ium.* The sum of the instruction given in any one of these subjects was very small, and it was based almost entirely on scanty textbooks made in the sixth century. "In arithmetic the students were taught to

205. Monastic and cathedral schools

keep simple accounts; in music, what was necessary for the church services; in geometry, a few problems; in astronomy, enough to calculate the date of Easter." The method of instruction was for the teacher to dictate dry summaries in Latin, which his students copied word for word. There was no inquiry or investigation, and little criticism. In spite of Charlemagne's efforts to improve education, little advance was made until the eleventh century. With the settling down of Europe after the period of the invasions there then came a dawn of better things. From the Arabian schools of Spain and Alexandria, and from the Greek schools of Constantinople, new influences made themselves felt. Here and there teachers began to give instruction in new subjects,—in philosophy, theology, medicine, and law. There followed what has sometimes been called the "twelfth-century Renaissance." It manifested itself especially in the rise of the universities, and in the formation of the scholastic philosophy.

Munro, *Middle Ages*, 162

A teacher whose work contributed very largely to these two developments was Peter Ab'elard. He was born of a noble family in Brittany, shortly before the First Crusade; he died in 1142, just before the Second Crusade. Abelard early showed a preference for learning over the life of a knight, and attended the lectures given by a master of the cathedral school of Paris. He soon surpassed his teacher in eloquence and reasoning, and was acknowledged by him to be his superior. At the early age of twenty-two, Abelard himself began to give lectures, and was soon renowned as the foremost scholar of his time. Students flocked in thousands to his lectures at Paris, and his writings were read by all learned men. But his success brought him enemies; his life was saddened by a romantic love affair which had a most unhappy ending; and his teachings encountered bitter opposition.

206. Peter Abelard (d. 1142)

The earlier scholars of the tenth and eleventh centuries were ready to accept as true almost everything which was written. Abelard departed from this practice and insisted upon questioning the correctness of the information handed down by earlier

writers. In a famous work called *Sic et Non* (Yes and No) he showed that the early church fathers often gave contradictory reports of historical facts and of theological teachings. The whole tendency of his life and work was to teach that nothing was to be accepted as true which could not be proved to be so. He showed a spirit of freedom of thought which after ages were long in obtaining. This at last brought about his own downfall. Saint Bernard, the great abbot of the monastery of Clairvaux (clâr-vō′), bitterly opposed Abelard. "He stood for the principle of authority; to the doubts of reason, which seeks truth, he opposed faith, which solves all difficulties in the name of authority." In the end Bernard triumphed, and Abelard was condemned for heresy by a church council. He retired broken in health to the monastery of Cluny, where he died soon afterwards.

207. Rise of the University of Paris

As a result of the fame of Abelard's teaching, Paris became the chief center of learning in Europe. But the masters and students who flocked thither were strangers in the city, and were often subjected to maltreatment and extortion. It became necessary for them to organize in defense of their rights, and the model which they naturally chose was that of the guilds. The masters (or university professors) corresponded to the master workmen of the guilds; the bachelors of arts, who were licensed to teach the elementary subjects, may be compared to the journeymen workmen; the students took the place of the apprentices. The organization of the university was at first purely voluntary, without authorization from either church or state. Quarrels were frequent between the students and the townsmen, often on frivolous grounds, and at times resulted in bloodshed. In 1200, in such a quarrel, the townspeople supported by the city officers killed five of the students. The masters supported the students, and threatened to suspend their lectures and to remove from Paris. To appease them, King Philip Augustus ordered that the university should thenceforth be a corporation, and that its students, in criminal cases, should be tried only by the university itself, and not by the city officers. This may be taken as the date of the legal recognition of the Uni-

versity of Paris. By subsequent grants from Pope and king alike it gained larger and larger privileges.

At various points in western Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, other universities arose. Usually they grew in ways similar to those which produced the university at Paris. As a rule they began first by an informal grouping together of masters and students. Conflicts between townsmen and students are everywhere met with. Then, to

208. Other universities

CHIEF UNIVERSITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

define and regulate the rights of students and masters, charters were obtained from the king or Pope giving to the university a legal organization. At a later date enlightened rulers founded universities outright, just as they founded new towns. The accompanying map shows the spread of the movement and the chief places at which universities sprang up.

The University of Paris was the most renowned school for

philosophy and theology. The University of Bologna became the chief center for the study of law. The University of Salerno, in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, was renowned as the chief center of instruction in medicine. This university was in existence as early as the ninth century, and hence ranks as the oldest university in Europe. Its rise at so early a date is to be ascribed to the persistence of Greek influence in southern Italy. In all the universities the "arts" course, based on the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium*, was required before students could take up the higher subjects, and the great majority of students never advanced beyond this elementary course.

Owing to the scarcity of books, which at that time were all hand-written, the instruction was almost entirely by means of lectures. The master had his chair, and lectured from a desk. The students sat or squatted on the straw or rushes with which the floor was strewn. The language used was naturally Latin, since that was the official language of the church. From about the sixth century, the knowledge of the Greek tongue had practically disappeared from western Europe. The universal use of Latin had one advantage, for it made it easy for students to pass from the universities of one country to those of another. The extent to which the students wandered about, seeking instruction now from one noted teacher and now from another, was remarkable. Having no books and few possessions, and living often by begging, they were free to come and go at will.

209. Life of the universities

A School of the Eleventh Century

From a contemporary MS.

The universities often possessed no buildings of their own.

The masters gave instruction in their own hired quarters, and were paid by the fees which they collected from their hearers. There were hardly any university libraries; and of course there were no laboratories for the study of natural science, for this subject was scarcely taught at all. Not merely the students, but the universities as a whole were less fixed in location than to-day. When disputes arose with civic authorities, it was easy for students and masters to leave in a body for some locality where they would be more favorably treated. A number of the universities in the later Middle Ages either arose in this way, or were strengthened by migrations of students and masters from an older university as the result of a local quarrel. In part this is the history of the growth of the University of Oxford (England). Masters and students were present at Oxford as early as the reign of Henry II, in the twelfth century; but it was only after a great secession from the University of Paris (in 1229) that Oxford became an important university.

Seal of Oxford University

The universities arose under the protection, and continued to be largely under the control, of the church. The masters were usually clergymen, and the students possessed some of the privileges of the clerical class. Many of the students were mere boys of twelve, while others were gray-bearded men. The numbers in attendance at the most famous universities were often very large. Paris and Bologna probably had 6000 or 7000 students at the time of their greatest prosperity, and Oxford, 1500 to 3000. Eight to fourteen years were often spent by students in attendance at different universities. The students were usually a disorderly and turbulent class, as their frequent brawls would

indicate. Many of their songs, written in rhymed Latin (and hence totally unlike classical Latin verse), have come down to us. These often breathe a most unclerical spirit.[1]

210. Scholastic philosophy

The most characteristic subject of instruction in the medieval universities was scholastic philosophy, so called from the "schoolmen" who created it. Its method of investigation was by the formal reasoning, or logic, which the great Greek philosopher Aristotle had taught the world in the fourth century B.C. Until the middle of the twelfth century A.D., Aristotle's *Logic* was the only one of his works which the Middle Ages knew. By the year 1200, however, translations of most of the other works of Aristotle, in which are contained so much of the scientific and other knowledge of the ancients, had come into Christian Europe from Mohammedan Spain. These translations had been made from the Greek into Arabic, and from Arabic into Latin, and were full of errors. Nevertheless they gave a real impetus to the learning of the time.

After the defeat of Abelard by Saint Bernard, freedom of thinking was largely overthrown. The task of the schoolmen thenceforth was not to *test* the teachings of the church, to see whether they were true or not. Accepting these teachings through faith as true, they sought to show the *grounds* of their truth, and *how* they were true. In general we may say that the schoolmen showed marvelous vigor and subtlety of mind in their reasoning. The defect of their method was that they "attempted to extract knowledge from consciousness, by formal rea-

[1] A few stanzas from one of these songs, called the "Song of the Open Road," will illustrate the character of this literature and will show something of the student life. After each couplet occurs the refrain "Tara, tantara, teine!" The translation is by John Addington Symonds, in his little volume entitled *Wine, Women, and Song: Medieval Latin Students' Songs:*—

"We are wandering,
Blithesome and squandering.

"Eat to satiety,
Drink to propriety.

"Laugh till our sides we split,
Rags on our hides we fit.

"Jesting eternally,
Quaffing infernally.

"When we're in neediness,
Thieve we with greediness.

"Brother, best friend, adieu!
Now, I must part from you."

soning, instead of by investigation, observation, and research."[1] Thomas Aqui'nas (died 1274) was the greatest of the medieval schoolmen, and his application of the Aristotelian logic to the problems of theology profoundly influenced all later teaching.

211. Roger Bacon and experimental science

One at least of the teachers of the thirteenth century rebelled against the method of the schoolmen, and sought to advance knowledge by scientific experiments. This was Roger Bacon,[2] an English Franciscan friar (died 1294). He was educated at Oxford, and was able to read both Arabic and Greek books in their original tongues. He believed that knowledge could be more certainly and rapidly advanced by

[1] A great English writer at the beginning of the seventeenth century made this criticism of scholasticism: "This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign among the schoolmen, who, — having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator), as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, whether of nature or time, — did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth, indeed, cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit." — Sir Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, IV, 5.

As illustration of the errors into which men of keen intellect fell through blind reliance upon authority and failure to use their powers of observation and research, we have the teaching of a schoolman called Albert the Great that a diamond can be softened in the blood of a stag, especially if the animal has been fed on wine and parsley. Experiment would immediately have proved this statement to be false. Medieval science was full of such absurdities, which were transmitted from one writer to another without any effort at verification.

But many questions which were discussed by the schoolmen seem absurd to us merely because their significance is not at once apparent. Thus the question raised by Albert the Great, "What happens if a mouse eats the consecrated host [in the Lord's Supper]?" really involves the *nature of the sacraments* and *their mode of operation*. The following questions discussed by Thomas Aquinas involve *the nature of space* and *the character of celestial bodies:* "Whether an angel can be in more than one place at one and the same time; whether more angels than one can be in one and the same place at the same time; whether angels have local motion; and whether, if they have, they pass through intermediate space." — Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I, quest. 52, 53. For further examples of scholastic method, see University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, III, No. 6.

[2] Roger Bacon must not be confused with his countryman Sir Francis Bacon, who lived three centuries later.

experimenting with real things, than by poring over bad translations of Aristotle. As a result of his sounder methods, he learned so much about explosives that many persons believe that he invented gunpowder. He was aware of the help which sailors could gain from the magnetic needle in steering their vessels. He knew the properties of burning glasses, and told how to construct telescopes. He believed in the sphericity of the earth, and discussed the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing westward into the Atlantic. The following passage from one of his writings shows that he foresaw some inventions of our own day: "Instruments for navigation can be made which will do away with the necessity of rowers, so that great vessels shall be borne about with only a single man to guide them. Carriages can be constructed to move without animals to draw them, and with incredible speed. Machines for flying can be made in which a man sits and turns an ingenious device by which skillfully contrived wings are made to strike the air in the manner of a flying bird. Arrangements can be devised for raising and lowering weights indefinitely great, and bridges can be constructed ingeniously so as to span rivers without any supports." Bacon vigorously attacked the scholars and learning of his day, and for fourteen years he was imprisoned by the head of the Franciscan order. He found few or no followers, and it is only in our time that his true greatness has been appreciated.

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 461 (condensed)

In one practical field, learning made great advances in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was in the field of law. Until the twelfth century the written law of Rome, as codified by Justinian (§ 17), continued to be known, although it was imperfectly understood. Now men arrived at a better understanding of it, and awoke to a realization that its principles were especially applicable to the new conditions produced by the rise of city life. At Bologna, about the year 1110, lectures began to be given on Justinian's *Code* and *Institutes*. Before the end of that century students flocked to Bologna in thousands to profit by this new and remunerative study.

212. Revived study of Roman law

"Of all the centuries," says a writer on the history of law, "the twelfth is the most legal. In no age since the classical days of Roman law has so large a part of the sum total of intellectual endeavor been devoted to jurisprudence. From every corner of western Europe students flocked to Italy. It was as if a new gospel had been revealed. Before the end of the century complaints were loud that theology was neglected, that the liberal arts were despised, that men would learn law and nothing but law."

Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I, 111

A powerful class of trained lawyers resulted from this study. One of the principles of Roman jurisprudence (§ 17) was that "the will of the prince has the force of law." The lawyers, therefore, became valuable allies of Emperors and kings in their warfare against feudal and clerical opponents. The revived study of Roman law thus greatly aided in transforming the feudal sovereignties of the Middle Ages into the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth century.

Institutes, I, ii, 6

About the same time, the study of the church (or canon) law received a powerful impetus. In part this was due to such contests as that over investiture (ch. vi); in part it was due to the preparation of a great textbook on canon law, which aided the study. The materials for this study were drawn from the following sources:—

213. Growth of canon law

1. The teachings of the Scriptures, — that is, the Old and New Testaments.
2. The decrees of church councils, from the Council of Nicaea on.
3. The writings of the Fathers, or great writers of the church, from the first to about the seventh century. Their books were supposed to contain additional teachings of Christ and the Apostles, which were not recorded in the New Testament but were handed down by tradition until the time of these writers.
4. The decretals of the Popes, including the False Decretals (§ 91).

Canon law became as elaborate and comprehensive a system as the Roman (civil) law and as great a subject of study; and canon lawyers in their turn proved as zealous upholders of the papal claims as civil lawyers were of imperial prerogatives.

B. Heresy and its Suppression

Another sign of intellectual activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the spread of certain heresies in the church.

214. Growth of heresy Heresy, as we have seen, consisted in the maintaining of any belief, in matters of faith and morals, that the church pronounced erroneous. It was a most serious offense in the Middle Ages. It was regarded as treason to the church, the institution established by God to save men's souls from hell. To teach heresy was to endanger the souls of others. Heretics who persisted in their views, therefore, were burned to death at the stake. Until long after the Middle Ages, religious toleration — that is, permitting persons peaceably to hold views not sanctioned by the church — was practically unknown. It was by every one acknowledged that duty to God demanded that persistent heretics should be put to death.

Nevertheless, in the twelfth century, there came a great increase in heresy. This was due in part to the increased intellectual activity of that time, and the difficulty of ascertaining just what the church had decided on different religious points. In part it was due to the influence of the crusades, which by bringing men of the West into contact with men of other religions had led to the adoption of some new religious ideas. In part also it was the result of a reaction against the growing luxury, worldliness, and corruption in the church. It manifested itself especially under two forms, both of which, although met with elsewhere, were particularly widespread in southern France.

The first of these heresies was that held by the Walden'ses. This sect was founded by a rich merchant, Peter Waldo of Lyons,

215. The Waldenses who about 1170 sold his goods and gave the proceeds to the poor, that he might devote himself to the work of teaching and preaching. His followers were called "the poor men of Lyons." They advocated a return to the simple worship of the Apostles' time, and caused the Bible to be translated into the language of the people. In spite of many attempts to suppress

them they maintained themselves in the mountain valleys of Savoy′ until they were absorbed in the Protestant Reformation.

The other heresy, that of the Albigenses (ăl-bĭ-jĕn′sēz), was of a more far-reaching character. They believed in two coequal Gods, — one good, the other evil. They declared the material universe to be the creation of the evil deity, and rejected the existing order in church and state. The "perfect" members of the sect rejected marriage, and were frankly opposed to the whole social organization. Their chief center was in the neighborhood of Toulouse (in southern France), where the count protected the heretics.

216. Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229)

After a papal legate had been murdered, Pope Innocent III issued a call for an armed crusade against the Albigenses. King Philip Augustus pleaded his preoccupation with "two great and terrible lions," — the kings of England and Germany, — and refused to take part in it. A host of lords from northern France, however, gathered for the crusade. The war was waged with frightful cruelty. Twice the count of Toulouse made abject submission, and twice he again took up arms. In 1229, he finally submitted, and abandoned the cause of the heretics.

The increase of the territory of the French crown through this crusade will be discussed in chapter xii. Here we have only to deal with its results for civilization and for the church. Prior to this crusade southern France was so different from northern France in language, customs, and culture, as almost to form a separate nation. The south was far less feudal, and far more Roman, than was the north. Nowhere else in western Europe had culture and luxury made such progress. Commerce flourished there, cities prospered, manners were refined, and chivalry and a poetic literature in the language of the people grew hand in hand. The success of the Albigensian Crusade meant the crushing out, to a large extent, of this enlightened, tolerant, and easy-going culture of southern France.

217. Results of the crusade

In rooting out the remnants of heresy among the people two new agencies in the church were active, — the mendicant friars

and the Inquisition. The founding and activity of the mendicant friars — the Franciscans and the Dominicans — have already been described in the chapter on the medieval church (ch. v). Here we need only note that the efforts of the friars to reclaim the heretics met with considerable success; and that by their labors among the poor and wretched in the cities, and by their devotion to the papacy, they became an important part of the church organization.

218. The mendicant friars

More important in rooting out heresy was the relentless work of the Inquisition, a court established for this very purpose. The older tribunals for dealing with heresy were the bishops' courts; but these were limited to their own dioceses, and were hampered by preoccupation with other business. The court of the Inquisition, to which the suppression of heresy was now confided, was not limited to a single diocese; it was also unhampered by other cares, and its heads were removable by the Pope alone. At an early day its work was put largely in charge of the Dominicans. The procedure of the Inquisition was of a kind to tempt those blinded by passion and self-seeking to bring accusations on slight pretexts. Names of accusers and of witnesses were concealed, and torture (adopted from the secular courts) was freely used to elicit confessions. So close was the connection between its branches, and so complete its records, that neither time nor flight could insure immunity. The Inquisition stamped out the last embers of the Albigensian heresy, but it left a legacy of tyranny and oppression from which the world was long in escaping.

219. The Inquisition founded

C. Literature and Art

The culture of the Middle Ages manifested itself not only in the foregoing activities, but also in the fields of literature and art. In the first of these the chief feature is the beginning of a development of vernacular literatures, — that is, of writings in the language of the people. The lays of the troubadours hold an important place in this development.

220. Vernacular literature

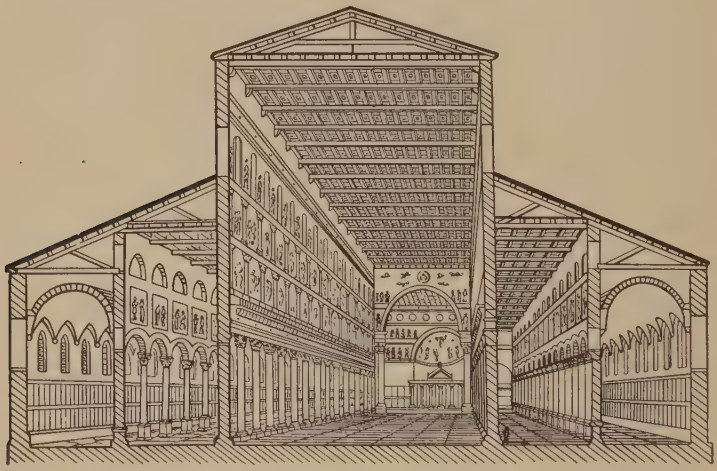
The troubadour songs were peculiar to southern France, and were written in the Provençal′ or south French tongue. Their authors were knights, noble lords, or princes. Their themes were chivalrous love and the devotion of the knight to his lady, rather than battles and feats of arms. In this respect the troubadour lays resemble the songs of the *Minnesingers* of contemporaneous Germany. In northern France, on the other hand, the *trouvères* (troo-vâr′) sang by preference of deeds of arms and battle, and celebrated the adventures of Charlemagne and Roland, or of King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. Prose romances, like the delightful tale of *Aucassin and Nicolette* (ō-kȧ-săN′; ne-ko-lĕt′), were included in the latter literature. The *fabliaux* (fȧ-blē-ō′: French fables) constituted a middle-class literature corresponding to the knightly literature described above. These *fabliaux* were satires — sometimes moral but more often irreverent — directed against nobles, immoral priests, and deceived husbands. In Germany, in addition to the knightly lays of the *Minnesingers*, we have the great *Nibelungenlied* (nē′bē-loong-en-lēt), an epic poem dealing with legends connected with the early history of the Burgundians. In almost every land of western Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, intellectual activity manifested itself in the production of poems or prose works in the language of the people.

More important than medieval literature was medieval art. The pictorial art of the Middle Ages is of less importance than that of the Renaissance, but nevertheless it is noteworthy. Its most characteristic form is seen in the marvelously delicate and richly colored initials and miniature pictures with which the monks "illuminated" their manuscript books. An example of such an initial, containing a miniature picture, is shown (without the colors) on page 81. Besides such illuminations, medieval painting also produced many altar pictures, — of Christ, of the Madonna (or Virgin Mary), and of the saints. But the figures in these are usually represented in stiff and conventional attitudes, and the artists show little knowledge of the anatomy of the human body, or of the laws of perspective.

221. Medieval painting

222. Early medieval architecture

In architecture the Middle Ages created works of art which may well challenge comparison with the best which the world has ever produced. In view of the great part that religion played in medieval life it is not surprising to find that the greatest architectural works were the churches. The earliest Christian churches were modeled on the Roman basilicas, or courts of justice, which were oblong buildings, with



SECTION OF OLD ST. PETER'S

A typical Christian Basilica. Torn down in the sixteenth century

the interior divided longitudinally by parallel rows of pillars into two "aisles" and a central "nave." Out of these early churches arose what is called the *Romanesque* type of architecture. This was characterized by the use of the round arch, and a general massiveness of effect. Stone soon superseded brick as building material, and, to decrease the danger of fire, arched stone vaulting replaced the timbered roofs. The cathedral of Pisa (p. 290) is a good example of this Romanesque style of building. The ground plan of almost all medieval cathedrals was the Latin cross. The two arms of the cross formed the "transepts." The "choir" of the cathedral corresponded to

the short upright part, and the "nave" and "aisles" to the lower main part of the cross.

The final and most splendid form assumed by medieval architecture was the so-called *Gothic* style. This originated in northern France, about the middle of the twelfth century. Its essential feature consists, not in its ornamentation, as is sometimes thought, but in its constructive principle. It represents an absolutely new engineering idea applied to the construction of great stone buildings. Since the introduction of stone vaulted roofs, the main problem of construction had been how to carry this enormous weight, and to sustain the lateral *thrust*, or tendency of an arch to fall apart. In the Romanesque style the problem was solved by making the walls so thick and solid that they would of themselves perform this task. But this construction left the interiors of the buildings dark and gloomy, for builders did not dare to weaken their walls by making many or large window openings.

223. Principles of Gothic construction

SECTION AND DETAIL OF CATHEDRAL AT AMIENS

Showing details of Gothic construction

Gothic construction consisted in two innovations which solved

CATHEDRAL AT AMIENS (FRONT). Erected 1220–1288

the foregoing problem, while permitting of as many and as large window openings as were desired. In the first place, the weight of the vaulted roof, instead of being distributed equally along the length of the supporting wall, was gathered up on a number of arched ribs, which rested on piers of clustered columns. In the second place, these piers, instead of being left to resist the enormous lateral thrust of the ribs by their unassisted mass, were supported externally by a series of arched props, called "flying buttresses," which relieved them of all stress except the vertical pressure of the roof. (Study the picture on page 203.)

Grotesque on Tower of Notre Dame

The use of pointed instead of round arches was a mere detail growing out of this skeleton construction, although it later came to be considered the distinguishing feature of the Gothic style. It belongs to the subject of Gothic ornamentation, which should carefully be distinguished from its construction principle. The tall pointed windows are, nevertheless, an important feature of the Gothic form of architecture. The window openings were filled with pictures in stained glass, whose rich and varied colors added indescribably to the splendor of the interior. Everywhere, within and without, the sculptor's art scattered figures of men, animals, and plants, — all emblematical of the aspirations, the hopes, and the fears of medieval religion. Artists and sculptors vied with one another in representing the history of humanity and of Christianity. Along with scenes from the Bible, figures of the saints, and allegorical representations of the virtues and vices, were seen fantastic grinning beasts and demons, the retinue

224. Gothic ornamentation

Grotesque on Tower of Notre Dame

of the devil. Taken as a whole, such scenes "made up a kind of layman's Bible that appealed to the eye and was understood by all."

The construction of such a great cathedral as that of Amiens (ȧ-myăn′), or Notre Dame (nō′tr' dȧm′) of Paris, was usually protracted through a hundred years or more. The choir or nave would first be built and used for services. Then other parts were added, and so on, until we have the building in its present form. Many cathedrals are still incomplete,—that is, they lack the spires or some other features which were part of the original plan. Cologne cathedral (in Germany) was begun in 1248; but it was not until 1880, after centuries of discontinuance of building operations, that it was finished. So well, however, were the great medieval cathedrals built that they still stand firm and secure after the lapse of centuries, thus attesting the soundness of their structural principles. By the majesty and extent of their interiors, by the awe-inspiring lift of their clustered columns and vaulted roofs, and by the richness and infinite variety of their ornamentation, they constitute one of the most perfect expressions of human genius, and are the wonder and admiration of later

Interior of the Cathedral at Amiens

times. They are a fit memorial to the faith and spiritual aspiration, and to the civic pride and resources, of the energetic cities which produced them.

D. General Character of the Middle Ages

In concluding this chapter a few words may be said concerning the general character of the Middle Ages.

In the first place, we should remember that in some of its geographical features Europe of the Middle Ages differed greatly from the Europe of to-day. In many regions there was nothing but forest, swamp, and moor, where to-day are smiling fields and populous cities. The population on the whole was much less than now. England, which in 1911 had over 36,000,000 inhabitants, had in 1086 only about 2,150,000. The great growth of population in modern times, however, has been chiefly in towns and manufacturing districts, and not in the open country. In many places the rural districts were probably as thickly settled in the Middle Ages as to-day. Local overpopulation, indeed, was one cause of frequent famines. Then weeds and the bark of trees were gnawed for food, and depraved beings sometimes ate human flesh. There were no great accumulations of wealth in the Middle Ages. Heavy goods could be transported only short distances by land, on account of the miserable roads; and when crops failed, the surplus of distant provinces could not be brought in to relieve distress.

225. Geographical features and population

The standard of comfort, on the whole, — even after the introduction of some luxuries from the East, — was surprisingly low. Even among the higher classes the manner of living was filthy and unsanitary. Floors were covered with rushes, among which bones from the table and other refuse were dropped. From time to time new layers of rushes were spread upon the old, and only after long intervals was the decaying mass cleaned out. The death rate, especially among young children, was naturally very high. In spite of the glamour of

226. Standard of living

chivalry and romance, the Middle Ages, on their material side, were a dreary time in which to live.

It must also be confessed — in spite of all that has been said in this chapter — that the Middle Ages were a time of great ignorance and superstition. Comets were regarded as signs of coming disasters. When one of these appeared "refulgent, with a hairy crown," it foretold the death of a king, while one with "long locks of hair [*i.e.* a tail], which as it scintillates it spreads abroad," foretold the ruin of a nation. "The invisible world," says a modern writer, "with its mysterious attraction and horrible fascination was ever present and real to every one. Demons were always around [the medieval man], to smite him with sickness, to ruin his pitiful little cornfield [*i.e.* wheat field], or vineyard, or to lure his soul to perdition; while angels and saints were similarly ready to help him, to listen to his invocations, and to intercede for him at the throne of mercy, which he dared not address directly."

227. Ignorance and superstition

Roger of Hoveden, *Chronicle*, year 1165

Lea, *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 60

It was an age of startling contrasts. The sordidness of its daily life might be relieved with splendid exhibitions of lofty enthusiasm, or be darkened with hideous deeds of brutality. On the one hand, it was "the age of chivalry, of ideal heroism, of picturesque castles and glorious churches and pageants, camps and tournaments, lovely charity and gallant self-sacrifice." On the other hand, it was clouded with dark shadows of "dynastic faction, bloody conquest, grievous misgovernance, local tyrannies, plagues and famines unhelped and unaverted, hollowness of pomp, disease, and desolation."

228. Contrasts of the Middle Ages

Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, III, 634

IMPORTANT DATES

1110. Study of Roman law revived at Bologna.
1142. Death of Abelard.
1200. Legal recognition given University of Paris.
1209. Crusade against Albigenses begun.
1220. Cathedral of Chartres begun.
1229. University of Oxford becomes important.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the schools of the Middle Ages with modern schools. (2) In what respects is the high school graduate of to-day more advanced in knowledge than the university graduate of the Middle Ages? (3) Of what educational value was the study of scholastic philosophy? (4) Why did natural science make so little progress in the Middle Ages? (5) What were some of the effects of the study of Roman law and the Canon law? (6) What connection was there between the rise of the universities and the spread of heresy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? (7) Why was the crusade directed more against the Albigenses than against the Waldenses? (8) What were some of the results of the founding of the Inquisition? (9) How did the "vernacular" literatures differ from the literature of the earlier Middle Ages? (10) Are there any buildings in your town which show traces of Greek or Roman influence in their architecture? (11) Are there any which show Gothic influence either in their structure or ornamentation?

Search Topics. — (1) MEDIEVAL STUDENT LIFE. Ogg, *Source Book*, 351–359; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 348–357; *American Historical Review*, III, 203–229; X, 16–27. — (2) MEDIEVAL "LATIN QUARTER" IN PARIS. McCabe, *Abelard*, 47–52. — (3) PETER ABELARD. McCabe, *Abelard*, chs. ii, iv, vii; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 48–63; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 446–455. — (4) MEDIEVAL IDEAS OF SCIENCE. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 438–446, 455–461; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 458–473. — (5) TROUBLES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS IN 1229. Duncalf and Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History*, 137–174. — (6) ROGER BACON. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 460–461; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), "Bacon, Roger"; Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, II, 484–508. — (7) RISE OF CANON LAW. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 582–592; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 128–143. — (8) REVIVED STUDY OF ROMAN LAW. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 31–35, 300; Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, 288–290; Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, I, 21–24. — (9) THE WALDENSES. Lea, *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 76–88; Walker, *Reformation*, 47–49; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 380–381. — (10) THE ALBIGENSES. Lea, *Inquisition*, ch. iv; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 432–457; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 381–383. — (11) TROUBADOURS AND MINSTRELS. Rowbotham, *Troubadours and Courts of Love*, chs. vii, x, xi; Smith, *Troubadours at Home*, II, ch. xxxi; Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 188–218. — (12) THE NIBELUNGENLIED. Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Writings* ("The Nibelungenlied"); Forestier, *Echoes from Mist-Land*, pp. ix–xvi, 1–14,

40–43, 76–84. — (13) The Building of a Gothic Church. — *Harper's Magazine*, LXXIX, 766–776, 944–955. — (14) A Descriptive Account of some Gothic Cathedral (Amiens, Notre Dame of Paris, Chartres, etc. Illustrate with prints or photographs). See histories of art and guide books.

General Reading. — McCabe's *Abelard* is an excellent book. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (3 vols.) is the standard work on its subject. Jessopp's volume of essays entitled *The Coming of the Friars* deals with the mendicant orders in England and other subjects. Saintsbury's *The Flourishing of Romance* gives a scholarly and readable account of medieval literature. In this connection the charming twelfth-century love story entitled *Aucassin and Nicolette* should be read; it may be obtained cheaply in translation from Mosher (Portland, Me.), or in the Everyman's Library. Lübke's *Outlines of the History of Art* (2 vols.) is one of the best accounts of medieval art in all its phases. The most important work on Gothic architecture is Moore's *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*.

CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A. The Norman and Plantagenet Kings

Four separate peoples contributed to make up England's population as we find it in the later Middle Ages. (1) The Celts inhabited Britain at the time of its conquest by Rome, and were left in possession when the Romans withdrew. (2) In the fifth and sixth centuries the English (Angles and Saxons) were added to the Celtic inhabitants of the island, and very generally displaced the Celts in the southern and eastern parts. Thus the blood, speech, and institutions of England (though not of Wales and Scotland) became mainly Teutonic. There was some admixture of Celts among the English, however, which was not without importance (3) In the ninth and tenth centuries came a large influx of Danes (Northmen). They were near kindred of the Angles and Saxons, and were easily absorbed into the English nation. (4) The conquest of England by William the Conqueror (§§ 76-77) added the last important racial element to the English nation, — that of the Norman French. The immediate changes produced by this event have already been described. We have now to trace the rise, under the Norman and Plantagenet (plan-tăj'e-net) kings, of the limited constitutional monarchy which is the distinctive mark of English political institutions.

229. Racial elements in English history

When William the Conqueror died, in 1087, primogeniture (the right of the eldest son to succeed his father) was not yet an established custom. Robert, William's oldest son, secured Normandy, but England passed to William Rufus, the second son. On the death of this king, in 1100, England passed to the third son of the Conqueror, Henry I (1100–1135),

230. Norman kings (1087–1154)

who wrested Normandy from his brother Robert and reunited it with England. Henry's struggle with his brother forced him to conciliate his English subjects by granting them a charter of liberties.[1] The title "the Lion of Justice" shows the respect with which this Norman ruler came to be regarded by the English people.

The just government established by Henry I died with him. His nephew, Stephen of Blois, son of the crusader (§ 156), then secured the government; but his reign was weakened by the efforts of Henry's daughter, Matilda, to win the crown. Civil war and anarchy followed. The Norman nobles took advantage of the weakness of the government to build great castles, from which they set the king at defiance and oppressed the wretched people. "When the castles were finished," says the chronicler, "they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were."

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1137

The struggle for the crown ended with a treaty by which Stephen recognized Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, as his successor. In 1154 Henry II, the first of the An'gevin or Plantagenet[2] kings, ascended the English throne. The extent of his dominions made him the most powerful monarch in Europe. In right of his father, Henry was count of Anjou (in France); in right of his mother, he received Normandy and England; by marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, he added that broad land to his dominions. His

231. Henry II (1154–1189)

[1] In conferring lands and privileges upon individuals, monasteries, or towns, it was customary for kings to make their grants in documents called charters (§ 197). This custom was now expanded to cover grants of rights and liberties to whole classes and even to the nation. Such charters really resemble constitutions more than they do the earlier feudal grants from which they arose.

[2] Henry's father, Geoffrey of Anjou, was in the habit of wearing a sprig of the "broom" plant (*planta genesta*) in his cap; hence arose the family name, Plantagenet.

territories in France were greater than those of the French king himself, and almost constant warfare with his suzerain was the result. Nevertheless, in spite of those wars Henry found time thoroughly to reform and reorganize his English kingdom.

In personal appearance Henry was a striking figure. He had broad shoulders, a thick neck, a large round head, and a ruddy complexion. He had great physical strength, and was accustomed to long and hard riding. In a single day he could make a journey for which others took twice or thrice as long. Henry surprised both friends and enemies by his rapid movements, and was tireless in the transaction of business. In addition, he had an orderly mind and a masterful will; he was thus able to make a plan, and to follow it out against almost all obstacles. He was a hard, stern man, with the fierce Angevin temper, and was little loved; but the value of his work makes him one of the greatest of England's kings.

SEAL OF HENRY II (before 1154)

"Henry, by the grace of God Duke of the Normans, Duke of Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou"

On coming to the throne, Henry II began at once to restore order. He destroyed the lawless castles, and dismissed the mercenary soldiers who had been called in from the Continent during the civil war. He then set on foot important financial, military, and judicial reforms. He definitely organized the Exchequer, or financial department of the government, which had control of the collection and expenditure of the revenues of the state. He improved the military system in two ways. The old English militia was revived by a law called the Assize of Arms, which required every man to provide himself with weapons according to his means. The highest class of common freemen were each to have a helmet, a coat of mail, a shield, and a lance; and all subjects had to

232. Financial and military reforms

be ready to serve in the army when needed. The second reform consisted in the practice of excusing feudal tenants from military service on payment of a sum called "scutage," or shield money. The funds thus obtained were used to hire professional troops, who were better trained and more reliable soldiers than the feudal levies. These improvements gave the king a stronger army, and made him more independent of the feudal barons.

233. Henry's judicial reforms

Henry also wished to establish one law for all parts of England, and for all classes of people. There were many courts, some held by the lords on their manors, and some held by the sheriffs in the shires or counties. There was little connection among them, and the same kind of offense might be punished more severely in one court than in another. To remedy this evil, Henry appointed learned men, called "itinerant justices," whose duty it was to travel about the country and preside over each shire court at certain intervals. This system of circuit judges helped to unify the law of the whole kingdom; it also made the settlement of many important cases easier, speedier, and more certain. Henry also changed the methods by which trials were conducted. In the older modes of trial — by oaths, ordeal, or combat (§ 64) — the outcome depended largely upon superstition, accident, or force. In none of them was there any attempt to find out the facts of the case by hearing testimony and weighing evidence. It was one of the great merits of Henry II that he brought into general use a reasonable form of trial, — that of trial by jury. In such trials the decision was given in the name of the community by those who had the best knowledge of the facts. This procedure was first applied to cases concerning land. Later (after 1215), when the church saw the folly and impiety of the ordeal, trial by jury was used in criminal cases also. Centuries passed, however, before jury trial reached the developed form of to-day.

Another innovation of Henry II grew into the "grand jury." This is a body of sworn citizens who inquire into crimes and make "indictments," or accusations against the criminals, so that they may be brought to trial. It often happened before

this time that an offender was too powerful for a private individual to dare accuse him. The "jury of presentment," as the new body was called, remedied this defect by bringing the accusation against the suspected person in the name of the community as a whole. Thus fewer criminals escaped punishment.

The trial and presentment juries greatly improved the administration of justice, but their indirect influence was even more important. By participating in the administration of justice, Englishmen were trained in a knowledge of the law and in the exercise of the rights of self-government. Jurors acted — not merely in judicial matters, but also in administrative matters — as *representatives* of their communities; and when once the principle of representation was firmly fixed in local government, it became easy to introduce it into central affairs. Thus the juries introduced by Henry II became, under his successors, the taproot of representation in Parliament.

234. Quarrel with Archbishop Becket

In his attempt to bring the clergy as well as the laity under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, Henry was less successful. This was largely because of his unfortunate quarrel with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the early part of Henry's reign, Becket had been his chancellor and chief minister. Henry had lavished riches and favors upon him, and Becket had adopted a magnificent style of life, rivaling that of the king. What was more natural than that Henry, wishing to secure control over the church, should appoint his able and worldly minister to its highest office?

A remarkable change, however, came over Becket when he became archbishop. He gave up his luxurious life, resigned his chancellorship, and became the most jealous defender of the privileges of the church. Henry wished to have all churchmen who were accused of crimes brought into the state courts and punished with the same penalties as other offenders. As it was, a churchman — and we must remember that the clergy included not only monks, priests, and bishops, but multitudes in minor orders as well — was tried in a church court by canon law. Often churchmen who had committed serious crimes

escaped with very light punishments. Becket opposed every effort of the king to lessen this independence of the church. Thus a quarrel arose which bore some resemblance to the struggle between empire and papacy which was then being waged on the Continent.

After years of conflict, hasty words let fall by Henry led four of his knights to murder Archbishop Becket in his cathedral at Canterbury (1170). This deed shocked the whole of Christendom. The people looked upon Becket as a martyr, the Pope declared him a saint, and for centuries pilgrims streamed to Canterbury to visit his tomb. Henry was compelled to make his peace with the injured church, by giving up his plans for bringing churchmen into the state courts. "Benefit of clergy" (the immunity of all churchmen from secular justice) thus continued to be enjoyed in England down to the time of the religious Reformation.

Henry's son, Richard I, the Lion-Hearted, was a good warrior, but a bad ruler. Most of his reign was devoted to the Third Crusade and to the defense of his continental possessions. Only seven months of the ten years of his reign were passed in England. Administrative officers trained by Henry II, however, kept the country orderly and peaceful.

235. Richard I (1189–1199)

After Richard's death, the Great Council chose as king his brother John, in preference to Arthur, the son of an elder brother (Geoffrey). John had been an undutiful son and brother; he now proved the worst king that England ever had. He was cruel, faithless, lazy, and reckless of everything save his own pleasure. Yet his very wickedness and tyranny, by spurring all classes to resistance, helped much to bring about political liberty, and to make such tyranny impossible for the future.

236. Misgovernment of John (1199–1216)

John's misconduct in Aquitaine led his barons there to appeal to John's suzerain, Philip II of France; and when John refused to appear for trial in Philip's court, his French fiefs were declared forfeited. Soon after this, John secured possession of his young nephew, Arthur, and basely put him to death. This made it easier for Philip Augustus to enforce the sentence of

forfeiture. By the close of 1206 all the English possessions in France except Aquitaine were lost.

John was next involved in a quarrel with Pope Innocent III over a disputed election to the archbishopric of Canterbury. For nearly five years England lay under an interdict, all ordinary church services being prohibited. To prevent his own deposition, John at last made his peace by surrendering his kingdom into the hands of the Pope's legate and receiving it back again as a papal fief, on condition of paying an annual tribute. Humiliating as this submission may seem to us, it caused little comment at the time.

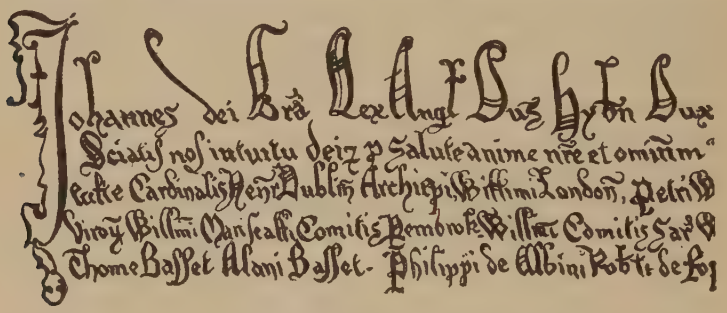
Battle between Knights in the Thirteenth Century

John next hastened to France, with such forces as he could raise, to regain his lost possessions there. At Bouvines, in 1214, his ally, Otto IV of Germany, was overwhelmingly defeated (§ 131), and John returned discredited to England. The loss of the English possessions in France was, on the whole, fortunate for England. It practically completed the process, which had long been going on, whereby the barons ceased to be Normans and were absorbed in the body of the English nation.

All classes in England were now aroused by John's misgovernment. During his absence on the Continent a meeting had been

held at which it was agreed to take up arms unless he granted a charter of liberties similar to that of Henry I. John sought to evade this demand; but the whole nation — nobles, clergy, and townsmen — united in it. Finally in June, 1215, "in the meadow called Runnymede," on the river Thames, John put his seal to the Great Charter (Magna Carta).

237 The Great Charter (1215)



PORTION OF MAGNA CARTA

Since John's day the Great Charter has repeatedly been confirmed, and now stands as part of the English constitution. Its principles are part of the law of every English-speaking nation, and hence have almost as much interest for us as for England itself. Recent writers, however, have shown that Magna Carta is more *feudal* and less *national* than is ordinarily supposed. The chief desire of the barons was to secure their own class interests, and later ages have read into the charter much wider meanings than were at the time intended.[1]

Among the provisions of the great Charter, the following is noteworthy: "No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers, and by the law of the land." In this passage the king admitted that he had no right to imprison or punish any man, except according to law, and not according to his own will. In another famous passage John promised that

[1] For recent views of the Great Charter see McKechnie, *Magna Carta;* also Jenks, "The Myth of Magna Carta," in the *Independent Review*, 1904, 260.

he would collect no unusual feudal dues unless they were granted to him by the consent of his barons in a Great Council assembled for that purpose. In this passage was laid the foundation of the principle that a government ought not to tax its subjects without their consent, and that "taxation without consent is tyranny." It is because of such provisions as these that the Great Charter is now so highly prized. "In brief, it means this, that the king is and shall be *below* the law." Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I, 173

When John granted the Great Charter, he had no intention of abiding by it. Within three months he was again at open war with his barons. The latter then planned to accept the son of the French king as their sovereign. In 1216, however, John died, leaving a nine-year-old son, Henry III, to succeed him. The Great Charter now received the first of many confirmations, and peace was rapidly restored in England.

Banner of Simon de Montfort

238. Troubles under Henry III

During the first sixteen years of Henry III's reign, officers trained in the methods of Henry II directed affairs, and good order and prosperity followed. When Henry III took the government into his own hands, misgovernment was the result. Thereupon the barons again rebelled, this time under the leadership of a patriotic nobleman, Simon de Montfort. For a time the barons were completely successful, and the king himself became a captive in their hands. Then reaction set in. Simon de Montfort was defeated and slain in the battle of Evesham (ēvz′am; 1265), and the barons' party went to pieces. The control of the government for the rest of Henry's reign was in the hands of his son Edward. This prince was a strong and able ruler, and ended the misgovernment which had caused the revolt.

239. Good rule of Edward I (1272–1307)

Edward I became king in 1272. He was the first king since the Norman conquest of whom it can be said that he was "every inch an Englishman." He sought to unite under one rule the whole of the British Isles. To accomplish this he waged war against the Welsh, and in 1284

annexed their country to England. Soon after this he made his son and heir "Prince of Wales," a title which since then has regularly been given to the heir to the English throne. Edward also attempted the conquest of Scotland. The chief result of his aggressions there was to throw the Scots into alliance with France, and to postpone until the eighteenth century the constitutional union of the two British kingdoms.

240. Edward's work as a lawgiver

Edward's greatest title to fame rests on the improvements that he made in the English laws. The crusades were now coming to an end, and in Europe as a whole strong governments were arising. Everywhere there was need that old laws should be revised and new ones made to suit the new time. The thirteenth century, therefore, was above all things the age of the lawyer and legislator. In this field Edward's work may well challenge comparison with that of Frederick II of Sicily (§ 133), and Louis IX and Philip IV of France (§§ 258–264). He revised and put in order the old laws, and he made many new ones. Only two of his new enactments call for mention here. The first of these was the Statute of Mortmain (*mortmain* = "dead hand"), which forbade that any more land should be given or sold into the hands of the church, without the king's consent. This was to check the amassing of so much of the land of the kingdom — practically one third — by the church, especially the monasteries. The second statute, called from its opening words *Quia Empto'res*, attacked feudalism by forbidding "subinfeudation" (§ 60). Thenceforth when a vassal sold or otherwise alienated

SEAL OF EDWARD I

"Edward, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine."

any part of his land the new tenant held it not of the seller but of the seller's lord.

Edward II (1307–1327) proved an unworthy successor to his great father, and after many disturbances was forced to abdicate in favor of his son. Edward III (1327–1377) showed something of the energy and capacity of his grandfather. The beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France (ch. xiii) was the most notable event of his reign. Constitutional progress, however, was not arrested. Under Edward I Parliament had assumed definite form; and under Edward III and his successors, in the course of the long war with France, it began to develop the powers which to-day make it the supreme governing body of England.

241. Edward II and Edward III

B. The Rise of Parliament

There never has been a period since England was united into a single kingdom when some sort of council or assembly has not been called, from time to time, to aid the king in governing his realm. In the days of the Angles and Saxons this body was called the *Wit'enagemot*, or assembly of wise men. It was made up of the bishops, abbots, king's thegns (his personal followers), and chief officers of the kingdom. It was this body which aided Alfred in making his laws, and which elected Harold — and after him William — to be king.

242. The assembly in Anglo-Saxon times

After the Norman conquest, the king from time to time called about him all the lords who held land directly of him by feudal tenure. Except for the fact that the feudal lords were at first mainly Normans, this body did not differ very much from the Witenagemot; for the great officers of the land were the king's vassals, and the bishops and abbots also held their lands by feudal tenure. It was this Great Council of the barons which settled who should have the crown when there was a dispute; it was also this body which helped the kings to carry on the work of government. But the Great Council only aided and advised the king; it did not control him.

243. The Norman Great Council

What is it that marks the difference between these earlier assemblies and the later one that we call Parliament? First,

244. How these differed from Parliament

Parliament is a "representative" body, — that is, it is composed in part of persons who do not sit in right of their offices or lands, but who are elected to represent the people. Second, it is divided into two "houses," — a House of Lords, and a House of Commons. And third, it has more power than the older assemblies possessed.

The addition of representatives to sit with the great churchmen and barons was the first step in transforming the Great Council

245. Representatives in local affairs

into Parliament. The practice of choosing representatives to act in the name of the community was first used in local government. In the Anglo-Saxon time, as we have seen (§ 78), each township sent four representatives to take part in the hundred and the shire meetings. When the Normans came, they began the practice of using committees of representatives, in the different districts of the country, for many purposes. Sometimes they ordered such committees to declare what the old English law was, in order to guide their judges in deciding cases. Sometimes such committees were used to make a list of all the property in their districts, with the value of it and the names of the owners. Henry II made use of such committees of sworn representatives, or "juries," to find out the facts in given cases at law, and to declare their decision or verdict. The important thing to note is that the decision which each jury gave was regarded as the decision of its community. In other words, the jury "represented" the community for that purpose, and its voice was taken as the voice of its community. Thus, in many ways, the English people became used to the idea of having representatives chosen to help carry on the work of local government in the name of the people of the community.

Why, we may now ask, were representatives added to the

246. Representatives added to the Great Council

Great Council? The reason is that a time came when the kings needed more money to carry on the work of government; and that this additional money had to come, not only from the nobles, who already had seats in the Great

Council, but also from the wealthy townsmen and country gentlemen. It seemed best, therefore, to ask the towns and the counties to send representatives to meet with the Great Council, and there give the consent of their communities to the new taxes. This would make it easier to collect the money, for then there would be less grumbling about it. It would also be in keeping with the spirit of that passage of the Great Charter in which the king promised not to collect money from his subjects without their consent. Of course it would have been possible for the king's officers to go about the country asking the consent of each community in turn, and indeed this was sometimes done. But on the whole it was felt that it would be quicker and more satisfactory to bring together at one place the representatives of all the communities and there secure their consent.

The representatives who were thus called together were of two sorts. First, there were the "knights of the shire," who represented the lesser nobles and country gentlemen; and, second, there were the "borough representatives," who came from the cities and towns (boroughs) and represented the trading classes. The knights of the shire were the first to be added to the assembly. In 1213, for the first time the king called them to meet with the Great Council, "to speak with us concerning the business of our kingdom." From time to time after that, "knights of the shire" were summoned to the assembly, until the practice became permanent. They were elected by the landholders, in the county assemblies, and every county sent two, no matter what its size.

247. Knights of the shire (1213)

The addition of the town, or borough, representatives came in 1265, when Simon de Montfort was in power. To gain widespread support he summoned representatives from each of the towns favorable to his cause to meet with the barons and the knights of the shire in the Parliament of that year. This practice of summoning representatives of the boroughs, from time to time, was continued after the barons' revolt was put down. Finally, in 1295, King Edward I called a meeting which established it as a rule that in a Parliament

248. Borough representatives (1265)

there ought to be representatives both of the counties and of the towns. This was called the "Model Parliament" because it became a model for succeeding ones. Each town which sent representatives at all, in those days, elected two. Gradually the place of meeting became fixed at Westminster, a suburb of London.

At first the representatives of the counties and of the boroughs sat in the same body with the barons and great churchmen.

249. Separation into two houses

By the year 1340, however, Parliament had separated into two "houses." The upper house was the House of Lords; it included the great barons, who bore the titles of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron, and had an hereditary right to be summoned to the Parliament. It also included the archbishops and bishops, and the abbots or heads of monasteries, who belonged by virtue of their lands and offices. The lower house, made up of county and borough members, was called the House of Commons. In course of time it became the most important part of Parliament. This was because it especially was called upon to vote the taxes which the king needed for carrying on the government. For a time the towns and counties looked upon representation in Parliament as a burden. Gradually their representatives began to hold back the voting of taxes until the king and his ministers promised to correct any grievances of which they complained. Then it was seen that the right of voting taxes was a great and valuable power, and the people no longer complained of being represented in Parliament.

At first it was not certain whether the House of Commons would be admitted to a share in the lawmaking power, or

250. The Commons given equal powers

whether it would be allowed only to vote taxes. In his summons to the Model Parliament, however, Edward I laid down the principle that "what concerns all should be approved by all." Twenty-seven years later, the rule was definitely stated that all matters which concerned the kingdom and the people "shall be established in Parliament, by the King, and by the consent of the Lords and the *Commons* of the realm." From this time on, the powers of the Commons grew, until they are now much greater than those of the Lords.

But we must not think of these early Parliaments as having the great powers which Parliaments have to-day. The king was still much more powerful than the Parliament, though since the granting of the Great Charter it was recognized that the king was below the law and not above it. In making new laws, and in laying new taxes, he needed the consent of Parliament; but in carrying on the general business of the government — in making war and in concluding peace — he could act without Parliament. Often he consulted Parliament about such matters, but he could act as he pleased. The ministers who carried on the government were still the king's ministers, and responsible to him only. It was to be several centuries yet — and two civil wars were to be fought, and one king beheaded and two deposed — before Parliament was recognized as the chief power in the government.

251. Parliament not yet supreme

Before the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War the framework of the legislative assembly in England was complete. The importance of this development is not due solely to the great part which that assembly has played in the government of Great Britain. In modern times the English Parliament became "the Mother of Parliaments" for other countries also. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that the greatest thing that England has done for the world was to give it this system of legislative assemblies (including our Congress and state legislatures), by which practically the whole world is now governed.

IMPORTANT DATES

1100–1135. Henry I, the "Lion of Justice."
1154–1189. Henry II reforms the government and introduces jury trial.
1170. Thomas Becket murdered.
1206. King John loses Normandy.
1213. Knights of the shire first summoned to Parliament.
1215. The Great Charter granted.
1265. Borough representatives added to Parliament; Montfort slain.
1284. Edward I completes the conquest of Wales.
1295. The Model Parliament of Edward I.
1327. Edward II deposed and Edward III becomes king.
1340. Parliament separated into two houses.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Was the Norman conquest a good or a bad thing for England? Why? (2) What feature of feudalism is illustrated by the anarchy under Stephen? (3) Show on an outline map the lands ruled by Henry II. Show also those lost by John. (4) What advantages does trial by jury have over the older forms of trial? (5) Was more right on the side of Henry II or of Becket in their quarrel? Give your reasons. (6) Why was Richard I a poor ruler? (7) How did the battle of Bouvines affect England? (8) Commit to memory the sentence from the Great Charter which is quoted in this chapter. (9) Did that charter grant any new rights to Englishmen? (10) Why is it so important in English history? (11) Point out the importance of the work of Edward I as a law-giver. (12) Show how the representative system of government made self-government possible for larger districts than in ancient times. (13) Can you name any important countries to-day in which Parliaments do not exist?

Search Topics. — (1) JUDICIAL REFORMS OF HENRY II. Cheyney, *Short History of England*, 148–154; Montague, *English Constitutional History*, 47–50; Mrs. Green, *Henry II*, 116–126. — (2) HENRY II AND THOMAS BECKET. Green, *Short History*, 106–109; Cheyney, *Readings*, 143–164; Mrs. Green, *Henry II*, ch. vii. — (3) THE LOSS OF NORMANDY. Green, *History of the English People*, Bk. II, ch. iv. — (4) JOHN'S QUARREL WITH THE POPE. Green, *Short History*, 122–125; Green, *Henry II;* Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. IX, ch. v. — (5) WINNING THE GREAT CHARTER. Green, *History of the English People*, Bk. II, last half ch. ii; Ogg, *Source Book*, 297–310; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 231–238. — (6) SIMON DE MONTFORT. Green, *Short History*, 152–160; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XVIII, 781–782; Hutton, *Simon de Montfort and his Cause* (sources). — (7) CHARACTER AND WORK OF EDWARD I. Tout, *Edward I*, ch. iv. — (8) THE CONQUEST OF WALES. Tout, *Edward I*, ch. vi; Green, *Short History*, 161–169. — (9) WARS OF EDWARD I WITH SCOTLAND. Tout, *Edward I*, chs. x, xii; Green, *Short History*, 181–193. — (10) THE ORIGIN OF PARLIAMENT. Ilbert, *Parliament*, 7–20; Boutmy, *English Constitution*, 55–69; Tout, *Edward I*, ch. viii; Green, *Short History*, 169–181.

General Reading. — In addition to the general histories of England and the works referred to in connection with the search topics, see Miss Norgate's *John Lackland*, Taswell-Langmead's *Constitutional History of England*, and Skottowe's *Short History of Parliament*. Medley's *Manual of English Constitutional History* is an excellent book, topically arranged. Pollard's *History of England* (Home University Library) is a brilliant sketch in 247 pages. The articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (2d ed., 22 vols.) are of the highest value for the teacher and advanced student.

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF FRANCE (987–1337)

A. Louis VI and Philip Augustus

When Hugh Capet came to the throne of France, in 987 (§ 41), feudal tendencies had overmastered the monarchy. What is now France was then only a bundle of feudal fragments, steadily growing farther apart in language, in law, and in political feeling. It was the work of the Capetian kings to reunite these fragments, to form a strong monarchy, and to arouse in it a national enthusiasm. Three centuries passed before the task was approximately completed. The Capetian kings were assisted in the work by their possession of extensive estates in northern France, by the support of the church and the towns, and by the moral authority which attached to the office of king. A chief means used to effect the transformation was by increasing the area of the royal domain, — that is, of those lands which were directly under the control of the crown; for the extension of the royal domain brought increased revenues and more numerous retainers.

252. Development of the royal power

Under the first four Capetian kings[1] little was accomplished; but beginning with Louis VI, in 1108, rapid progress

[1] The kings of the direct Capetian line, with the dates of their reigns, were as follows:—

Hugh Capet	987–996	Louis VIII	1223–1226
Robert	996–1031	Louis IX	1226–1270
Henry I	1031–1060	Philip III	1270–1285
Philip I	1060–1108	Philip IV	1285–1314
Louis VI	1108–1137	Louis X	1314–1316
Louis VII	1137–1180	Philip V	1316–1322
Philip II, Augustus	1180–1223	Charles IV	1322–1328

was made. By purchase, marriage, inheritance, and forfeiture, fief after fief was acquired, until at last the royal domain included almost the whole of France. To keep what was gained, the principle of hereditary succession to the crown was established, as against that of election (§ 41). Until hereditary succession was fully recognized, the son was usually elected in the father's lifetime as his associate and successor. The fortunate fact that, unlike the German imperial houses, the Capetians for eleven generations (until 1316) never lacked a son to receive the scepter from the father, and that only once was a long regency necessary, greatly aided them in transforming the monarchy from an elective to an hereditary basis.

253. Royal domain reduced to order

Louis VI (1108–1137) is styled "the Fat," but he was the embodiment of warlike energy. His great task was to reduce to order the petty nobles of the royal domain, who were little better than brigands. The conditions which prevailed in France at this time were similar to those which existed in England under Stephen (§ 230). Every lord of a castle robbed at will, and some tortured with fiendish cruelty those who fell into their hands. Twenty years of hard fighting was necessary before the last of these brigands was crushed. In order that such evils might not again occur, every fortress taken was destroyed or intrusted to faithful persons.

254. Philip Augustus breaks the Angevin power

The greater task of breaking the English power in France was reserved for Louis's grandson, Philip II (1180–1223). You will recall that Henry II, the first Angevin king of England, held vast possessions in France (map for 1180, p. 240). These possessions included more than half of the territory in which Philip was recognized as king, and were many times greater than the royal domain itself. It therefore became the chief principle of French policy to stir up dissensions in the English royal family, and to separate the continental possessions of England from the island kingdom. Unlike his contemporary, Richard I of England, Philip had little of the knight errant in his character. He was patient and persevering, a master of statecraft and of diplomacy; he knew how to dissimulate, and

was unscrupulous in his choice of means. "He was stern," says a contemporary, "toward the nobles who disobeyed him. It pleased him to stir up discord among them, and he loved to use in his service men of lesser rank." Another chronicler gave him the name of Augustus, "because he enlarged the boundaries of the state." *Chronicle of a Canon of Tours* (*Historiens de France*, XVIII, 304)

SEAL OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS

"Philip, by God's grace King of the French"

Philip's part in the Third Crusade (§ 168) was a mere episode of his reign. His heart was not in the work, and as soon as the sense of obligation would permit, he returned to France, to scheme against his rival. But Richard's military and engineering ability, and a conflict with the papacy caused by Philip's attempt to divorce his first wife, prevented Philip from accomplishing much at that time. The weakness and wickedness of Richard's successor, John, however, gave him his opportunity. In 1202 the English fiefs were declared forfeited (§ 236). Castle after castle was then taken, including the famous Château Gaillard, built by Richard to guard the passage of the river Seine. All the English fiefs except Aquitaine passed into Philip's hands; and the battle of Bouvines (1214) secured him in possession. A vast domain, with an extensive seaboard, thus came into the hands of the French king, lifting him far above the level of his greatest vassals.

255. Additions to the domain (1229–1271)

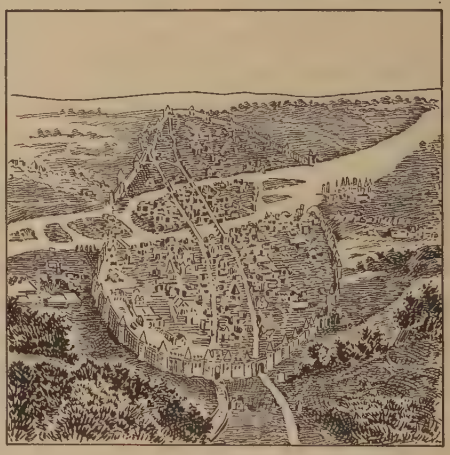
In the reign of Philip Augustus was begun also the movement to stamp out the Albigensian heresy in southern France (described in chapter x). The results for civilization and the church of the Albigensian Crusade have already been noted; we have here only to set forth its effect in increasing the French royal power. Under the treaty which ended

that war (1229), a great part of the estates of the count of Toulouse passed immediately to the royal domain; and another large part was gained, some forty years later, upon the death of the count's daughter and heiress. These gains in southern France almost equaled in extent those made in the north at the expense of the king of England. A comparison of the upper two maps on page 240 will show how greatly the royal domain was increased in the hundred years which followed the accession of Philip Augustus. From a little district about Paris and Orleans, less than 200 miles in length, the territory under the direct control of the French king increased until it extended from Flanders on the north to the Pyrenees Mountains on the south, and from the Atlantic on the west to the river Rhone on the east. And the greater part of this vast gain was due to the statesmanship of this wise king, Philip Augustus.

The development of the towns, which was sketched in a preceding chapter, went on at a rapid rate under King Philip;

256. Paris the capital of France

for he welcomed the towns as useful allies against the feudal nobles. City independence, however, was no part of his plan; and if with one hand he granted charters of liberties to the towns, with the other he extended the royal supremacy over them.



PARIS UNDER PHILIP AUGUSTUS

Paris, as the chief place of the royal domain, calls for special mention. In the time of Julius Caesar, Paris was a little cluster of huts on a marshy island of the river Seine. During the five hundred years of Roman rule it grew to be a provincial

CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS

Founded 1163; completed about 1240. Defaced in the French Revolution, but subsequently restored

capital. By making it his ordinary place of residence, Philip Augustus caused it to become the first national capital of a modern state. His fostering care increased its area, erected new walls (inclosing territory on both banks of the river), and paved its streets to do away with their ill-smelling and unsanitary mudholes. He also adorned it with its chief ornament by arranging for the completion of the cathedral of Notre Dame, — one of the noblest examples of Gothic architecture.

B. Louis IX (Saint Louis) and Philip IV

The organization of the territory won by Philip Augustus was largely the work of Louis IX (1226–1270) and of Philip IV (1285–1314).

257. Blanche of Castile, regent

Louis IX possessed virtues which won for him the title of "Saint," and abilities which insured the steady growth of the royal power. He had all the good qualities of his age, and few of its bad ones. Until he attained the age of twenty-one (in 1236), the government was carried on by his mother, Blanche of Castile. She was a high-minded, ambitious, capable, and pious woman, and it was from her that Louis derived his best qualities. The nobles resented her rule because she was a woman and a foreigner. They also thought the occasion favorable to regain lost territories and privileges. The courage and ability of Blanche, however, were more than a match for her enemies. It is not too much to say that she saved the monarchy; and until her death, in 1252, she exercised a powerful influence on the French government.

Saint Louis

A wooden statue in the Musée de Cluny, Paris

The most important work of Louis's personal reign was his administrative reforms and his legislation. The great increase in the royal domain under Philip Augustus, and the reduction of the feudal nobility within its borders, made necessary a new system of local government. The domain was divided into great provinces, each under a royal official who corresponded roughly to the sheriff of an English shire or county. These royal officials appointed inferior officers, administered justice, collected the royal revenues, and were responsible to the central government for the general administration of their districts. Since they were usually chosen from among the king's own officers, they were more loyal to his interests, and more impartial in their administration of justice, than officers chosen from the feudal nobles. They were an important aid, indeed, in keeping the latter in check. Louis also improved the administration of justice by abolishing trial by combat, by encouraging appeals to the king's court, by increasing the number of cases which had to be tried in that court in the first instance, and by introducing into the administration lawyers trained in the principles of the Roman law.

258. Reforms of Louis IX (1226–1270)

Louis's crusades to Egypt (1248–1254) and to Tunis (1270) won him wide renown for his devotion and courage (§ 172). They need not, however, be discussed here, as they were of little importance for the history of France.

Louis's grandson, Philip IV (1285–1314), who was called "the Fair" on account of his good looks, was one of the most important kings of medieval France. A modern writer says of this king that "he set a mark upon French life and government which has never been completely effaced, not even by the floods of successive revolutions." His reign, however, had little in it that was picturesque. His most important military project was the attempted annexation of Flanders, whose count had allied himself with the English, with whom Philip was on bad terms. The count was easily overcome, but this was not the case with the sturdy Flemish townsmen. The oppressions of French governors soon

259. Reign of Philip IV (1285–1314)

Lodge, *Close of Middle Ages*, 49

caused them to revolt, and in 1302 they routed the knights of the French king in the battle of Courtrai (koor-trĕ′). This was the first of a long series of battles which taught Europe that foot soldiers, if properly armed and handled, were more than a match for mounted men at arms. The attempt to annex Flanders was perforce given up. The only important additions which Philip IV made to the royal domain were the city of Lyons, on the river Rhone, and the county of Champagne, east of Paris, — both made by peaceable methods.

But if Philip the Fair failed to make much increase in the royal domain, he left his impress deep and wide upon the government. He completed the work, begun by his predecessors, of organizing the central administration. Royal officials were now distributed definitely among three distinct branches of the government: (1) the Council, for political affairs; (2) the Exchequer, for finance, with duties similar to those of the English Exchequer organized by Henry II; and (3) the Parlement (par-lĕ-mäN′) of Paris, for judicial business. The difference in function between the French Parlement and the English Parliament must be carefully noted. Both names are derived from the same root (the French verb *parler*, meaning to speak). But the English Parliament is a legislative body, while the Parlement of Paris was primarily a supreme court, hearing appeals from lower courts and trying cases which were in the immediate jurisdiction of the king. In all these branches of the central government Philip kept the administration in the hands of men of humble origin, who were trained in the doctrines of the Roman law. Their zeal and loyalty were a constant support to the crown.

260. He organizes the central government

The body which in medieval France corresponded most closely to the English Parliament was the Estates-General. This was called together, for the first time, by Philip IV in 1302. Its history differs from that of the English Parliament in that its three "estates" (the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, or Third Estate) remained distinct from one another. Class and local interests, therefore, controlled

261. First Estates-General (1302)

its action, and it never attained the regularity of session and the extensive powers which gave the English Parliament its great strength.

Another important feature of Philip's reign was his struggle with Pope Boniface VIII. The question at issue was whether the papacy should rule over European states in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. Gregory VII, Innocent III, and now Boniface VIII, advanced claims which would have made kings and Emperors mere vassals and dependents of the papacy; and the papal triumph over the house of Frederick II (§ 137) seemed firmly to establish these principles. But in France, as also in England, a national sentiment was arising which enabled the king to maintain his independence. In both countries the quarrel arose over a bull issued by Boniface (called from its opening words *Clericis Laicos*), which forbade the payment of taxes by the clergy to the laity. In England, Edward I brought the clergy to terms by withdrawing from them the protection of the law, since they refused to pay taxes to support the government. In France, Philip answered the Pope's bull by prohibiting the export of money from France, thus cutting off contributions to Rome. The immediate question of the right of the state to tax the clergy was compromised; but disputes continued between the Pope and the king of France over the right claimed by the former to intervene in the French government. At last Pope Boniface VIII prepared to put into execution the powers which he claimed, and to declare King Philip excommunicated and deposed from his throne.[1]

262. Contest with the Pope

[1] In the course of the struggle with Philip, Pope Boniface issued a bull called *Unam Sanctam*. In this the papal claims to temporal power were stated in their most explicit form. "There are two swords," argued Boniface, quoting Saint Luke (xx, 38), "the spiritual and the temporal. Our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much,' but, 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the church: the one (the spiritual) to be used *by* the church, the other (the material), *for* the church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. If the temporal power errs, it is judged

263. The Pope seized at Anagni (1303)

To prevent the issuing of the bull of excommunication, agents of the French king, acting with Boniface's Italian enemies, seized the Pope at the little town of Anagni (ä-nän′yē), near Rome, whither he had retired for the summer. He was insulted and threatened with deposition, and it was with difficulty that his Italian enemies were prevented from doing him personal violence. After three days' imprisonment he was set free. Boniface was now an old man, and the shock of this humiliation was such that he died within a few weeks (1303). He was the last of the great medieval Popes.

264. French triumph over the papacy

The affair at Anagni is the counterpart to the humiliation of the Emperor Henry IV at Canossa (§ 113). The papacy had triumphed over the empire because it had been able to stir up rebellion in the Emperor's loosely united dominions. But the new national monarchies, when under strong kings, were proof against rebellion, for they were grounded on national interest and a rising sense of national patriotism. Philip IV violated the independence of the papacy without a blow being struck in its behalf. In the college of cardinals itself his influence was strong enough to secure the election of a successor to Boniface who pardoned the insult, and favored the French claims. On the ground that Rome was unsafe as a papal residence, because of political troubles in Italy, the papacy was removed from Rome to France (1305), and was soon established at Avignon (ȧ-vēn-yôN′). There it remained for about seventy years, — until 1377. This is the period called the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church (§ 318), in which France controlled the papacy as the German Emperors had controlled it in the days before Hildebrand.

Under Philip IV, France was indisputably the first power of Europe, and its strength was exercised without scruple. Well might the Italian poet Dante speak of the Capetians as "the evil tree whose deadly shade all Christendom doth fill."

by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert with the heretics two coequal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

C. Accession of the Valois Kings (1328)

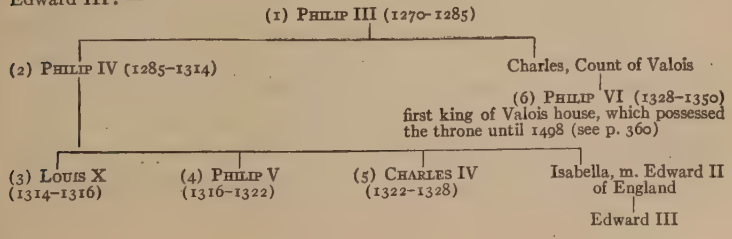
The death of Philip IV, in 1314, was followed by the rule, in rapid succession, of his three sons, — Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV. The chief interest of these reigns lies in the question of the succession to the throne. Louis X was the first Capetian king to die without a son, and for the first time the question arose whether a woman could reign. An assembly of the nobles and clergy decided against Louis's daughter and in favor of his brother Philip. Thus a new rule of succession was established, in accordance with which no queen has ever held sway over France in her own right.

265. Succession to the throne (1314–1328)

When Charles IV, the last of the Capetians in the direct line, died (in 1328) without a son, this rule received a further extension. The councilors of young Edward III of England claimed the throne for him as the nearest male heir, through his mother, who was a daughter of Philip IV. A French assembly decided, however, that not only was a woman herself debarred from the succession, but she could transmit no claim to her son. This is the principle to which the name "Sal'ic law" was afterward given, on the supposition that it was based on a provision of the old law of the Salian Franks. In reality it was based on the unwillingness of the French nobles to receive a foreigner as king, and at the time nothing was said of the Salic law.

The choice of the nobles fell upon Philip of Valois (vȧl-wä′), representative of the nearest male line of the Capetian house.[1] Under the name of Philip VI he was accepted by France; and

[1] The following genealogy will show the rival claims of the house of Valois and Edward III: —


(1) Philip III (1270–1285)
(2) Philip IV (1285–1314)
Charles, Count of Valois
(6) Philip VI (1328–1350)
first king of Valois house, which possessed the throne until 1498 (see p. 360)
(3) Louis X (1314–1316)
(4) Philip V (1316–1322)
(5) Charles IV (1322–1328)
Isabella, m. Edward II of England
Edward III

in 1329, and again in 1331, Edward III acknowledged him as his lord for the fief of Guienne (gē-ĕn′, *i.e.* Aquitaine). Other causes, however, soon led to war between England and France, and then the claim of Edward III to the French throne became a factor in the contest which we call the Hundred Years' War.

266. French, German, and English development

A comparison of the development of France during the Middle Ages with that of Germany and England is instructive. In Germany the decentralizing tendencies of feudalism prevailed. A minute territorial division was the result, and the Emperor was despoiled of all power, without profit to the people. In England the struggle between the feudal nobles and the crown produced a constitutional monarchy, under which the rights and liberties of the people rapidly developed. In France the crown grew at the expense of the feudal nobles; but this was without gain to the people, save through the greater security and better government which followed.

267. French art and learning

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen house (§ 137) France became the most important country of Europe. The part which the Emperors formerly had played in Italy was now taken by the French kings. The intellectual and artistic influence of France was also great. "Her intellect," says an eminent historian, "gave expression to the whole civilization of that period, — religious, feudal, and knightly. The French wrote heroic poems, built castles and cathedrals, and interpreted the texts of Aristotle and the Scriptures. Their songs, buildings, and scholastic philosophy verged upon perfection. Already independent, already mobile and sprightly, the French mind freed itself from tradition and authority. It produced the aërial grace of Gothic art. Christian Europe copied French cathedrals, recited French heroic and humorous songs, and thus learned the French language. Almost all the universities of Europe were like swarms of bees from the hive of Mount Saint Genevieve [University of Paris]. A proverb said that the world was ruled by three powers, — the Papacy, the Empire, and Learning; the first residing in Rome, the second in Germany, the third in Paris."

Lavisse, *General View of the Political History of Europe*, 61–62

IMPORTANT DATES

1108–1137. Louis VI reduces the crown domain to order.
1202–1206. Philip Augustus breaks the Angevin power in France.
1214. Battle of Bouvines.
1226–1270. Reign of Louis IX (Saint Louis).
1285–1314. Reign of Philip IV.
1302. Battle of Courtrai.
1302. First meeting of the Estates-General.
1305. Seat of papacy transferred to France; beginning of Babylonian Captivity.
1316. Women excluded from the French throne.
1328. Claims of Edward III of England to the French throne rejected, and Philip VI, of the house of Valois, made king.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) How did the possession of England by the Norman dukes change their relations with the kings of France? (2) What does the length of the struggle to reduce the domain to order show concerning the power of the French crown at this time? (3) Make a list of the things which contributed to the growth of the power of the French kings. (4) What was the chief difference between the Parlement of Paris and the English Parliament? (5) What preliminary training of the English helped to make their Parliament more effective than the French Estates-General? (6) What arguments could be advanced on the side of Philip IV and of Boniface VIII in their quarrel over taxation? (7) How do you account for the preëminence of France over other countries in the Middle Ages?

Search Topics. — (1) Personality of Philip Augustus. Dunn Pattison, *Leading Figures in European History;* Hutton, *Philip Augustus*, 15–18, 204–225. — (2) The Fall of the Angevins. Hutton, *Philip Augustus*, ch. iii. — (3) Battle of Bouvines. Hutton, *Philip Augustus*, ch. iv; Oman, *Art of War*, 457–479. — (4) Paris in the Middle Ages. Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, 403; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XX, 813–818. — (5) Personality of Louis IX. Perry, *St. Louis*, ch. xi; Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, 491–523; Ogg, *Source Book*, ch. xix. — (6) Philip IV and Boniface VIII. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. XI, ch. ix. — (7) The Development of French Institutions Compared with those of England. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 320–331.

General Reading. — Adams's *Growth of the French Nation* is the best brief history of France. Other histories in English are Jameson's edition of Duruy's *France*, Masson's *Medieval France*, and Kitchin's *History of France* (3 vols.).

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE, 1180-1429

AFTER 1453 ENGLAND RETAINED ONLY CALAIS, AS ON P. 338

L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337–1453)

A. Origin of the War

Many causes combined to produce the succession of conflicts between England and France which we call the Hundred Years' War. (1) The conquests of Philip Augustus had left a lingering hostility between the two countries, and the rejection of the claims of Edward III to the French throne increased the feeling. (2) There was continual friction over the English possession of Guienne. (3) In Scotland the French aided the young king, David Bruce, against the English attempts at conquest. (4) Finally, there was a conflict of interests in Flanders, which led directly to the war.

268. Causes of the war

Although Flanders was a French fief, the prosperity of the Flemish townsmen depended on the manufacture of cloth which they made from English wool. In 1336 the French king, Philip VI, recklessly caused the arrest of all Englishmen who were in Flanders. In retaliation Edward III seized Flemish merchants in his kingdom, and forbade the exportation of English wool. The Flemish burghers thereupon rebelled, and formed an alliance with England to secure their accustomed wool supplies. To satisfy Flemish scruples against warring upon their king, Edward III took the title of king of France, — a title which his successors did not finally abandon until the time of George III (1802). Previous wars between England and France had been feudal struggles between their kings, the people taking little part. French interference with English trade interests now aroused the English Parliament to enthusiastic support of the war. Edward's claim to the throne of France, on the other

hand, made the war a life-and-death struggle on the part of the French monarchy.

269. Three periods of the war

We may distinguish three distinct periods of active warfare in this long conflict. The first period lasted from its outbreak, in 1337, to the peace of Bretigny (brĕ-tēn-yē′), in 1360. The second period began with the renewal of hostilities in 1369, and lasted to their decline following the death of the French king, Charles V, in 1380. After a long interval, filled with troubles in both countries, the third period of the war began with the invasion of France by Henry V in 1415, and lasted with some interruptions until 1453.

B. First Period of the War (1337–1360)

The operations of the first few years were carried on by Edward III in Flanders and were without appreciable results.

270. Naval victory at Sluys (1340)

In 1340, however, Edward and his fleet met the French fleet near Sluys (slois), off the Flemish coast. The incompetent French commanders had huddled their vessels together in a narrow inlet, where maneuvering was impossible. The battle, therefore, resembled a land conflict. "Archers

Froissart, *Chronicles*,[1] ch. 50

Genoese Crossbowman

[1] Froissart's *Chronicles* is one of the most noted histories composed during the Middle Ages. It was written in French, and shows the dawn of the Renaissance spirit. Froissart was born in the neighborhood of Flanders just as the Hundred Years' War was beginning. He spent considerable time in England, Scotland, and Italy, as well as in France. He was personally acquainted with many actors in this great war, from whom he learned of the events which he narrates. "No newspaper correspondent, no American interviewer, ever equaled this medieval collector of intelligence." His history, however, is one-sided, for his sympathies were all with the knightly class whose picturesque deeds he recounts, rather than with the humbler townsmen and peasants.

and crossbows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grapplers of iron to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together." The battle ended in complete victory for the English. Thenceforth, for a generation, they were masters of the sea and could land their expeditions where they wished.

271. Battle of Crécy (1346)

In 1346 occurred the first important battle of the war on land. An expedition under Edward III advanced from Normandy up the valley of the Seine, until the flames of the villages fired by the English could be seen from the walls of Paris. Without attempting to attack the capital, Edward turned northward to join his forces with those of the Flemings, while an enormous French army under King Philip followed him. Seeing this, Edward took up a position near the village of Crécy (krā-sē′), from which the battle takes its name.

The English forces consisted chiefly of infantry armed with the longbow, — the excellence of which had been proved in the wars of Edward I against the Welsh and Scots. They were stationed in three divisions, on the slope of a hill. The French outnumbered the English five to one, but consisted chiefly of mounted men at arms, with a body of hired Genoese crossbowmen. The latter were first sent forward to the attack. They were tired with a long day's march, and their crossbow strings were perhaps slacked with a wetting received in a passing thundershower. They were no match for the English longbowmen, and when the shafts of the latter began to fall "so thick that it seemed as if it snowed," the Genoese broke and fled. At this, Philip in passion called out, "Slay these rascals, for they trouble us without reason." "And ever still," says the chronicler Froissart, "the English-

English Longbowman

men shot wherever they saw thickest press. The sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses; and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not arise again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another."

Froissart, *Chronicles*, ch. 130

A portion of the French finally managed to reach the English knights, under the Black Prince, son of Edward III, who were on foot in the rear of the archers. In haste messengers were sent to inform the king, who with the reserve coolly watched the battle from a windmill at the top of the hill. "Return to them that sent you," said Edward, "and say to them that they send no more to me as long as my son is alive. And also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that this day be his and the honor thereof."

Froissart, *Chronicles*, ch. 130

272. Outcome of the battle

At nightfall the English lines were still unbroken, while the French were in hopeless confusion. Philip fled wounded from the field, leaving behind him among the slain eleven princes of France and thousands of lesser rank. The English loss was inconsiderable. The victory was due chiefly to the English archers and to the tactical skill of King Edward. Even if cannon of a small, crude sort were not (as some writers claim) used at Crécy,[1] the battle nevertheless foretold, equally with that of Courtrai (§ 259), a new era in warfare. "It was a combat of infantry against cavalry, of missile weapons against heavy armor and lances, of trained professional soldiers against a combination of foreign mercenaries

Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 96

[1] Cannon were certainly known in Europe as early as 1326, in which year provision was made by the city of Florence for their manufacture. But these early cannon were very imperfect, being made of a number of iron bars welded together and reënforced by iron hoops. The gunpowder of that time was also very weak, owing to impurities in its composition, and the missiles were usually stones roughly chipped into a round form. The first mention (1340) of the use of cannon in France (Froissart, ch. 111) implies that their chief effect was to frighten the horses of the enemy by their noise. Not until the middle of the next century did artillery become so improved as to be useful in battering down castles and other fortifications. The development of hand firearms (the arquebus, musket, pistol) came even later. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, art. "Gunpowder."

with disorderly feudal levies. And the inevitable result was made the more decisive by the utter want of generalship on the part of the French king."

BATTLE OF CRÉCY

From a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Note the crossbowmen at left; longbowmen at right. The representation is not wholly accurate.

After the battle, Edward continued his retreat unmolested, and laid siege to Calais (ka-lĕ'). In spite of heroic resistance the town was obliged to surrender. Although Edward did not, as he at first threatened, put to death the leading townsmen, the whole population was expelled and their places taken by English settlers. Thenceforth for two hundred years Calais was an English town, an outpost of England's power and trade. Its possession, with that of Dover on the

273. Calais captured (1347)

other side of the Channel, went far to confirm the claim of the English king to be "lord of the narrow seas."

After the fall of Calais, a truce was arranged which lasted for several years. In this interval the exhaustion caused by the war was intensified by a terrible pestilence, called the "Black Death," which resembled the bubonic plague of to-day. Arising in Asia, it reached Europe by way of Egypt and Syria, appearing in Sicily, Tuscany, and Provence (pro-väns') in 1347. We now know that the "plague" is carried by a certain kind of fleas, which live on rats; and it is probable that the fleas came in bundles of merchandise which caravans brought to the eastern Mediterranean, and which were distributed thence through Europe. During the winter months of 1347 the progress of the disease was checked. Next summer it resumed its march, spreading "from city to city, from village to village, from house to house, from man to man." Germany and England experienced its ravages in 1349 and 1350; Norway and Russia in 1351.

274. Ravages of the Black Death

Everywhere the mortality was frightful. During the four years that this plague lasted, at least a third of the inhabitants of Europe were carried off. In some of the provinces of France, two thirds of the population perished. "It is impossible to believe," wrote a French monk of that time, "the number who have died throughout the whole country. Travelers, merchants, pilgrims, declare that they have found cattle wandering without herdsmen in fields, towns, and waste lands. They have seen barns and wine-cellars standing wide open, houses empty, and few people to be found anywhere. In many towns where there were before 20,000 people, scarcely 2000 are left. In many places the fields lie uncultivated." The dead were buried hastily, great numbers at a time, in long ditches dug in the fields, for the cemeteries were filled to overflowing. The unsanitary arrangements of the Middle Ages — the complete lack of sewerage systems, the accumulations of filth and decaying matter in streets and houses, and the pollution of water supplies — help to explain

Chronicle of Gilles Li Muisis, in Gasquet, *The Black Death*, 58

the great mortality. Where conditions were better, as among the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, the mortality was less. The Black Death was only the most terrible of many plagues which visited Europe in the Middle Ages, the recurrence of which gradually ceased with advance in cleanliness and sanitary science.

In France the influence of the Black Death was complicated by the injury wrought by war and misgovernment.[1] On the reduced population the heavy taxes fell with double force. The peasants had to contribute to pay ransoms for the deliverance of their lords from captivity, and for the redemption of their own goods from destruction. They were forced by both sides to labor without pay in carrying supplies, and at siege operations. Often they were tortured to extort money and provisions, when they themselves lacked bread for their families. To escape such evils, peasants fled in large numbers to the depths of the forests, only to die there of famine and the attacks of wolves. Through the joint operation of the plague and the war, the rude prosperity which had characterized the French people at the beginning of the century was brought to an end, and their condition became pitiable in the extreme.

275. Desolation of France

THE BLACK PRINCE

From a brass figure on his tomb

Philip VI died in 1350. His son John (1350–1364) was a good knight, but without capacity for government or generalship. In 1355 the Black Prince led an expedition into southern France and the next year started to march northward to Normandy. Near Poitiers (pwȧtyā′) he was confronted by a French army

276. Battle of Poitiers (1356)

[1] The influence of the Black Death on the agricultural system of England is treated in the following chapter (§ 305).

many times larger than his own. So hopeless seemed the odds, that he offered (but in vain) to surrender his spoil and his prisoners, and to bind himself not to fight again for seven years, as the price of a free retreat.

As at Crécy, the English force consisted principally of archers, while the French were mostly mounted and armored knights. The English were stationed on a little plateau protected by a hedge and by rough and marshy ground. King John was per-

Battle of Poitiers
From a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

suaded that the strength of the English at Crécy had been due, not to their archers, but to the fact that their men at arms were dismounted. Accordingly, he ordered his knights to advance on foot, thus throwing away his chief advantage. The first and second divisions of his army failed to accomplish anything. Upon their retiring, the third division, commanded by the king himself, was left to bear the whole weight of the English counter attack. "There was a sore fight," says Froissart, "and many a great stroke given and received. King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms; he had an ax in his hands wherewith he defended himself and

Froissart, *Chronicles*, chs. 162–164

fought in the breaking of the press." Refusing to flee, he and his youngest son were taken captives by the English.

The whole number of prisoners was twice that of their English captors. "That day," says Froissart, "whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his, and might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were made rich with honor and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that were there found." After the battle the Black Prince entertained the captive king, waiting upon him in person at table. But for all this chivalrous display, the English shrewdly extracted full advantage from the victory. Pending the acceptance of their terms, King John was carried prisoner to London, where for four years he was detained in honorable captivity.

Froissart, *Chronicles*, ch. 166

France meanwhile was in a deplorable condition. The government was carried on by the king's eldest son, the Dauphin Charles.[1] Charles was an untried youth, and demoralization pervaded every branch of the government. In 1358 there was added to other miseries a great uprising of the peasants.[2] They had suffered the most from the war and pestilence, and to their dulled minds the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers were explainable only on the theory that the nobles had betrayed France. The revolt was confined to a few provinces in northern France, but it was characterized by the utmost ferocity. The peasants seemed turned by their sufferings into wild beasts, and the nobles retaliated in like manner. The revolt was soon put down, and the lot of the peasant, who was now dreaded as well as despised, became worse than before.

277. Peasants' revolt in France (1358)

[1] This prince was the first of the heirs apparent of France to bear the title of dauphin. The title was derived from the Dauphiné (do-fē-nā′), just east of the river Rhone, which was annexed to France in 1349.

[2] This revolt of the peasants was called the *Jacquerie* (zhäk-re′), from the French nickname for a peasant, *Jacques Bonhomme* (zhäk bō-nōm′). This name is perhaps also the origin of our term "country Jake." The attempt at this time of the townsmen of Paris, under their leader Stephen Marcel, to give France a constitutional government may be made the subject of a special report. See reference at the close of the chapter.

A treaty with England was at last concluded at Bretigny in 1360. The following were its chief provisions (map, p. 240):—

278. Peace of Bretigny (1360)

1. John agreed to pay a large money ransom.
2. He granted to Edward III full sovereignty over Aquitaine, Calais, and the district about Crécy.
3. Edward III abandoned his claim to the French crown.

All questions seemed settled and the war ended by this treaty. If Edward III failed to win the French crown, he had gained in Calais an important outpost across the Channel, and had considerably enlarged his territories in southern France. Above all, he had thrown off his feudal dependence on the French king for the lands which he possessed in that kingdom. He might well be content with the gains shown by this period of the war.

C. Second Period of the War (1369–1380)

279. Charles V renews the war (1369)

Four years after the peace of Bretigny, King John died at London, whither he had returned on a visit of mingled business and pleasure. The new king, Charles V (1364–1380), had as dauphin gained in experience. As king he is known as Charles "the Wise," for he proved one of the ablest rulers of France in the Middle Ages. He was a shrewd, practical statesman, who knew how to select good generals, and fought no useless battles. During the first five years of his reign peace was kept with England and the abuses in the government were remedied. Then in 1369 a dispute arose over Aquitaine, which gave Charles an excuse for repudiating the treaty of Bretigny and reasserting French suzerainty over the English possessions. Edward III thereupon renewed the war, and resumed his claim to the French throne.

280. Success of the French

Every advantage was now on the side of France. England was tired of the contest, Edward III was old and enfeebled (he died in 1377), and the Black Prince was burdened with a disease which carried him off a year before his father. The command of the sea was also with the French,—thanks to the fleet of the king of Castile, whom Charles had aided

against a rival who was supported by the English. Finally, the French now had a first-class general in the person of a Breton noble[1] who cast aside the old knightly traditions of warfare, used professional soldiers instead of the disorderly feudal levies, and carried on a cautious campaign of rapid maneuvers, stratagems, and ambuscades. As a result of these changed conditions, place after place fell into the hands of the French. The extent of the conquests made by Charles V may be seen from the fact that when a truce was made in 1375, Calais in the north and Bordeaux (bôr-dō′) and Bayonne (ba-yōn′) in the south were the only important strongholds left in English hands.

This, however, proved the limit of Charles's success. He died in 1380. His son, Charles VI (1380–1422), was a sickly boy who became insane soon after he attained manhood. His whole reign, therefore, was filled with contests of French princes for control of the government. These reached their height in 1407, when the king's cousin, the surly duke of Burgundy, caused the murder of the duke of Orleans, brother of the king and leader of the opposing faction. Civil war then broke out between the rival parties of Burgundians and Or′leanists. Fortunately for France, this was also for England a time of peasant revolt and party struggles (§§ 306, 308). For a full generation, therefore, the war languished.

281. Cessation of warfare (1380–1415)

D. Third Period of the War (1415–1453)

The renewal of the war came soon after Henry V, the hero-king of England, succeeded to the English throne (1413). The title of his house to rule was disputed, and his father's reign had been distracted by many troubles growing out of this fact. Henry V resolved, therefore, to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels" (as the poet Shakespeare phrases it) and raised again the English claims to the French throne.

282. War renewed: battle of Agincourt (1415)

[1] Named Bertrand du Guesclin (bĕr-trăn′ dü gĕ-klăn′); his career may well be made the subject for a written or oral report. See references at the close of this chapter.

In 1415 Henry led an army into Normandy, whence he marched northward toward Calais. At Agincourt (ȧ-zhăn-koor'), near Crécy, his way was blocked by a great French army, composed mainly of Orleanists, who at that moment were in control of the French government. The French seem to have learned wisdom neither from the disasters of King John nor from the successes of Charles V. Again their forces were chiefly dismounted knights, weighted down with their heavy armor. They were packed so close in a narrow defile between two woods that they scarcely had room to wield their swords. To make matters worse, the field was newly harrowed and ankle-deep with mud. Well might King Henry say, the night before the battle, that he "wished not for a single man more" to share the glory. A third English victory, equal to those won at Crécy and Poitiers, was the result.

Instead of uniting French parties, the disaster at Agincourt only made the feuds of the princes more bitter. In 1419, at a conference between the Dauphin Charles (now head of the Orleanist party) and the duke of Burgundy, the latter was treacherously slain by the Orleanists, in revenge for the murder of their leader twelve years before. The new duke of Burgundy, as a consequence, put himself unreservedly on the English side. In 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes by the shameless French queen, Isabella, who was under Burgundy's influence. It contained the following provisions: —

283. Treaty of Troyes (1420)

1. The Dauphin Charles was disinherited because of his part in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy.
2. Henry V was to marry Catherine, the daughter of Isabella and Charles VI.
3. Henry was at once to become regent, and his title to the throne of France was to be recognized after the death of Charles VI.

The dauphin naturally refused to accept this outrageous treaty. Southern France remained loyal to him, but the north (including the capital) passed into English hands. Henry V's rule in France was short, as he died in 1422. Seven weeks later the pathetic life of Charles VI also came to an

284. Accession of Charles VII (1422)

end. The heir to both England and France, by the treaty of Troyes, was a babe less than a year old, — Henry VI, the son of Henry V and Catherine. Such sentiment of nationality as existed in France supported the claims of the dauphin, now called Charles VII (1422–1461). But his resources were slender, and his court was distracted by the quarrels of his adherents. During the first seven years of his reign, little progress was made in driving the English from the realm.

285. Joan of Arc (1429–1431)

In 1429 a new factor entered the struggle in the person of Joan of Arc. Joan was an uneducated peasant maid of north-eastern France. She was of a religious temperament, and after reaching the age of fourteen began to hear "voices" and see visions of saints and angels, in which she firmly believed. She was much affected by the troubles of her time. At the age of seventeen her "voices" urged her to go to the dauphin, lead him to Rheims to be crowned, and deliver France. With much difficulty she reached the king's court, in male attire. There she so impressed Charles that he gave her an opportunity to show the reality of her powers. The city of Orleans at this time was besieged by the English; if it fell, it would carry with it the ruin of the French cause. Equipped with armor and a holy banner, Joan set out with a small force, and entered Orleans in April, 1429. Under the inspiration of her courage, faith, and enthusiasm, blow after blow was struck against the English, and within ten days the siege of Orleans was raised. The French seemed suddenly to have become invincible. Success followed success, and in July the Maid of Orleans, as she was now called, was able to lead Charles across a hostile country to Rheims, for coronation at the place where his ancestors had been crowned. Thus Joan's chief mission was accomplished.

After this, Charles VII was received by the French people with enthusiasm. But the successes won by Joan aroused the jealousy of Charles's advisers, and they did all they could to thwart her further plans. In September she was wounded while leading an attack on Paris. In May of the next year she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians, and eventually sold

RELIEF OF ORLEANS BY JOAN OF ARC

From a mural painting by Lenepveu, in the Panthéon, Paris

to the English. The latter wished to break the spell of her deeds by proving her a witch, that is, a person in league with the devil. She was accused of sorcery and heresy, and was tried before a bishop who was an English partisan. Her condemnation was a foregone conclusion. At Rouen, in May, 1431,— wearing the cap of those condemned by the Inquisition, on which were painted devils and flames, with the words, "Relapsed heretic, apostate, and idolater," — she was burned at the stake.

ENTRY OF CHARLES VII INTO PARIS
From a miniature in a thirteenth-century manuscript

The nobility and purity of her character were such as to impress even her enemies. "We are lost; we have burned a saint!" were the words of an Englishman who witnessed her execution. The greatest blot on the fame of Charles VII is the ingratitude he showed in making no effort to rescue from death the brave girl who, more than any one else, saved for him the throne of France.

The influence of Joan survived her in the energy with which the war was continued. Four years after her death, Philip of Burgundy abandoned the English cause, on condition that

he be given certain lands and be freed from all homage to Charles VII during his lifetime. France was thus once more united. A series of reforms also gave to the crown a standing army, a force of improved artillery, — for cannon were becoming effective, — and a permanent revenue. While the French government was thus strengthened, England was weakened by the insanity of King Henry VI, and the growth of dissensions among the English princes. In these circumstances the expulsion of the English from France was only a question of time. Paris soon surrendered to one of Charles's generals; presently Normandy and the greater part of Aquitaine were conquered; and finally, in 1453, Bordeaux fell. Only Calais remained in English hands, to be kept for a century longer. The Hundred Years' War, with its enormous injury, both material and moral, to both parties, came quietly to an end without a formal treaty of peace.

286. Close of the war (1431–1453)

Instead of winning for the English crown the whole of France, the Hundred Years' War lost for it possessions which had been held by English kings since the accession of Henry II (1154). For France the struggle had these results: (1) The French king was delivered from the anomaly of having a rival king among his vassals. (2) The power of the crown was consolidated into almost absolute monarchy. (3) A national sentiment was born, which ultimately led to the complete nationality of to-day. (4) But against these gains must be balanced fearful losses inflicted upon land and people, the check to population, and the brutalization of long-continued and unrestrained warfare.

287. Results of the war

IMPORTANT DATES

1346. Battle of Crécy.
1347. Calais taken by the English.
1347. The Black Death first appears in France.
1356. Battle of Poitiers.
1360. Peace of Bretigny.
1369. Renewal of the war; successes of Charles V.
1377–1415. England weakened by party struggles.
1380–1435. France weakened by party struggles.

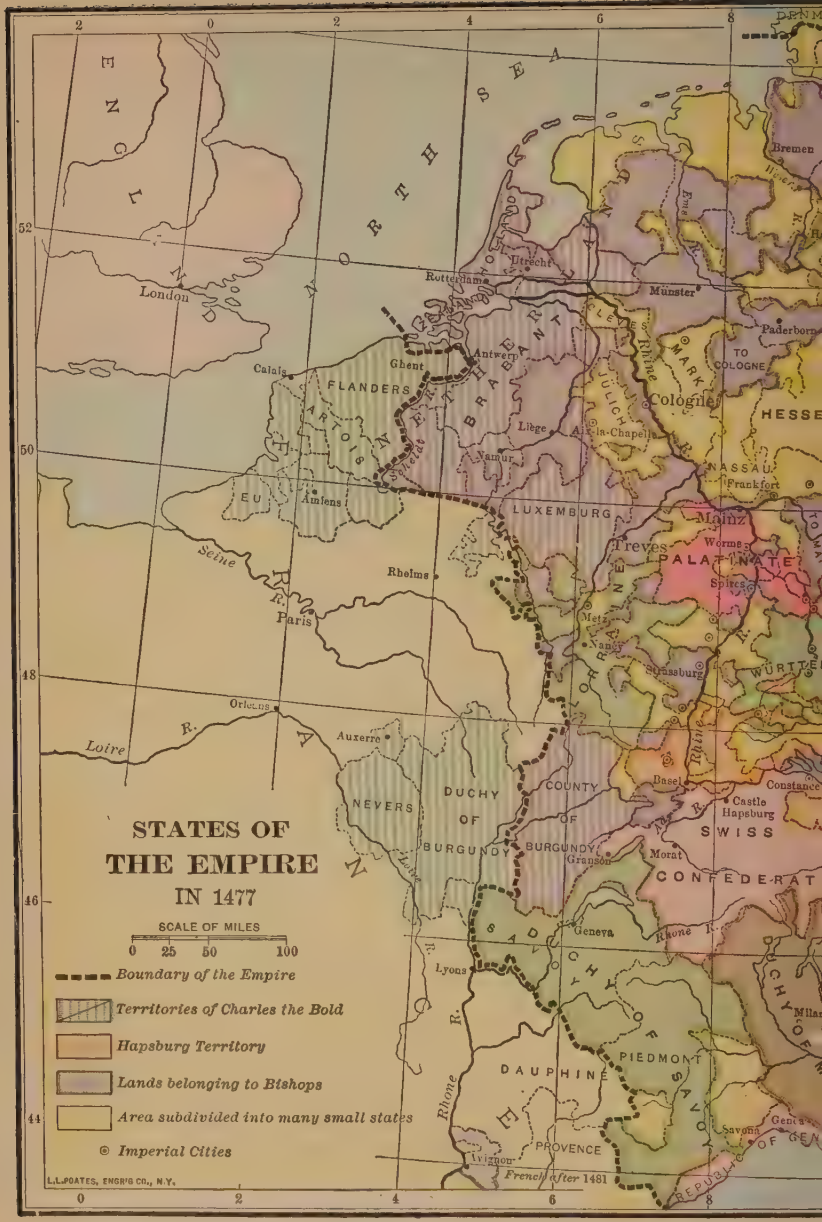
1415. Henry V wins the battle of Agincourt.
1419. Duke of Burgundy murdered by the Orleanists.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1429. Joan of Arc relieves Orleans.
1431. Joan burned as a heretic by the English.
1435. The duke of Burgundy abandons the English.
1453. The English driven from Aquitaine; end of the war.

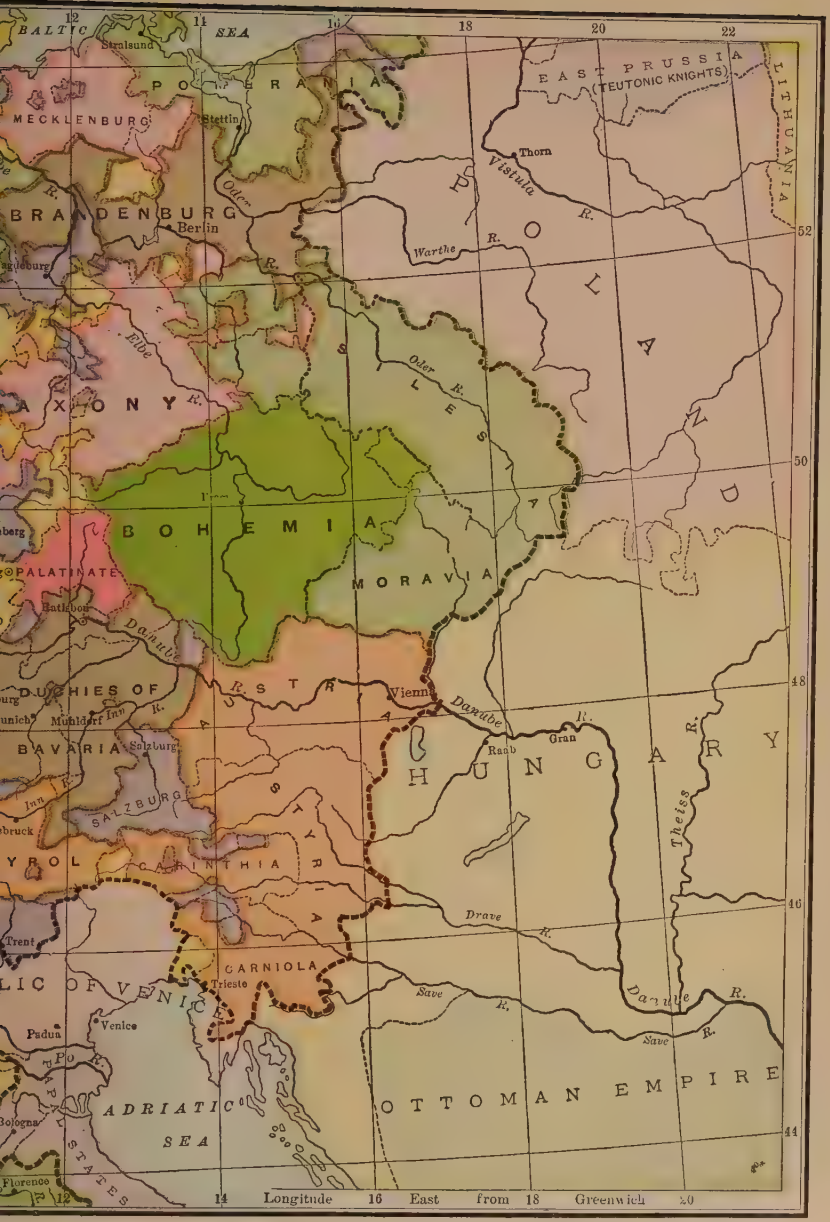
TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What advantage did the battle of Sluys give the English? (2) What enabled the English to win at Crécy and Poitiers? (3) Of what value was Calais to the English? (4) Was King John of France a good soldier? Was he a good general? (5) What change was to be made in the position of the English in Aquitaine by the treaty of Bretigny? (6) Make a list of reasons for the French successes in the second period of the war. (7) Why did those successes not continue after 1380? (8) Why did Joan of Arc experience difficulty in obtaining an opportunity to show her powers? (9) Was it only jealousy of her that led Charles's advisers to oppose her plans? (10) Why were the English determined to prove her a heretic? (11) Was it a good or a bad thing for England that it lost its possessions in France?

Search Topics. — (1) BATTLE OF CRÉCY. Oman, *Art of War*, 603–615; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 466–470; George, *Battles of English History*, 54–67. — (2) DEEDS OF THE BLACK PRINCE. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), VIII, 999–1000; Froissart, *Chronicles;* Dunn Pattison, *The Black Prince.* — (3) THE BLACK DEATH. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, ch. iv; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 183–195; Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 34–57, 194–219. — (4) STEPHEN MARCEL. Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 81–88. — (5) BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Du Guesclin"; Stoddard, *Bertrand du Guesclin*, chs. xii–xv. — (6) EARLY LIFE OF JOAN OF ARC. Lang, *The Maid of France*, chs. ii–v; Lowell, *Joan of Arc;* Lea, *Inquisition*, III, 338–378; Green, *Short History*, 271–281. — (7) THE RELIEF OF ORLEANS. Lang, chs. viii–xi; Lowell, *Joan of Arc.* — (8) JOAN'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION. Lang, chs. xxii–xxvi; Lowell, *Joan of Arc.* — (9) ARMS AND ARMOR IN THE TIME OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Boutell, *Arms and Armour*, 113–152; *Scribner's Magazine*, III, 3–19. — (10) THE LONGBOW AND CROSSBOW. Boutell, *Arms and Armour*, 137–146; Oman, *Art of War*, 557–562.

General Reading. — Froissart's *Chronicles* (several translations) are a mine of picturesque incidents for the period of the Hundred Years' War. Lanier's *The Boys' Froissart* is the best edition for school use. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, gives a dry but scholarly account.


STATES OF
THE EMPIRE
IN 1477
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Boundary of the Empire
Territories of Charles the Bold
Hapsburg Territory
Lands belonging to Bishops
Area subdivided into many small states
Imperial Cities
L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
London
Calais
Amiens
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Ghent
Antwerp
FLANDERS
BRABANT
Liege
Namur
LUXEMBURG
Bremen
Munster
Paderborn
TO COLOGNE
Cologne
HESSE
Aix-la-Chapelle
NASSAU
Frankfort
Mainz
Worms
Treves
PALATINATE
Spires
Metz
Nancy
Strasburg
Rheims
Seine R.
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
Auxerre
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
NEVERS
Basel
Constance
Castle Hapsburg
SWISS CONFEDERAT
Granson
Morat
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lyons
SAVOY
DUCHY OF MILAN
PIEDMONT
DAUPHINE
PROVENCE
Lyonnois
Savona
REPUBLIC OF GEN
French after 1481


BALTIC SEA
Stralsund
POMERANIA
MECKLENBURG
Stettin
Oder R.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Elbe R.
SAXONY
EAST PRUSSIA
(TEUTONIC KNIGHTS)
LITHUANIA
Thorn
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
POLAND
Oder R.
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
PALATINATE
Ratisbon
Danube R.
DUCHIES OF AUSTRIA
Vienna
Munich
Inn R.
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Danube R.
Raab
Gran
HUNGARY
Theiss R.
SALZBURG
Inn R.
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
Trent
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Save R.
Danube R.
Save R.
Padua
Venice
Po R.
ADRIATIC SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bologna
Florence
STATES
52
50
48
46
44
12
14
16
18
20
Longitude East from Greenwich

CHAPTER XIV

EUROPEAN STATES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

A. Rise of the Modern State

288. Changes in government

One of the important contrasts between medieval and modern times is the difference in the nature and functions of their governments. It was especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the development from the one to the other type of government began. Before turning, therefore, to the history of the separate countries of western Europe, we will first examine briefly the character of these differences.

289. Weakness of the Holy Roman Empire

First among them we may count the practical disappearance in modern times of the Holy Roman Empire. In the Middle Ages the empire was the counterpart to the Holy Roman Church. It was supposed, equally with the latter, to have been founded by God; and to it all persons, in theory, owed allegiance. In reality the claim of the empire to universal rule, even in western Europe, was never completely established; and the long-continued conflicts between papacy and empire practically destroyed what power it did possess. As a name for the government of the German confederation it continued to exist; but, in the words of a witty Frenchman, it was fast becoming "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." In place, therefore, of a single great state comprising all Europe, there now came in the idea of a Europe divided into a number of separate territorial states.

290. National as against feudal ties

Another difference is to be found in the greater unity of the new states as compared with feudal governments. "In the Middle Ages," says a French writer, "every large proprietor lived like a sovereign on his domains. Every organized city governed itself like a republic. Each country

was divided into several thousand petty, independent powers, who negotiated with one another as if they were foreign nations. The inhabitant of a town or feudal lordship was considered a foreigner in the neighboring town or lordship. To have the right even of taking there his merchandise, he was obliged to have a special permission. Each lordship, each town, had its tribunal, its treasury, its army, its customs, its complete government. But this government was only exercised within the limits of the lordship or of the town. Consequently there was no government for the whole country, no nation, not even a state." The direct tie which in modern times binds all subjects or citizens to the head of the state was wanting in strictly feudal societies.

Seignobos, *Medieval and Modern Civilization*, 211 (translation condensed)

Nor was this all. The ties of sympathy were stronger between members of the same class who dwelt in different countries, than they were between members of different classes in the same country. Thus the nobility of France, Germany, and other countries had more in common with one another than any of them had with the townsmen or peasantry of their own country. To put this fact in another way, we may say that *the social cleavage in the Middle Ages was along class lines, and not along national lines.*

With the rise of the modern state, these conditions changed. Feudal rights of government were everywhere restricted, and the sovereignty of the state was reconstituted. All inhabitants are now bound to the head of the state by a duty of allegiance and service which is superior to that owing to any other person. A consciousness of a common *nationality* — based on the possession of the same speech, the same government, the same traditions, interests, and hopes — began to arise. The sentiment of *patriotism*, that is, of loyalty to one's native land, was born. The ties which united together all the inhabitants of a country became closer, therefore, while the cleavage between different countries became sharper and more distinct.

The modern state also differs from feudal governments in the extent of the powers which it exercises. Many functions of

government which had existed in the ancient Roman Empire — such as support of hospitals, orphan asylums, poor relief, schools and universities — disappeared during the feudal period, or were left to private charity and to the church. Road-making and bridge-building declined, and the construction of public buildings (except churches and town halls) practically ceased altogether.

291. Enlarged functions of government

With the rise of the modern state, these functions of government were resumed. The enforcement of *justice*, and the holding of *courts*, which had earlier been left to the feudal lords, were also restored to the state. A constantly enlarging sphere of action by the state is one of the marks of modern times. With these greatly increased functions there came naturally a larger staff of *paid officials* in the service of the government. As a result, the old feudal and royal revenues of the crown no longer sufficed. *Taxes*, which had practically disappeared with the overthrow of the old Roman Empire, were therefore revived. And since every state had to be in a position to enforce its commands upon its subjects, and to repell the attacks of other states, there arose the necessity of *police forces* and *standing armies*.

As a result of such changes as these, we find in most of the countries of western Europe, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *modern states* arising. They were the creation, in the main, of the monarchs of the time, who were aided by favoring circumstances. The new governments were supported by a strong national spirit, and had large powers and separate departments of administration. They were strengthened by a body of well-ordered law, and they controlled their resources of men and money more adequately than did the feudal governments. This rise of modern states was, indeed, as characteristic a feature of the new time as the power of Empire and Papacy had been of the old.

B. France and Burgundy

France was one of the first countries to develop the powers of the modern state. The earlier steps in the strengthening of the

royal power in that country have been described in the chapter on the Growth of France. We have also seen how, in the closing stage of the Hundred Years' War, Charles VII was enabled to increase the king's power by establishing a permanent tax and a standing army. With an armed force at his unrestricted command, and a tax whose amount he could increase at pleasure, the king needed no longer to consult the Estates-General, except when he chose. When the war with England was at an end, Charles was thus able to apply himself with success to the task of ending the disorder in the land, and of strengthening still further the central government.

292. France under Charles VII

Louis XI

His hat is banded with small lead images of saints from pilgrim shrines.

The work of building upon the foundations thus laid was left to Charles's son and successor, Louis XI. In appearance this prince was ugly and unkingly; in character he was unscrupulous and fond of cunning intrigue. He lived economically and cared nothing for display. He could not find the money to buy himself a new hat to replace the old felt one that he wore, but he spent a great sum to buy back certain border towns for France. Many of his acts were those of a cynical tyrant. He did a great work, however, in weakening the power of the higher nobles, and in making impossible any tyranny but that of the king.

293. Work of Louis XI (1461–1483)

294. Lands of the duke of Burgundy

The chief task of Louis XI was to restore the royal domain, which had largely been granted away to princes of the royal house. His most formidable opponent was the duke of Burgundy. This prince possessed the duchy of Burgundy in eastern France and the neighboring county of the same name in the Empire, — also called Franche Comté (frănsh-kôn-tā′), the "free county." Flanders and Artois (artwä′) in northern France were also in his hands, as well as a number of fiefs of the Empire about the mouth of the river Rhine, styled collectively the Netherlands, or "Low Countries" (see map, p. 258). The extent and richness of these possessions made the duke of Burgundy in many crises more powerful than the French king himself. Throughout the first ten years of Louis XI's reign the king struggled desperately with the great nobles, headed by the Burgundian duke, Charles the Bold. Several times Louis's power seemed crushed; but in the end his cunning diplomacy, and some fortunate circumstances, enabled him to triumph.

Mary of Burgundy

From the painting by R. van Bruges

295. Charles the Bold overthrown (1477)

The circumstance which chiefly contributed to this end was the withdrawal of Charles the Bold from French affairs to carry out plans in the Empire. Charles made a brilliant figure in contrast to the shabbiness of Louis XI, but he

lacked Louis's practical shrewdness. He wished to consolidate his scattered possessions into a single territory, and to obtain from the Emperor the title of king over them. His purpose, in effect, was to restore the old kingdom of Lotharingia, as a buffer state between France and Germany. Unfortunately for Charles, his project brought him into conflict with the sturdy mountaineers and townsmen of Switzerland. Twice in 1476 (at Granson and Morat) the Swiss halberdiers and pikemen defeated the mailed horsemen of Burgundy. Burning to avenge these humiliations, Charles then undertook a winter campaign, and in the battle of Nancy (in Lorraine, 1477), his forces were again defeated. This time he himself was slain, and his body was found stark and frozen in the marsh into which it had been thrown. Once more the lesson was enforced, as at Courtrai and Crécy, that foot soldiers properly armed and handled were more than a match for feudal cavalry.

MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA

From an old print

Charles left as sole heir to his numerous territories his daughter Mary, who was soon married to Maximilian of Austria (§ 302). It was not to be expected that Louis XI would permit the opportunity offered by Charles's death to pass unused. He seized the duchy of Burgundy and other possessions of the late duke — some on the justifiable ground that they could pass only to male heirs, and others on less defensible pretexts. In other directions also Louis XI rounded out the royal domain, until it became almost as extensive as France itself. The only great feudal territories left outstanding at Louis's

296. Division of the Burgundian lands

death, in 1483, were Brittany and Flanders. Brittany was finally acquired by the crown through marriage, early in the sixteenth century. Flanders, however, had long been drifting away from France, and in 1526 it was surrendered to the Empire — to be largely reconquered, however, in the next century.

Charles VIII (1483–1498), son of Louis XI, was thirteen years old when his father's death made him king. During his minority the government was ably administered by his older sister Anne, whom her father had cynically styled "the least foolish woman in the world." After coming of age Charles, in 1494, led an army into Italy. His purpose was to enforce claims to the kingdom of Naples which he had inherited from that French house which Charles of Anjou had founded in 1265 (§ 137). The weakness of the mutually hostile Italian states was strikingly revealed by this expedition. It was almost a triumphal procession, and Naples fell with scarcely a blow. But soon Charles was called back by news of a formidable league formed in his rear by the chief states of Italy (including the Pope) together with the king of Aragon (ăr'a-gon) and the Emperor. Before Charles's death (1498) Naples was again lost by France, and it soon passed into the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon, who already ruled Sicily. In spite of the failure of France to retain hold of the kingdom of Naples, the expedition of Charles VIII was of great importance. It marked the end of the period of national isolation in European relations, and introduced a period of international leagues and warfare. More especially it marked the beginning of a conflict between France and Spain for the control of Italy which lasted until 1559; and this, as we shall see, profoundly affected the fortunes of the German Reformation.

297. Italian war of Charles VIII

C. Germany after the Interregnum

The Great Interregnum in Germany, which followed the overthrow of the Hohenstaufen house (§ 138), was ended in 1273 by the election of a petty Swabian count, Rudolph of

Hapsburg,[1] to the German kingship. For three quarters of a century longer, however, the history of Germany presents a confused and uninteresting story. Rudolph wisely refrained from attempting to exercise power over Italy or to gain the imperial title. "Italy," said he, alluding to a well-known fable, "is the den of the lion. I see many tracks leading into it, but none coming out again." The wise policy which he inaugurated was followed by most of his immediate successors. The main interest of this period consists in the gradual acquisition, by the Hapsburg family, of a territorial power on the eastern borders of Germany.

298. Rise of the Hapsburg house

CASTLE HAPSBURG. From an old print

The beginning of this development was made by Rudolph, who used his position as king to gain for his family the duchies of Austria and Styria. About half a century later two duchies which border Styria on the south and west were added. Soon after this the gap which separated these eastern possessions of the house from their original Swabian lands was partly bridged by the acquisition of the Tyrol, as the region of the eastern Alps is called (see map, p. 259). In spite of the fact that the Hapsburgs for a time lost their hold on the German kingship, they succeeded in building up a group of estates which made them, at the beginning of the religious Reformation in Germany, the strongest territorial power in that land.

[1] The name of this important family is derived from their castle of Hapsburg (earlier Habichtsburg, "hawk's castle"). It was built about 1020 on the river Aar, not far from its junction with the Rhine (see map, p. 258).

In this confused period the rulers of Germany were chosen now from one and now from another house. The great nobles, in their selfish desire to maintain their independent rights, sought for weakness rather than strength in the men whom they elected. Now a Hapsburg was chosen, now a member of the ducal house of Bavaria, now a member of the house of Luxemburg. Like the Hapsburg house, the counts of Luxemburg had reached out from their petty seat in western Germany, and had built up a strong power in the east by acquiring the Slavic kingdom of Bohemia.

299. Kings from different houses

In 1347 Charles IV, the head of the latter house, succeeded in gaining possession of the German throne. He proved one of the greatest rulers of Europe in the fourteenth century. His policy was to build up Bohemia by the promotion of commerce and the founding of the University of Prague; and so successful was he that for a time Prague became almost the capital of Europe. His neglect of Germany, and his persistent refusal to be drawn into Italian politics, caused one of his successors to say of him that he "was the father of Bohemia, but the stepfather of the Empire."

300. Charles IV and the Golden Bull (1356)

The most important single act of Charles IV was his issuing in 1356 of the famous Golden Bull, by which the constitution of the Empire was defined. The right to choose the king of Germany (the future Emperor), as we have seen (§ 118), was originally vested in all freemen. But it had gradually been restricted until by the end of the thirteenth century the idea became fixed that there should be just seven persons, constituting an electoral college, who possessed the right to elect. Two of these votes, however, were in dispute. In the Golden Bull the seven electoral votes were definitely decided to belong to the three great Rhineland archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Treves, and to four secular princes, the king of Bohemia, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg (see map, p. 259). To prevent future disputes, the territories of these secular princes were made indivisible, with succession to males only. The right of coining

money and of trying cases without appeal was given to the electors, who were placed above all other German princes. This arrangement, while it prevented the recurrence of disputed elections, made the constitution of Germany for centuries a

TOWN HALL OF THE FREE IMPERIAL CITY OF FRANKFORT

A group of separate houses built largely in the fifteenth century, and since remodeled. Here the imperial elections were held in the sixteenth century.

federation of almost sovereign states instead of a consolidated monarchy. It was a step directly opposite to those which elsewhere were being taken in the creation of modern states. The English historian Bryce says of Charles IV's work that "he legalized anarchy, and called it a constitution."

Holy Roman Empire, 250 (revised ed.)

Members of the Luxemburg house occupied the imperial throne for sixty years after the death of Charles IV, the last ruler of this house being the Emperor Sigismund (1410–1437). In the person of Albert II the Hapsburg line was then restored, and retained possession of the throne continuously for the next three centuries.

1301. Hapsburg line restored (1438)

Frederick III (1440–1493), cousin of Albert, was the last

Emperor to be crowned at Rome. The weakness of the imperial power did not permit him to take an active part in the affairs of Europe; indeed, for twenty-five years he remained secluded on his hereditary estates, without even visiting other parts of Germany. Nevertheless, his long reign and patient persistence greatly increased the power of his house, by reuniting its divided fragments. A notable achievement was a treaty which laid a basis for the later acquisition by his descendants of the great Magyar kingdom of Hungary.[1]

302. Growth of Hapsburg power (1440–1519)

IMPERIAL ARMS AFTER SIGISMUND'S REIGN

From iron work in the State Museum at Frankfort

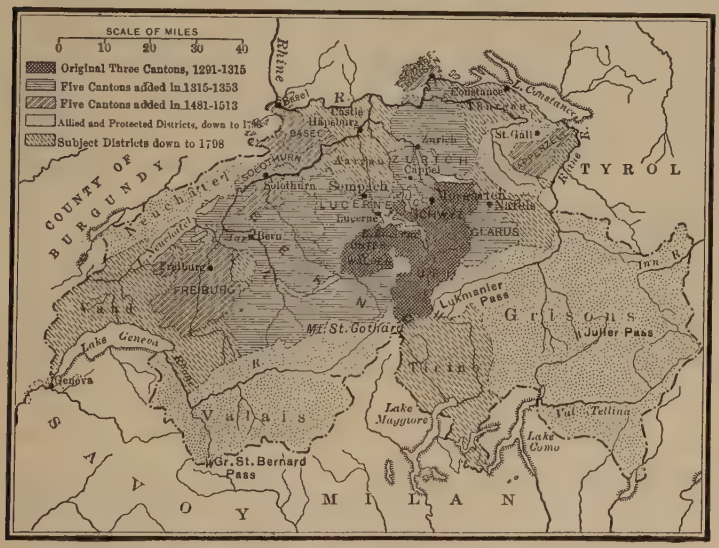
The marriage of Frederick's son Maximilian (Emperor from 1493 to 1519) with Mary of Burgundy has already been mentioned (§ 296). By this step a large part of the lands of Charles the Bold was added to the Hapsburg inheritance. A beginning was thus made of renewed growth of that power in western Europe. In a later section will be described a further marriage which brought Spain also, with its vast dependencies in the Old and in the New World, into Hapsburg hands (§ 314). Maximilian's reign is thus a special illustration of the saying that, while other states grew by wars, the Hapsburg family throve through fortunate marriages.

In concluding this sketch of Germany, some account must be given of the rise of the Swiss Confederation. Many of the stories told concerning the Swiss (such as the one of which William Tell is the hero) have been proved by scholars to be mere myths. The authentic history of that land,

303. The Swiss Confederation (1291–1499)

[1] The five vowels "A. E. I. O. U." appeared inscribed on all the buildings and possessions of Frederick III. These initials are interpreted to mean, *Austria est imperare orbi universo* (in German, *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan*), — that is, "the whole world is subject to Austria."

however, is highly interesting. In the mountainous region lying between the rivers Rhine and Aar, much of the old Germanic spirit of freedom had been preserved. Consequently when the neighboring Hapsburg counts attempted, in the thirteenth century, to extend their feudal jurisdiction over these independent communities, resistance followed. The union in



GROWTH OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

1291 of the three "forest cantons" (Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden) in a "Perpetual League," was the beginning of the Swiss Confederation. The first test of its strength came in 1315. In that year the Hapsburg count sent a great force of armored knights to attack the confederates, who — armed with lances made by tying their scythes to their alpenstocks — were stationed among the hills of Mor'garten. As the enemy toiled up the steep slope, they were met by avalanches of stones and tree trunks; and when they arrived at the summit they were scattered by a well-directed charge. Subsequent victories, such as that won at Sempach (zĕm'päk) in 1386, con-

firmed the Swiss claim to freedom from feudal control. These exploits, taken with the great victories won over Charles the Bold (§ 295), had the effect of making the Swiss pikemen the most renowned and most sought after soldiers in Europe.

Success in the field brought increased membership to the confederation. By 1513 it numbered thirteen cantons, including the flourishing Swiss cities of Zurich (zoo'rik), Lucerne (lū-sûrn'), and Bern (bĕrn). At first the cantons had been content to reject all dependence on feudal lords, offering allegiance to the Emperor alone. But when the Emperor Maximilian, towards the close of the fifteenth century, sought to bring the Swiss under the jurisdiction of the imperial courts, a brief war followed, in which the Swiss were again successful. As a result, after 1499 the dependence of the Swiss on the Empire practically ceased. The formal recognition of their independence, however, was not granted until 1648 (§ 434). In the separation of Switzerland from the Empire we may see a further mark of that territorial decay to which unhappy Germany was subject.

D. England after the Black Death

304. Comparison with France

In England the measures adopted by William the Conqueror (§ 80) had prevented feudalism from becoming the disintegrating force that it proved to be on the Continent; and the reforms of Henry II (§§ 231–233) began the process of strengthening the monarchy. In part it is the continued growth of the monarchy that we have here to trace. One point of difference between the results attained in France and in England, however, should be noted. In France the overthrow of the feudal nobility was achieved largely through the king's obtaining a permanent army and a permanent revenue, which made the further calling of Estates-General a matter of choice with him. When the power of feudalism was overthrown the king of France thus became an absolute monarch, for there was left no power in the state strong enough to check his will. In England, on the other hand, the crown did not

secure either a permanent army or a permanent revenue; hence the king was obliged to have constant recourse to Parliament for taxes with which to wage war and to carry on the government. It was not so much the crown, therefore, that profited by the overthrow of the feudal nobles as it was the English nation itself, through the strengthening of Parliament.

305. Effects of the Black Death

The Black Death in England contributed to a reorganization of medieval society. This in turn helped on the growth of the powers of the state, and also the part played by the people in the government. Before the Black Death, there were in England about four or five millions of inhabitants. When that pestilence had passed away, there were only about half this number, and it was long before the number of inhabitants again rose as high as three millions. Field laborers had become scarce, and those who were left demanded greatly increased wages. Many villeins left the estates of their masters and fled to the towns, or found places elsewhere where their lot was easier. Parliament passed laws to keep wages and prices at their former levels, but these could not be enforced. As a result, the old manorial system of labor and agriculture broke down, and a new system gradually took its place. In the new system the land was either rented to tenant farmers, who paid money for its use instead of services, or else the land was retained by the lord and put into pasture for sheep. In either event the number of villeins was greatly decreased.

306. The Peasants' Revolt (1381)

In the midst of this transformation came the great Peasants' Revolt of 1381. (1) In part the causes of the rising were economic. On the one hand was the impatient desire of the half-freed peasants to complete their emancipation; and on the other, the attempt of various lords (by legal tricks, the revival of obsolete and half-forgotten manorial rights, or downright violence) to reduce their peasants again to villeinage. (2) In part the causes were political, especially the passage by Parliament of a new poll tax, which bore most heavily upon the poor. (3) In part they were social, and were traceable to the teachings of revolutionists like John Ball, who preached

JOHN BALL AND THE ENGLISH REBELS

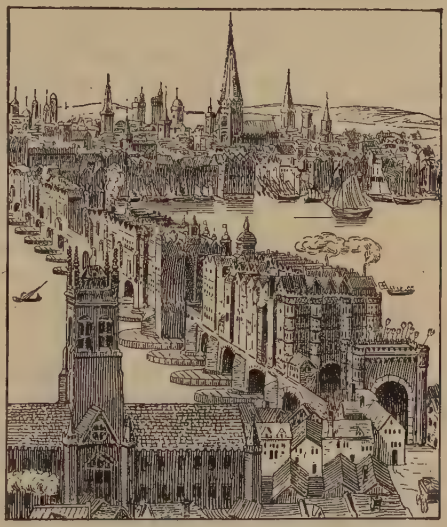
against the oppression of the poor by the rich,[1] and asked (in a verse which passed from mouth to mouth): —

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

Under various leaders, of whom the chief was Wat Tyler the peasants advanced from all sides upon London. The drawbridge of London Bridge was opened by the people of the city, and soon the capital was in the hands of the rebels. Some of the king's oppressive ministers were murdered, as were also a few lawyers and nobles, and a few buildings were burned. But

[1] The nature of Ball's teachings may be seen in the following passage from one of his speeches: "Ah, ye good people," he exclaimed, "matters will not go well in England until everything is owned in common, and there are no longer villeins nor gentleman, but all are united together. Now, the lords are clothed in velvet and furs, while we are clothed with poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and good bread, while we live upon chaff and drink water. They dwell in fine houses, while we have pain and labor, wind and rain, in the fields. And when the produce is raised by our labors, they take it, and consume it; and we are called their bondmen, and unless we serve them readily we are beaten."

compared with the excesses committed by the French peasants (§ 277) the conduct of the English peasants was moderate and restrained. The demands of the peasants were chiefly for the abolition of serfdom and servile labor, and the fixing of a fair money rent for their holdings. For a time the government gave way and granted these demands. Then Wat Tyler was treacherously murdered in a conference; and his followers were persuaded to return home, under written guarantees from the king that the promises made should be observed, and that they should have a free pardon for their rebellion. When once their forces had dispersed, these concessions were revoked, and the leaders of the revolt were hunted down and put to death.[1]



London Bridge in the Sixteenth Century

Note the houses on the bridge, and the traitors' heads above the gate

[1] According to one account the young king, Richard II, showed great courage and resourcefulness in this crisis. When he rode out to meet the rebels he said: "I am your king and lord, good people; what will you?" "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasants in reply, "us and our lands, and that we be never named or held for serfs." "I grant it," replied Richard; and he bade them go home, pledging himself at once to issue charters of freedom and amnesty. At the meeting next day, when Wat Tyler was slain, Richard acted with even greater boldness. While the enraged peasants shouted, "Kill, kill, they have slain our captain!" Richard rode boldly forward and cried: "What need ye, my masters? I am your captain and your king. Follow me!" Thus, it is said, he persuaded them to disperse. Recent historians throw serious doubts on the accuracy of this story. See *American Historical Review*, VII, 254–285, 458–484.

In spite of this base withdrawal of solemn pledges, the days of villeinage were numbered. Landlords found that unwilling service was unprofitable under the new conditions, and within a hundred years after the Peasants' Revolt, villeinage in England had practically ceased to exist.

307. Teachings of John Wyclif

The teachings of a great English philosopher and churchman named John Wyc'lif were one cause of the Peasants' Revolt. He was a professor in the University of Oxford, and students from all over Europe attended his lectures. The evils in the church early attracted his attention, and he preached and wrote against the luxury and worldliness of the clergy, which he contrasted with the poverty of Christ and the Apostles. When the Pope laid claim in 1365 to the tribute which King John had promised (§ 236), and which for some years had been withheld, Wyclif wrote a treatise showing a number of reasons why this should not be paid. He followed this by attacking all temporal lordship exercised by the church. He proclaimed the doctrine that lordship and property were granted to their holders by God, and could be enjoyed only so long as their holders were in a "state of grace" and exercised their powers justly. This teaching seemed to justify rebellion against unjust rulers. Others of his writings seemed to teach communism, — that is, that all property should be held in common.

JOHN WYCLIF. From an old print

After the Peasants' Revolt, Wyclif lost the support of the great nobles, who had upheld him when he merely attacked the wealthy clergy. Towards the close of his life Wyclif rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation (§ 87), which, as we have seen, was one of the most cherished beliefs of the church. To spread his ideas he organized a body of followers called "poor priests," who preached among the common people. He also caused the Bible to be translated from the Latin version of the church into the language of the people. By this step, and by his writing and preaching in the popular tongue, he did much to aid the rise of the English language as a means of literary expression. In 1382 he was condemned for heresy and was obliged to retire from Oxford. But circumstances did not permit of further steps being taken against him, and he died peacefully two years later. The importance of Wyclif's teaching outlived his own time and the circumstances which called it forth. He was the greatest of the "reformers before the Reformation," and the movement which he started, both in England and in Bohemia (whither it was transplanted), lasted in some sort down to the days of Luther.

When Edward III died, in 1377, he was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II (1377–1399), son of the Black Prince. It was the dissensions which filled the minority of this king, together with further troubles which arose after he became of age, that prevented England from profiting by the weakness of France in the period following the death of Charles V (§ 281). In 1397–1398 matters in England reached a crisis. At that time Richard suddenly brought charges against his chief opponents, and caused them to be banished or put to death. He then surrounded Parliament with archers, and compelled it to grant him a tax to be collected as long as he should live, and other powers such as no English kings had ever possessed. As a result of these despotic acts Richard's cousin, Henry of Lancaster, whom he had unjustly banished and deprived of his estates, returned to England in 1399, and put himself at the head of a widespread rebellion. This succeeded so well that Richard

308. Deposition of Richard II

II, the last of the Plantagenet kings, was deposed by Parliament. On the vacant throne was seated his cousin Henry IV, the first of the Lancastrian house.[1]

309. The powers of Parliament

The powers of Parliament had already greatly increased, owing to the fact that Edward III had been obliged to call it together frequently to obtain grants of money for his war with France. Under the Lancastrian kings its authority grew to yet greater heights. Among the important constitutional principles which we find established in this period are the following: (1) All taxes must be granted by Parliament. (2) Parliament has the right to inquire into the administration of the government, and the grievances which it reports must be redressed before it will grant taxes. (3) The "Good Parliament" of 1376 established its right to punish by *impeachment* royal officers who were guilty of misgovernment. (4) The deposition of Richard II by Parliament strengthened its claim to superiority over the crown. (5) The fact that Henry IV and his immediate successors owed their title to the throne to Parliament led them frankly to recognize its powers and to appoint and dismiss ministers in accordance with its wishes. (6) Freedom of speech and freedom from arrest during the sessions of Parliament became recognized privileges of its members. (7) Finally, under Henry VI (grandson of Henry IV), Parliament abandoned the practice of passing *petitions* in which the king was asked to make the laws it desired, — the details being left to the king and his

[1] The poet Shakespeare makes Richard II speak these pathetic words upon his deposition: —

"What must the king do now? Must he submit?
The king shall do it. Must he be deposed?
The king shall be contented: Must he lose
The name of king? In God's name, let it go:
I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown,
My figured goblets for a dish of wood,
My scepter for a palmer's walking-staff,
My subjects for a pair of carved saints,
And my large kingdom for a little grave."

— *Richard II*, Act iii, scene 2

council. Instead, it began to pass *bills*, or complete drafts of laws, which could not be changed by the king in any particular, without referring them back to Parliament.

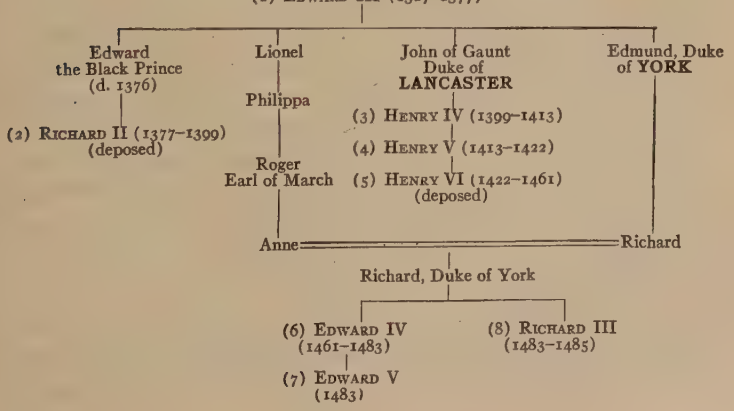
Thus, while the powers of the state in England were steadily increased, the exercise of these powers came more and more to be under the control of Parliament. And in this body the more important chamber was that of the Commons, which was composed of elected representatives of the people.

The constitutional development which we have been tracing was interrupted and its results partly destroyed by a series of civil wars for the throne in the second half of the fifteenth century. These struggles are known as the Wars of the Roses, from the red rose which was taken as the badge of the house of Lancaster, and the white rose worn by the house of York. To understand the contest you will need to study the genealogical table below, and see how each of the two houses was descended from Edward III.[1]

310. Wars of the Roses (1455–1485)

Henry VI (1422–1461), the head of the Lancastrian house, represented the *third* line of descent; while Richard of York, who claimed the throne against him, was descended, through his mother, from Edward's *second* son Lionel, as well as from

[1] THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK



the fourth son through his father. If strict rules of hereditary succession were regarded, Richard of York had a better right to the throne than Henry VI. But the claims of the line of Lionel had been passed over in 1399, and had since been disregarded. It was only the miserable failure of the French war, and the misgovernment at home under the incompetent and at times insane Henry VI, that enabled the Yorkists to win any attention for their claims.

Into the details of these wars we cannot go. The contest was one of the bloodiest and most merciless in English history, for it was largely a selfish struggle for power between the great nobles. The strength of the Lancastrians lay chiefly in the feudal north of England. The Yorkists were more powerful in the south, where the middle classes were more in evidence. Richard of York was slain in battle, but his strong and able son, Edward IV (1461–1483), secured the throne. The poor insane Henry VI was shut up in the Tower of London, and was subsequently murdered. Edward IV maintained himself, with some variations of fortune, until his death in 1483. His young son Edward V was soon deposed and murdered by his uncle Richard III, whom Shakespeare depicts as a monster of cunning and cruelty. Finally Richard was himself overthrown in the battle of Bosworth Field (1485) and the throne passed to Henry VII, the first of the Tudor sovereigns. This king was remotely descended from the Lancastrian house. By his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV, he united to the claims of Lancaster those also of the house of York.

In the Wars of the Roses, through deaths in battle and on the scaffold, the old nobility was almost destroyed. The English nation, wearied with years of disorder, allowed Henry VII (1485–1509) and his son Henry VIII to make themselves almost absolute in power. It was only under a strong monarchy that the people could hope to be freed from feudal anarchy. Parliament in this struggle had become the mere tool of contending factions. Under the "New Monarchy" it

311. The "New Monarchy" of the Tudors

was not allowed to regain its independent authority. It became the servile instrument of the Tudor sovereigns, meeting from time to time to pass the measures proposed to it by the king and his ministers. The decline of the nobles had deprived Parliament of its natural leaders, and the townsmen and country gentlemen were still too weak to challenge the power of these strong and arbitrary kings. But the power of the crown was used to put down disorder and enforce law, and England prospered as it had never prospered before. Also, the fact that Parliament was allowed to continue to meet and go through the form of voting taxes and passing laws kept alive the traditions of liberty and parliamentary power. It thus became easy, when more favorable times arrived, to revive that power, and to increase it to a point hitherto undreamed of.

E. The Rise of Spain

The development of Spain in the later Middle Ages was little short of marvelous. During the Middle Ages its history lies outside the general history of western Europe, its chief features being: (1) the gradual decay of the Mohammedan power which had been established in that peninsula since 711; and (2) the rise of the Christian states of Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre (na-vär′). By the year 1150 Christian conquests had been pushed south to the Tagus River. In 1266 the Moors were driven into their last stronghold, the kingdom of Granada (gra-nä′da), where they remained in comparative peace for more than two centuries longer. Continuous warfare with the infidel, together with the geographical environment of Spain, made the Spaniards proud, brave, intensely devoted to the Christian faith, and indisposed to manual labor and industry. In 1469 the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile laid the basis of the permanent union of these two countries under a single head. Then, in 1492, Granada was taken, and the long crusade against the Mohammedans was brought to an end.

312. Consolidation of Spain

313. Explorations and discoveries

Portugal remained an independent country; and early in the fifteenth century it took the lead in Atlantic discovery and in the search for an ocean route to India. The exertions of Prince Henry the Navigator (died 1460) led to the discovery of a number of outlying islands in the eastern Atlantic, and to the exploration of the African coast as far south as Cape Verde. In 1486 the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz

SPANISH STATES, 1266–1492

(dē′äs) reached the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco da Gama (gä′mä) completed the work by reaching India. Seeking to anticipate this result, Queen Isabella of Castile, in 1492, consented to fit out the expedition with which Columbus discovered the New World. To both Spain and Portugal the result of these efforts was the acquisition of vast colonial dependencies, and a flood of wealth.

In Europe, meanwhile, a series of wars, shrewd diplomatic negotiations, and notable marriages raised the kingdom of Spain to a height which made its sovereign the most powerful

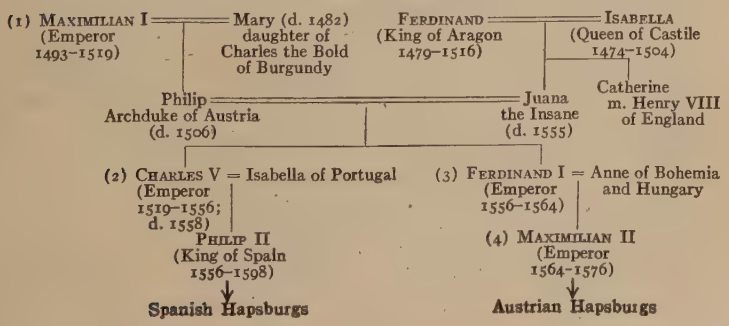
prince in the world. Sicily had been annexed to Aragon since 1409. The failure of the French kings to maintain their hold on Naples (§ 297) gave Spain that kingdom also (confirmed by treaty in 1504). This made Spain the ruling power in Italy. We have already seen (§ 302) how the marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Mary of Burgundy united the Hapsburg possessions in Germany with the greater part of the territories over which Charles the Bold had ruled. A new marriage, that of the son of Maximilian and Mary with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, now insured that the Hapsburg and Burgundian lands should be joined with Spain, Sicily, Italy, and the New World, in the hands of a single prince, the future Emperor Charles V.[1] It was one of the most amazing political developments that the world had ever seen.

314. Spain and the Hapsburgs

But though Spain by the year 1500 was strong in its international position, internally it was weak. It was thinly populated, and trade and industry were little developed. The Jews and Moors, who were the most industrious classes in Spain, were cruelly oppressed. The wealth which flowed from America and the Indies proved a curse rather than a blessing, for it discouraged honest industry and stimulated the search for treasure. Castile and Aragon were only loosely united, and the power of the crown in each was weak. The addition

315. Internal government of Spain

[1] GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V


(1) Maximilian I (Emperor 1493–1519)
Mary (d. 1482) daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy
Ferdinand (King of Aragon 1479–1516)
Isabella (Queen of Castile 1474–1504)
Philip Archduke of Austria (d. 1506)
Juana the Insane (d. 1555)
Catherine m. Henry VIII of England
(2) Charles V (Emperor 1519–1556; d. 1558)
Isabella of Portugal
(3) Ferdinand I (Emperor 1556–1564)
Anne of Bohemia and Hungary
Philip II (King of Spain 1556–1598)
(4) Maximilian II (Emperor 1564–1576)
Spanish Hapsburgs
Austrian Hapsburgs

of representatives of the Third Estate to their Parliaments (called Cor'tes) had taken place earlier in these countries than elsewhere, dating in Aragon from 1133 and in Castile from 1166. But the disunion of the nobles and the people prevented the growth of these assemblies into national institutions. In spite of many reforms made by Ferdinand and Isabella, the powers of the government in Spain remained undeveloped. It was not until the reigns of Charles V and his son Philip II that a modern state was created in Spain, and the power of the crown became absolute.

F. Fall of the Eastern Empire

316. Rise of the Ottoman Turks

While in western Europe the governments of the several countries (except Germany and Italy) were being strengthened and consolidated, the Eastern Empire was tottering to its fall. For more than a century before its final overthrow, it steadily lost ground. This was due to the appearance of a new enemy from the wilds of central Asia, — the Ottoman Turks. The newcomers were even more fierce and barbarous than their predecessors, the Seljukian Turks. Like the latter they had embraced Mohammedanism, and they were now the dominant force in the Mohammedan world. In 1357 they crossed the Hellespont and gained their first footing in Europe, in a little city whose walls had been thrown down by an earthquake (§ 173). Within three years came the conquest of Adrianople, and soon the horse-tail standards of the Turks were advanced to the Danube. The strong walls of Constantinople long withstood them, though the Eastern Emperors were forced to pay tribute. In another way also the Christian populations contributed to their own subjugation; for each year the Turks demanded a fixed number of children, who were educated by them in the Mohammedan faith, and trained to fight as their famous "new troops," or Jan'izaries.

The Greek Emperors made repeated attempts to gain aid from the West, even at the price of the submission of the Greek

Church to the Latin, but the attempts proved futile. In 1453 Sultan Mohammed II, with an overwhelming force, began the last siege of Constantinople. Medieval and modern appliances were used together, the Turkish cannon, constructed by foreign engineers, being of larger caliber than ever before seen. The Greek Emperor made a heroic defense, but his people held aloof in sullen bigotry because of new negotiations for union with the Latin Church. After fifty-three days' siege, a final assault was ordered, and the Janizaries forced the

317. Fall of Constantinople (1453)

Mosque of St. Sophia

gates (May 29, 1453). The Emperor was slain after a desperate resistance. The city was given up to plunder, and thousands of its people were enslaved. The great Church of St. Sophia was robbed of its treasures, its frescoes and mosaics were whitewashed over by the puritanic zeal of the Turks, and it was converted into a Mohammedan mosque. Thus the Eastern Empire, after surviving the Roman Empire in the West for a thousand years, came to an end, and Constantinople became at last the capital of the Turkish dominions. The Greeks and other native Christians maintained themselves under Turkish rule, thereby giving rise to the troublesome Eastern Question of later times (ch. xxxiv).

IMPORTANT DATES

1273. Great Interregnum ended in Germany.
1291. Beginning of the Swiss Confederation.
1315. Battle of Morgarten.
1356. Emperor Charles IV issues the Golden Bull.
1381. Peasant revolt in England.
1399. Richard II of England deposed; accession of Lancastrian house.
1453. Fall of Constantinople.
1455–1485. Wars of the Roses in England.
1461. Louis XI becomes king of France.
1477. Charles the Bold of Burgundy overthrown.
1492. Conquest of Granada; Columbus discovers America.
1494. Charles VIII of France invades Italy.
1498. Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Make a list of the differences between modern state organization and that of the Middle Ages. (2) Compare the French monarchy at the beginning of the reign of Charles VII with its condition at the end of the reign of Louis XI. (3) What arguments could be advanced in favor of Charles the Bold's plan of erecting a monarchy between France and Germany? To what extent has it since been done? (4) Compare the history of Germany after the Great Interregnum with the history of France under the first four Capetian kings. (5) What were the good features of the Golden Bull? Its bad ones? (6) Trace the steps in the growth of the power of the Hapsburg house. (7) What things enabled the Swiss to win and maintain their independence? (8) What things prevented the English kings from becoming as absolute as the kings of France? (9) Make a list of the economic effects of the Black Death in England. (10) Compare the peasants' revolt in England with the "Jacquerie" in France in 1358. (11) How does the work of John Wyclif foreshadow the end of the Middle Ages? (12) Compare the growth of Parliament in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with its growth in the fifteenth century. (13) How did the Wars of the Roses check the growth of Parliament? (14) Which was of more immediate importance to Spain, the consolidation of its power at home, or the discovery of the New World? (15) Which was more important in the end? (16) What were the results of the fall of Constantinople?

Search Topics. — (1) CHARLES THE BOLD OF BURGUNDY. Freeman, *Essays*, First Series, "Charles the Bold"; Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 364–386; Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*. — (2) CHARACTER AND WORK OF LOUIS XI. Duruy, *France*, chs. xxxiv–xxxv; Willert, *Reign of*

Lewis XI, 22–34, 284–300. — (3) THE GOLDEN BULL OF CHARLES IV. Henderson, *Short History*, I, 159–162; Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. xiv; Ogg, *Source Book*, 409–416. — (4) LEGEND OF WILLIAM TELL. McCrackan, *Rise of the Swiss Republic*, ch. vi; Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 124–125; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXVI, 574–576. — (5) EFFECTS OF THE BLACK DEATH IN ENGLAND. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, ch. v; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 183–195; Traill, *Social England*, II, 133–146. — (6) WYCLIF'S TEACHINGS AND HOW THEY SPREAD. Green, *Short History*, 235–244; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Bk. I, ch. ii; Bk. II, ch. iii; Lechler, *John Wycliffe and his English Precursors*, ch. vi, sec. 2. — (7) PEASANTS' REVOLT IN ENGLAND. Gardiner, *Student's History*, 267–269; Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, ch. vi; Green, *Short History*, 244–255. — (8) WARS OF THE ROSES. Gardiner, *Student's History*, 323–343; Green, *Short History*, 281–288. — (9) THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN. Lea, *The Inquisition in Spain*, I, ch. iv; II, 507–534; III, 1–35; IV, 179–205. — (10) CONQUEST OF SPAIN FROM THE MOORS. Hume, *Spain*, 1–30; Irving, *Conquest of Granada*, chs. xc–xcix. — (11) FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 509–510; Oman, *Byzantine Empire*, 336–350; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxviii. — (12) THE OTTOMAN TURKS. Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, 498–500; Freeman, *Ottoman Power in Europe*, chs. iii, iv.

General Reading. — Lodge's *Close of the Middle Ages* is the best general sketch of this period. Kirk's *Charles the Bold* (3 vols.) is a brilliant account of its subject. The Golden Bull is translated in Henderson's *Documents of the Middle Ages* and in Thatcher and McNeal's *Source Book for Medieval History*. Gardiner's *Houses of Lancaster and York* is the best short book on the Wars of the Roses. The growth of Parliament may be traced in Montague, *Elements of English Constitutional History*, ch. vii, or Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, chs. viii and ix. For Switzerland, see McCrackan, *Rise of the Swiss Republic*, or Hugg and Stead, *Switzerland*.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHURCH IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

A. The Babylonian Captivity and Great Schism

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a great decline in the power and influence of the Popes. The chief events in church history in this period were: (1) a seventy years' "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy to France; (2) a schism which divided the nations of western Europe in their church allegiance for forty years; and (3) a series of great church councils, which sought to wrest power from the hands of the Pope and to remedy a number of church abuses.

318. The "Babylonian Captivity" (1305–1377)

The "Babylonian Captivity" was a result of the triumph of Philip IV of France over Pope Boniface VIII (§§ 263, 264). It lasted from 1305 to 1377, during most of which time the Popes resided at Avignon on the river Rhone.[1] The fact that all of the Popes and most of the cardinals during this period were Frenchmen, and under the influence of the French king, inevitably injured the papacy in other countries. When England entered upon its long war with France, it treated the papacy as a French ally. It refused the tribute which John had agreed to pay, and also passed statutes forbidding papal appointments to English benefices (Statute of Provi'sors) and appeals to papal courts (Statute of Praemuni're).

[1] The first four years of the Babylonian Captivity were spent in various parts of France. In 1309 the papacy fixed its seat at Avignon. This city was not then included within the limits of France, but was a fief of the Empire. It was held in 1309 by the son of that French prince, Charles of Anjou, who had secured the throne of Sicily (§ 137). Avignon was purchased by the papacy in 1348. It was not formally annexed to France until 1791.

In Germany a similar conflict with the papacy arose. The resistance there was notable on account of the appearance of certain writings (by Marsiglio of Padua) which contained the ideas of the sovereignty of the people, and the right of nations to govern themselves in both church and state affairs. Later these ideas were to prove fruitful of momentous changes; at the time, however, the papacy was able to triumph over the opposition in Germany and to a less degree in England also.

But the outcry against the Pope's residence at Avignon still continued. There was also great danger that the long absence

PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON

Built 1336–1364. One of the best specimens of medieval military architecture

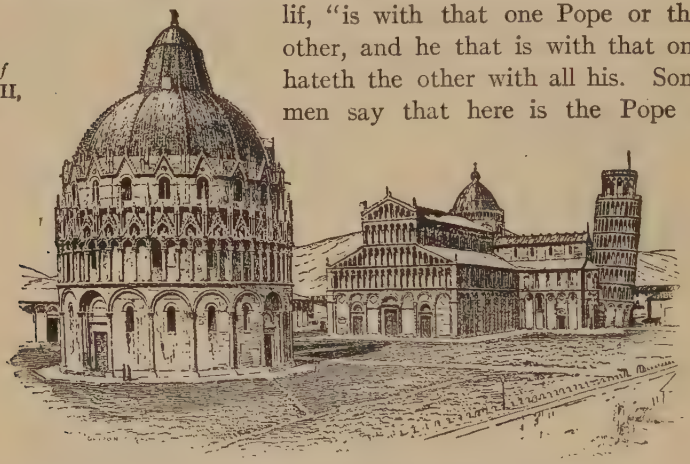
of the Popes from Italy would result in a loss of the Papal States, through municipal revolts and the seizure of territory by Italian tyrants. In 1377, therefore, the Pope returned to Rome, where he died the following year.

In the election which followed, the Roman mob demanded "a Roman Pope, or at least an Italian!" The majority of the cardinals were French, but their own dissensions and the fear of mob violence led them to choose a Nea- 319. The Great Schism (1378-1417)

politan, Urban VI. Within a few months, Urban's rough violence and obstinacy led the cardinals to repent of their choice; and on the ground of mob intimidation, they then tried to set aside this election. They chose in place of Urban a cardinal who took the name of Clement VII, and who set up his court at the former papal residence in Avignon.

A schism in the church was thus produced which lasted for forty years. "All our West land," wrote the Englishman Wyclif, "is with that one Pope or that other, and he that is with that one, hateth the other with all his. Some men say that here is the Pope in

Arnold, *Works of Wyclif*, II, 401–402



PISA: BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER
Erected 1063–1350. The meetings of the council were held in the cathedral

Avignon, for he was well chosen; and some say that he is yonder at Rome, for he was first chosen." France and the Spanish kingdoms supported the Avignon Popes; Germany, England, and Scandinavia adhered to Urban VI and his successors. But earnest men everywhere were shocked at the spectacle of two rival Popes, each claiming to be the representative of God on earth, and each denouncing the other as antichrist.

B. The Great Church Councils

The failure of the Popes themselves to find a way to heal the schism produced a revival of the idea of action through a

representative council of the whole western church (§ 93). But according to the canon law, only a Pope could summon a general council. The cardinals of the two Popes, however, solved that difficulty by abandoning both Popes and uniting in the call for a council, which met at Pisa in 1409. This body declared both Popes deposed, and elected a new one who took the name of Alexander V.

320. Revival of church councils

Instead of ending the schism this course only added a third claimant to the papacy, for neither of the old Popes recognized the act of deposition. On the death of Alexander V the cardinals chose as his successor John XXIII, a man of infamous life, but one who seemed to them to have the needed political vigor to make good his position. In 1413 the capture of Rome by the king of Naples forced Pope John to appeal for aid to the Emperor Sigismund. The latter then demanded, as the price of his assistance, the summoning of a council on German soil, so as to be free from the Pope's control. The result was the important Council of Constance summoned by Pope John to meet on the borders of Switzerland, where it sat from November, 1414, to April, 1418.

321. Council of Constance (1414)

The Council of Constance was one of the most imposing assemblages of the Middle Ages. "Princes and prelates, nobles and theologians, from every court and every nation of Europe" flocked to the little Alpine lake town. With them came throngs of attendants, sightseers, and adventurers of every sort. The number of strangers present during the council varied from 50,000 to 100,000. An enumeration of its members will show something of the pomp, magnificence, and importance of this assembly. The number of prelates (*i.e.* higher clergy) was: 29 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 33 archbishops, about 150 bishops, and 100 abbots. In addition there were present 50 provosts (representatives of cathedral chapters), 300 doctors of theology, and 1800 priests. More than 100 dukes and earls, and 2400 knights, are also recorded as attending, together with 116 representatives of cities. All the states of Europe recognized this assembly, and it was thus enabled to succeed

Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 132–134

where the Council of Pisa had failed. It asserted its authority in the most far-reaching terms. It declared that it had power "immediately from Christ," and that all men, "of every rank and dignity, even the Pope," were bound to obey it "in matters pertaining to (1) the faith, (2) the extirpation of the present schism, and (3) the general reformation of the church of God in head and members."

In carrying out this threefold program, the council condemned the heresies of Wyclif, and burned at the stake John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who had started a movement in Bohemia similar to that of Wyclif in England. Hus had come voluntarily to Constance under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund; but the violation of this was excused on the plea that faith should not be kept with those who are unfaithful to God. It is said that, as Hus was being degraded and the paper cap of the condemned heretic was placed upon his head, he looked fixedly at Sigismund, who blushed with shame. Both Hus and Jerome of Prague met their deaths with heroic constancy. The action of the council, instead of stamping out heresy in Bohemia, kindled a religious war there, in which the Hussites not merely long maintained themselves, but carried destruction into the heart of Germany.

322. John Hus burned as a heretic

In healing the schism the council was more successful than in dealing with heresy. The Pope who represented the line of Urban VI sent envoys from his refuge in northern Italy to offer his abdication. The successor to Clement VII was deposed and left without a following. John XXIII, who had opened the council as its president, was confronted by a long list of charges against his character and life; and after ineffectual efforts to avoid his fate, he submitted to deposition as "unworthy, useless, and harmful." Representatives from the five "nations" into which the council was divided were then added to the cardinals, and the united body chose as Pope a Roman cardinal who took the name of Martin V. All western Christendom recognized him, and the schism thus came to an end (1417).

323. The Great Schism ended

Of the reform question at Constance, a Catholic historian says: "The great majority of the assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform; but the members of the council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform." During the period of the papal residence at Avignon, and the Great Schism, the expenses of the papacy had greatly increased. As a result, the Popes had resorted to numerous and ingenious methods of enlarging their revenues, which often seriously limited the rights of the bishops. The reform movement at Constance, therefore, was in part an attempt of the bishops to safeguard their interests against the encroachments of the papacy. In part also it was an attempt to check worldliness, greed, ignorance, and immorality among the clergy. Unfortunately for its success, Henry V of England had just reopened the Hundred Years' War with France (§ 282), and bitter national antagonisms appeared in the council between French and English, Orleanists and Burgundians. A further obstacle to success was the selfishness and lack of statesmanship among the members of the council. This reform movement at Constance was the most promising of many attempts to reform the church from within, but it ended in almost total failure.

324. The question of reform

Pastor, *History of the Popes*, I, 202–209

One of the decrees of the Council of Constance provided for the regular summoning of councils in the future. As a result of the continued demand for reform and the rout of successive armies of crusaders sent against the heretical Bohemians, a third council was assembled in 1431 in the German city of Basel (bä′zel). This council sat for eighteen years, and laid the basis for a restoration of the Catholic faith in Bohemia. But it too showed little real statesmanship in dealing with the reform question. It was hampered by persistent conflicts with the Pope, in which the sober sense of Europe turned more and more against the council.

325. Council of Basel (1431–1449)

The period of the great church councils closed with the Pope's supremacy over the church unshaken, and the plan of summoning councils at regular intervals abandoned. Never-

theless, the memory of these gatherings long persisted; and again and again, in the time of the Protestant Reformation, we find the proposal made to deal with religious questions by holding another great council, — overriding the papacy, if necessary, to do so.

C. Papal Decline and Local Reforms

326. The papacy after the councils

After the ending of the Council of Basel, the Popes were engaged for some years in recovering the ground lost during these troubles. Pope Nicholas V (died 1455) sought to win prestige by *making Rome the literary and artistic capital of Europe.* He planned a reconstruction of the city "which should to all time appeal to the imagination, and kindle the enthusiastic admiration of Christendom." But the shock of the fall of Constantinople (§ 317) delayed the execution of this work. Pope Pius II (died 1464) turned his energies to stirring up a crusade against the victorious Turks; but his efforts only revealed more clearly — as he himself once said — that Europe looked "on Pope and Emperor alike as names in a story or heads in a picture." The papacy as a political world power was as dead as the medieval empire.

Creighton, *History of the Papacy,* III, 150, 161

In these circumstances the Popes confined themselves more and more to looking after the interests of the Papal States.[1] For a time they seemed to lose sight very largely of the spiritual side of their office. They may be described as Italian princes who often united to their powers as head of the church the political craft and perfidy and the looseness of

[1] The Popes immediately following Pius II were: Paul II (1464–1471); Sixtus IV (1471–1484); Innocent VIII (1484–1492); Alexander VI (1492–1503); Julius II (1503–1513); Leo X (1513–1521). Alexander VI belonged to the Borgia family, whose name has become a synonym for political craft and wickedness. Contemporaries charged him and his son, Caesar Borgia, with poisoning their enemies; but modern historians disbelieve many of these stories. Leo X belonged to the Florentine house of Medici (§ 331). He was made archbishop at the age of seven, and cardinal at fourteen. The story was widely believed that when he was elected Pope he exclaimed, "Let us enjoy the papacy, since God has given it to us."

morals which then characterized the secular rulers of Italy. A Catholic historian quotes approvingly this characterization of Alexander VI (1492–1503), one of the worst of their number: "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism [favoritism to relatives], lastly on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life, which made every sort of accusation credible, and brought the papacy into utter discredit, while its authority seemed unimpaired." Pastor, *History of the Popes*, IV, 139

A local reformation in Spain, called the "Spanish Awakening," testifies, however, to the continued strength of the demand for reform. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella worked hand in hand with a devoted archbishop of Toledo (Ximenes) to carry out a sweeping but thoroughly Catholic purification of the church. The measures which they adopted limited the papal control over the Spanish church, and greatly improved the character and training of the clergy. They involved no alteration, however, in the doctrine or worship of the church, nor in the form of its government. The movement was concerned only with the freeing of the church from abuses by enforcing ancient rules. One of its less commendable features was that it was accompanied by a revival and reorganization of the Inquisition, that powerful engine of the Middle Ages for crushing freedom of thought which has been described in a previous chapter (§ 219).

327. The Spanish Awakening (1482–1517)

At Florence, in Italy, a moral and religious revival was begun by the Dominican friar Savonaro'la. He felt deeply the wickedness of the world about him, and foretold a swift coming of God's judgment on earth. His vivid eloquence and commanding personality profoundly stirred the people, and for a time he swayed the city at his will. But unhappily he was led into politics. He regarded the family of the Medici (§ 331), who ruled over Florence, as a chief cause of the city's wickedness; he therefore took a prominent part in

328. Savonarola attempts reform (1494–1498)

a revolution which temporarily cast them out.[1] He proclaimed that the French king Charles VIII, who at this time was overrunning the peninsula (§ 297), was the scourge of God, to afflict but purify Italy. He accordingly turned Florence to alliance with the French. This brought Savonarola into conflict with Pope Alexander VI, whose designs for advancing his family were endangered by French interference in Italy. Savonarola persisted in the French alliance, and in preaching after he had been excommunicated by the Pope, and this contributed to his downfall. An ordeal by fire was arranged, in which a hostile monk offered to enter the flames with one of Savonarola's disciples to test the truth or falsity of Savonarola's teaching. After all arrangements were made, the ordeal was given up, and the people were led to believe that Savonarola refused the test. A political and reli-

SAVONAROLA

From the portrait by Fra Bartolommeo

[1] The following extract (somewhat condensed) from a sermon delivered in 1494 shows alike his burning eloquence, his reasons for political action, and his expectation of a martyr's death: "Oh, my Florence, I was in a safe haven, the life of a friar. By my preaching I led a few into the way of salvation. As I took pleasure therein, the Lord drove my bark into the open sea. Before me on the vast ocean I see terrible tempests brewing. Behind I have lost sight of my haven. The wind drives me forward, and the Lord forbids my return. On my right the elect of God demand my help; on my left demons and wicked men lie in ambush. I communed last night with the Lord, and said, 'Pity me, Lord; lead me back to my haven.' 'It is impossible; see you not that the wind is contrary?' 'I will preach, if so I must; but why need I meddle with the government of Florence?' 'If thou wouldst make Florence a holy city, thou must give her a government which favors virtue.' 'But, Lord, I am not sufficient for these things.' 'Knowest thou not that God chooses the weak of this world to confound the mighty? Thou art the instrument, I am the doer.' Then I was convinced, and cried, 'Lord, I will do Thy will; but tell me, what shall be my reward?' 'My son, the servant is not above his master. The Jews made Me die on the Cross; a like lot awaits thee.' 'Yea, Lord, let me die as Thou didst die for me.' Then He said, 'Wait yet a while; let that be done which must be done, then arm thyself with courage.'" — Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, IV, 253.

gious reaction, meanwhile, put the control of Florence in the hands of Savonarola's enemies. Through the use of torture they now obtained from him whatever confessions they wished. In spite of the fact that his teachings were in general harmony with the doctrines of the church, he was condemned as a heretic, and was burned at the stake in 1498.

In spite of the constancy with which Savonarola met his death, his influence practically died with him. The puritanic and ascetic ideals which he embodied met with little permanent acceptance among Italians. The fact, too, that he died under the condemnation of the church shook the faith even of many who had been his zealous followers. The failure of this movement shows the difficulty of the attempt to reform the church from within. The next notable attempt at church reform was to come from north of the Alps, and was to grow into a revolt which forever split the unity of the church. The ideas which underlay it were not the medieval ascetic ideas which Savonarola attempted to apply. They were the new ideas which we sum up in the word Renaissance, and which imply a whole new intellectual world, alien to the thought of men like Savonarola. To the origin and development of the Renaissance, therefore, as a preliminary to the German Reformation, we must turn in the next chapter.

329. Savonarola's failure

IMPORTANT DATES

1377. Return of the papacy from Avignon.
1378–1417. Great Schism in the church.
1415. John Hus burned as a heretic by the Council of Constance.
1449. The Council of Basel comes to an end without reforming abuses.
1482. The Spanish Awakening begins.
1498. Savonarola burned as a heretic at Florence.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) How did the Babylonian Captivity weaken the papacy? (2) Was Urban VI or Clement VII the true Pope? Give your reasons. (3) Why did England and France take opposite sides in the Great Schism? (4) Compare the powers claimed by the Council of Con-

stance with the powers claimed for the Popes in the time of Gregory VII. (5) Was the council's claim constitutional or revolutionary? Was it necessary or unnecessary? (6) Why did the councils fail to reform the church? (7) Compare the character and European position of the Popes after the councils with the character and European position of Innocent III. (8) Compare the aims of the Spanish Awakening with the aims of Savonarola. (9) Was Savonarola a heretic in the same sense that Wyclif was? (10) Write a brief estimate of Savonarola in your own words.

Search Topics. — (1) THE PAPACY AT AVIGNON. Poole, *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, 43–60; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 33–58; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 502–504. — (2) THE PAPAL ELECTION OF 1378. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 61–67. — (3) THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE. Wylie, *Council of Constance*, lectures ii, iii; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, I, 299–327. — (4) JOHN HUS AND THE BOHEMIAN HERESY. Poole, *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, 151–165; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, 209–220; Wylie, *Council of Constance*, lectures v, vi; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, II, 3–51. — (5) THE COUNCIL OF BASEL. Poole, *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, 170–179; Van Dyke, *Age of the Renascence*, ch. x. — (6) CHARACTER OF THE PAPACY AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. Symonds, *Short History*, ch. iv; Van Dyke, *Age of the Renascence*, chs. xii–xvi. — (7) THE SPANISH AWAKENING. Walker, *Reformation*, ch. ii; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, VI, 122–127. — (8) EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA. Symonds, *Short History*, ch. v; Lea, *Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, III, 209–237; Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Bk. V, ch. viii; Milman, *Savonarola, Erasmus, etc.;* Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, chs. vii–xi.

General Reading. — In addition to the general church histories (ch. v) Creighton's *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (6 vols.) should be consulted on this period. Pastor's *History of the Popes* (6 vols.) contains a temperate and scholarly account of the Popes of the time from a Catholic standpoint; see also the great *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The best short books are Poole's *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, and Van Dyke's *Age of the Renascence*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ITALIAN CITIES AND THE RENAISSANCE

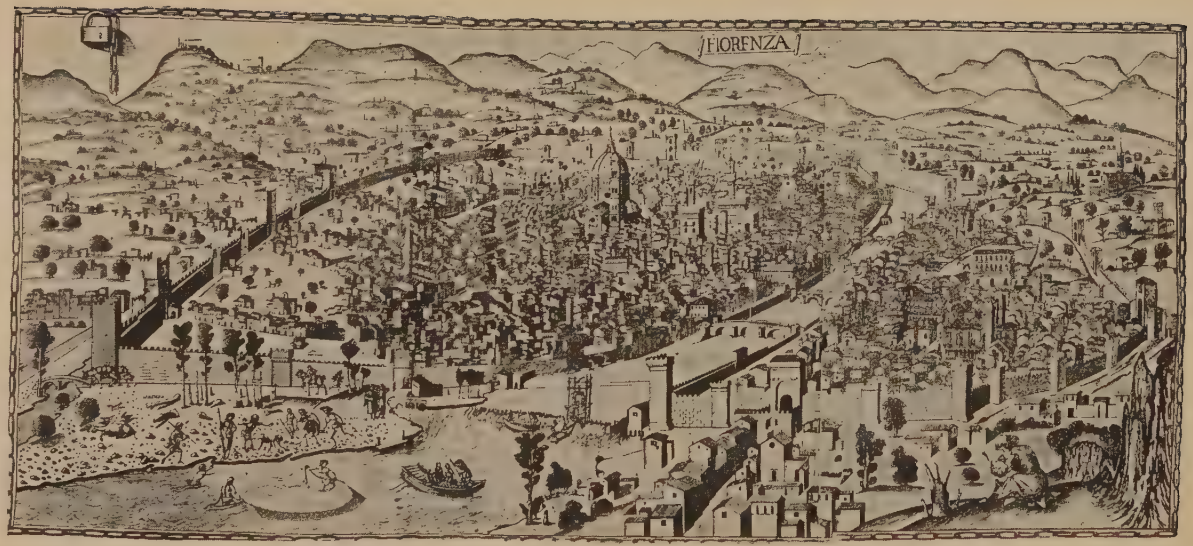
A. Italy in the Time of the Renaissance

Since the overthrow of the Hohenstaufen Empire, Italy had become so disunited politically that a later statesman could speak of it as "merely a geographical expression." There was no longer any authority which even pretended to exercise control over the peninsula as a whole. We can distinguish three different zones or divisions of the country, each having a distinct character. The southern half of the peninsula comprised the kingdom of Naples, which at the opening of the sixteenth century was united with Sicily under the name of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and was ruled by the Spanish king. It was monarchical in government and feudal in its society, though there was an active city life in Naples itself. The second zone was made up of the Papal States. In this region were numerous and active cities, over which the Pope's political authority was often merely nominal. The third zone included Tuscany and Lombardy, and was the seat of the vigorous and flourishing city states with which we are here especially concerned.

330. Three divisions of Italy

By far the most important of all the Italian cities was the Tuscan city of Florence, situated on both banks of the river Arno. It had secured rights of self-government during the Investiture Conflict, and had then fallen into the throes of civil discord. Its streets bristled with tall, battlemented towers, the strongholds of rival clans. The contemporary Florentine historian Machiavelli (mä-kyä-vĕl'lē) says: "At first the nobles were divided against each other,

331. Rise of Florence



FLORENCE ABOUT THE YEAR 1490. From a contemporary woodcut

"Who can describe the enchanting view of this art-city of Tuscany and the world? . . . Here everything betrays the work of generation after generation of ingenious men. Like a water-lily rising on the mirror of the lake, so rests on this lovely ground the still more lovely Florence, with its everlasting works and its inexhaustible riches. From the bold airy tower of the Palace, rising like a slender mast, to Brunelleschi's wondrous dome of the Cathedral, from the old house of the Spini to the Pitti Palace, the most imposing the world has ever seen, . . . all are full of incomparable grace. Each street of Florence contains a world of art; the walls of the city are the calyx containing the fairest flowers of the human mind; — and this is but the richest gem in the diadem with which the Italian people have adorned the earth." — Quoted in Baedeker's *Northern Italy*, 465.

then the citizens against the nobles, and lastly the citizens against the populace; and it ofttimes happened that when one of these parties got the upper hand, it split into two. And from these divisions there resulted so many deaths, so many banishments, so many destructions of families, as never befell in any other city of which we have record." The constitution of Florence was that of a democratic republic, but only the wealthier five thousand of its 100,000 inhabitants had any real power. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the control of the government was in the hands of the rich mercantile family of the Medici (mĕd′e-chē), of which Lorenzo the Magnificent (died 1492) was the most illustrious member. Without assuming the signs of princely rank, he governed Florence at will. His position has aptly been compared to that of the political "boss" of an American city.

332. Its preëminence

The flourishing commerce and manufactures of Florence — together with its banking houses, possessing branches all over western Europe — brought wealth and leisure to the great burgher families. Wealth and leisure in turn enabled the citizens to take an interest in learning, literature, and art, which soon made their city the intellectual and artistic capital of Europe. The English writer Symonds says: "Florence was essentially the city of intelligence in modern times. Other nations have surpassed the Italians in their genius. But nowhere except at Athens has the whole population of a city been so permeated with ideas, so highly intellectual by nature, so keen in perception, so witty and so subtle, as at Florence. The fine and delicate spirit of the Italians existed in quintessence among the Florentines. And of this superiority not only they, but the inhabitants of Rome and Lombardy and Naples, were conscious. The primacy of the Florentines in literature, the fine arts, law, scholarship, philosophy, and science was acknowledged throughout Italy."

Age of the Despots, 246–247 (condensed)

In Lombardy, as well as in the Papal States, tyrants had made themselves masters of various cities, together with their surrounding territory. These tyrants were an especial feature

of Renaissance Italy. The fifteenth century has been called the age of adventurers, — when any man, by military ability, cunning, and unscrupulous statecraft, might rise in Italy to the position of prince. Usually this was done through the formation of a military company, whose services were sold by its leader (*condottiere*) now to this and now to that employer, until he saw opportunity to seize a government for himself. The Italian tyrants were restrained in the pursuit of their ends by no consideration of religion or humanity. The most dreadful crimes were committed when they seemed likely to conduce to success. On the other hand, the typical Italian despots were rarely cruel for the sake of cruelty. Their methods are described and justified by the contemporary Florentine writer Machiavelli, in his work entitled *The Prince*. In this he says that "a prudent prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is harmful to him, and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed." The despots of Milan were among the most typical, and also the most powerful, of this class of Italian rulers.

333. The Italian despots

Because the despot owed everything to his own unaided ability, he naturally became the patron of the scholars and the artists of the Renaissance, who in their own fields represented the same triumph of individual talent. "The museum and the library," says a modern Italian writer, "were to the despot what the stable and the wine-cellar were to many feudal lords of the north." The courts of the despots, therefore, next to Florence itself, became the centers of the rising Renaissance movement.

Villari, *Machiavelli*, I, 12

B. The Revival of Learning

The term Renaissance means literally "rebirth." It is applied especially to the revival of learning and art which began in Italy about the year 1300, and went steadily on throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. At bottom it was an awakening of the human intellect to

334. The Renaissance a decay of medievalism

wider fields of activity; it was a recovery of the freedom of individual thought and action. In the Middle Ages the individual was nothing; the guild, the commune, the church, were everything. The world and the flesh were regarded as evil, and their influence was to be combated. Curiosity was repressed; hence natural science, which is based on observation and investigation, made little progress. The learning most worth having was theology, which was based on divine revelation. With it flourished philosophy (the handmaid of theology) and law, the importance of which was due to the incessant conflicts of papacy and empire, of church and state. The English writer Symonds thus sums up the medieval attitude: "Beauty is a snare, pleasure a sin, the world a fleeting show, man fallen and lost, death the only certainty; ignorance is acceptable to God as a proof of faith and submission; abstinence and mortification are the only safe rules of life: these were the fixed ideas of the ascetic medieval church."

Short History of the Renaissance, 5

With the fourteenth century a new way of looking at things began to prevail. Human life and this world were viewed as things good in themselves, and not merely as a means of preparing for the world to come. Men began to give way to the stirrings of curiosity in matters hitherto neglected. A new interest was taken in ancient buildings and monuments. Throughout the Middle Ages, Vergil, Cicero, and others of the best Latin authors were read as models of style, however imperfectly they were followed; but their content was feared as pagan. Now they began to be read for meaning as well as style. To these new studies, as distinguished from scholastic philosophy and theology, the Latin name *lit'terae humanio'res* was given, from which we derive our terms "humanism" and "humanists." Two ideas were implied in humanism, — first, the development of man as man, and not merely as a candidate for heaven; and second, that in classical literature alone was human nature displayed in its full intellectual and moral freedom. "Ancient literature was

335. The humanistic spirit

now welcomed not only as supplying standards of form, but as disclosing a new conception of life; a conception freer, larger, more rational, and more joyous than the medieval; one which gave unfettered scope to the play of the human feelings, to the sense of beauty, and to all the activities of the intellect."

Cambridge Modern History, I, 538

As a result of the humanistic spirit a new and exaggerated reverence for Greek and Roman antiquity sprang up. Because the classical authors were now understood, men profited by their style as never before. Better Latin began to be written; and Greek, the knowledge of which had gradually died out in the West, was relearned from Constantinople. "Greece has not fallen," said an Italian scholar after the fall of Constantinople, "but seems to have migrated to Italy." Under the impulse of the new love for learning, the libraries of the monasteries of Europe were ransacked, and many lost works were recovered. Critical scholarship was born in the task of identifying and editing these treasures; and grammars and dictionaries, of which there had been an almost total lack, were compiled to interpret them. At the same time there took place, almost incidentally, a development of literature in the vernacular tongues, or language of the people, which went far beyond the simple beginnings traced in a preceding chapter (§ 220).

336. Revival of learning

The chief originators of both the revival of classical learning and the development of vernacular literature were three great scholars and literary men of the fourteenth century, — Dan'te, Petrarch (pē'trark), and

337. Dante, "the glimmer of the dawn"

DANTE

From a fresco ascribed to Giotto, in the Bargello at Florence (restored)

Boccaccio (bōk-kä′chō). All three were Florentines; but each, owing either to banishment or to other causes, spent most of his life in exile. Dante, the oldest of the three, was born soon after the middle of the thirteenth century; he died (in 1321) when Petrarch was aged seventeen and Boccaccio was a boy of eight. Dante was one of the profoundest scholars of his day, as well as one of the noblest poetic geniuses of all time. His great poem, *The Divine Comedy*, tells of his fabled descent into hell, and of his visit to purgatory and to paradise. In this work he used the Italian dialect of Tuscany instead of Latin, in which all serious literary works of the Middle Ages had been written. His character showed many of the traits which distinguished the men of the Renaissance from the men of the Middle Ages. Among these were his proud self-conscious spirit of independence, his striving for the development of his own personality, his longing for poetic fame. But if we take him as a whole, he belongs to the era that was closing, not to the one that was opening. His theology, learning, and point of view were medieval and scholastic. In spite of some modern traits he shows only "the glimmer of the dawn" of the Renaissance.

PETRARCH

From a miniature by Simone Memmi in the Laurentian Library, Florence

With Petrarch it was different. Though he was inferior to Dante as a poet, to him belongs the special credit of being "the first modern scholar and man of letters." He was born near Florence, spent his boyhood at Avignon, and in manhood passed from one Italian court to another. He longed passionately for a revival of the glories of an-

338. Petrarch, the initiator of the Renaissance

cient Rome, and was the first who zealously collected Latin manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. The writers of antiquity were more real personalities to him than the men of his own day. He entered more completely into the spirit of the ancient literature than any man before him since the fall of the ancient world. He tried to learn Greek in order that he might read Homer, but failed because of the lack of Greek teachers. Petrarch was the author of countless letters, each of them an essay in finished Latin style. Through the circulation of these letters, he became the chief agent in arousing throughout Italy a cultured and inquiring spirit. He also wrote extensively in the popular tongue. His *Sonnets*, addressed to his ladylove Laura, showed that the Italian language was as well adapted to lyric poetry, as Dante had shown it to be for sustained epic composition.

Boccaccio was the third of these great Florentines. He is noted as the author of a series of short stories, the style of which is so excellent that it has gained for him the title "the father of Italian prose." More important than his work in this field were his services to classical scholarship. A great difficulty in the way of understanding the works of the ancients was the almost total lack of dictionaries and other aids. Boccaccio remedied this defect somewhat by compiling valuable dictionaries of classical mythology and geography. He also, though with great difficulty, gained some knowledge of Greek, and was the first Italian for seven centuries who could boast of an acquaintance with that tongue.

339. Boccaccio furthers the Renaissance

After Petrarch and Boccaccio, scores of humanists of lesser genius but greater learning carried on the movement. Among these may be mentioned a learned Greek from Constantinople, named Chrysolo'ras, who for some years taught Greek at Florence and elsewhere. He prepared the first modern grammar of the Greek language, which remained in use for many years. Italian scholars soon began also to go to Constantinople to study Greek there. Before the fall of the Eastern Empire, a knowledge of Greek had become common among western scholars. This was of much importance; for, if it

340. Later contributions to the revival

was the sounder knowledge of the great Latin classics which chiefly contributed to the literary revival of the Renaissance, it was the recovery of the Greek authors in their original tongue which produced the rebirth of the scientific spirit, which was a profounder result of the Renaissance.

The work of recovering and interpreting the lost works of antiquity went on apace, and many scholars contributed to it in different ways. Some searched out — in the dark and musty corners of the monasteries of Italy, Germany, and France — manuscripts of works the very existence of which had been forgotten. Others made a business of restoring, editing, and copying these manuscripts. They thus made possible the founding of great libraries, — by the Medici at Florence, by Pope Nicholas V at Rome, and by the Venetians. Other scholars traveled about restlessly from city to city, lecturing in the Italian universities, discussing questions of scholarship in the learned circles of Florence, Rome, and Naples, and everywhere spreading the Renaissance spirit. Others, like Lorenzo Valla, who exposed the forged character of the "Donation of Constantine" (§ 91), applied the tools of criticism to the claims of the church. But in the main the Italian humanists, if not loyal sons of the church, were at least not hostile to it. The dangers to the church which lay in the unrestricted activity of the new criticism were not fully revealed until its transfer to the nations north of the Alps.

341. Philosophy and science

The spirit of the Renaissance showed itself also in criticism of medieval philosophy and medieval science. Scholastic philosophy lost its hold upon the world. The writings of Plato were now read along with those of Aristotle, both in the original Greek. Medicine profited by the dissection of the human body; but it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that an English physician (Harvey) completely demonstrated the circulation of the blood. Chemistry made important strides, though to many investigators it still continued to be only a means to find the mythical "philosopher's stone," with which to turn base metals into gold. Gunpowder (§ 272) was

so improved in composition that it became an effective instrument of warfare. Above all, the study of the stars passed from the astrologer to the astronomer. For centuries the teaching of the Greek philosopher Ptolemy (tŏl'e-my) had prevailed. This made the earth the center of the universe, about which turned the sun, moon, and stars. Coper'nicus, in the sixteenth century, taught that the sun is the center about which the earth revolves, together with the other planets. Galileo (găl-ĭ-lē'ō), some years later, with the aid of the telescope, which he so improved as to make it practically a new invention, explored the heavens and made discovery after discovery. But because of the opposition of the theologians, he was obliged to withdraw as heretical the teaching, which he borrowed from Copernicus, that the earth moves both around the sun and upon its axis.

342. Geography and navigation

In the period of the Renaissance there was a general acceptance by learned men of the view that the earth is a sphere, a view which had been held by ancient Greek and Roman geographers and rejected in the Middle Ages on theological grounds. Geographical knowledge received some extension in the thirteenth century through the commercial travels of a few Venetians — Marco Polo and members of his family — in China. After nearly twenty years' sojourn in that country, they returned to Europe by way of the Pacific Ocean and the Persian Gulf, thus confirming the report which Roger Bacon had heard of a sea which washed the other shore of Asia. Marco Polo's story of their travels later set men on the search for an ocean route to India, and so contributed to the discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Columbus.

These discoveries were also assisted by the development of a system of reasonable maps, which took the place of the fantastic and mythical representations of the world made in the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century the invention of Mercator's projection — a form of map in which all meridians and parallels are straight lines intersecting at right angles — made possible sea charts for compass sailing on courses drawn as straight

lines. The instruments of navigation also were greatly improved. The magnetic needle, which was known to Roger Bacon, was by now embodied in the mariners' compass, and was in general use in the fifteenth century. That century saw also the development of instruments for ascertaining latitude, — the cross-staff and astrolabe, forerunners of the modern sextant. Longitude, however, could not be reckoned with any degree of accuracy until the invention of the watch, in the eighteenth century, made possible its calculation by differences of time.

The revolution which was wrought in men's minds by the discovery of the New World, of whose existence the Old World in general had been wholly unconscious,[1] was, of course, enormous. With such discoveries being made in science and in geography men came to feel that anything was possible. The limitations on thought which the Middle Ages had imposed were cast off as a snake discards its outgrown skin.

C. Revival of the Fine Arts

343. Factors in the revival of fine arts

The Italian Renaissance was not only an event of supreme importance in the history of the human intellect; it was an epoch-making development in the world of art as well. Architecture, sculpture, and painting all felt the new impulse, and flowered into masterpieces such as the world had not seen since the days of classical Greece. This development was due especially to three causes: (1) After centuries of conventionalized treatment of the human figure, artists began again to study nature itself, and to draw from the living model. Many of them went further and dissected human bodies, in order to learn anatomy and thus be enabled better to draw the human form. In general, artists now strove to depict

[1] Conflicts with the natives and other difficulties had prevented the Northmen from following up their discovery of North America. Knowledge of that discovery never penetrated outside Scandinavia, and indeed seems to have been forgotten by the Scandinavians themselves. Iceland and Greenland both appear on maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as mere peninsulas projecting from northern Europe.

the real world of men and things about them, and were no longer satisfied with the stiff symbolical representations of the Middle Ages. (2) Along with the study of nature they studied also the sculpture and other artistic remains of classical Greece and Rome. What they gained from this study especially was new ideals of harmony, grace, and beauty, to modify the harsh and repulsive realism to which their study of nature tended. (3) From the study of antiquity, and from other sources, they learned better technical methods of execution. Among these may be mentioned the discovery of the laws of perspective, which were now worked out in systematic form, and the process of painting in oils, which had been discovered by Flemish painters and possessed many advantages over the methods of painting hitherto used.

344. Leading Italian artists

The revival of the fine arts began in Italy with Nicholas of Pisa (died about 1278). He was the first to improve sculpture by a study of the remains of ancient Rome, and also by copying the living forms of nature. Giotto (jôt'to; died 1337), a Florentine and friend of Dante, began the movement in painting. In this field there were practically no models of ancient Greece and Rome to follow; but by observing men and women about him, Giotto endeavored to free painting from the stiff conventional treatment of the Middle Ages, and make his figures more lifelike.[1]

GIOTTO'S TOWER

The bell tower of the cathedral of Florence (not shown: to the right)

[1] Most of Giotto's paintings were "frescoes," made by a process extensively used before the rise of oil painting. The colors were mixed with water and *applied directly to the wet, freshly plastered wall*, the result being a painting in highly permanent colors. To-day the term "fresco" is applied loosely to mean any sort of wall or ceiling painting, even when done in oil on a canvas ground.

Both Nicholas of Pisa and Giotto were architects also; and it is to Giotto that we owe the beautiful bell tower (*campanile*) of Florence. The English critic Ruskin, in speaking of power and beauty in architecture, says that these characteristics in their highest relative degrees exist "only in one building in the world, the campanile of Giotto at Florence."

Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, ch. iv

The fifteenth century saw a fuller development of the revival in architecture, when men adapted the style of ancient Rome to the requirements of modern building. Bramante (brä-män'tā;

St. Peter's at Rome (Present condition; erected 1506–1626)

died 1514) was foremost in this work, and to him Rome owes the original plan and part of the completed structure of the new church of St. Peter's. Michelan'gelo, the most famous of the great Florentine artists (died 1564), illustrates the many-sidedness of the Italian Renaissance, for he attained preëminence alike in architecture, sculpture, and painting. He superintended the building of St. Peter's, and planned its towering dome. He sculptured many figures, of which those of David and Moses, and the statues for the Medici monument at Florence,

MICHELANGELO'S THE THINKER

One of the statues of the Medici monument at Florence. It represents Lorenzo II, grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and typifies "the mood of crafty brooding and concentrated inward thought."

are perhaps the most famous. He painted a series of biblical pictures for the Sistine chapel at Rome, of which his fresco of the Last Judgment is probably the most famous single picture in the world. In addition he was a poet of no mean note.

In painting, the Italian Renaissance reached its height in the period 1470–1550, which saw the works of the Florentine Leonar'do da Vinci (dä vēn'chē) and the Florentine-taught Raphael (răf'ā-ĕl), as well as those of Michelangelo. In Venice the movement was of somewhat later origin than elsewhere in Italy; but a Venetian school, of which Titian (tĭsh'an; died 1576) was foremost, gained fame for its brilliant and accurate coloring.

It is impossible by mere description to give any idea of the beauty and splendor of the great paintings executed by these artists. In art even more than in letters Florence was the capital of Italy; and it is in its museums that many of the best paintings of the period are still to be found. The subjects painted were largely drawn from mythological and religious sources; but the landscapes and costumes depicted were those of the artist's own time and place. The individualism of the Renaissance manifests itself in the painting of portraits of real persons, which was very little practiced in the Middle Ages. In the characters depicted in religious and classical scenes we can often recognize portraits of the artist himself, his patrons, and his friends.

D. Spread of the Renaissance

The Renaissance art of Italy was carried north of the Alps, and greatly modified German, French, and Flemish architecture, sculpture, and painting. Dürer and Holbein (hōl'bīn) were the great German painters of the first half of the sixteenth century. A little later the preëminence in northern Europe passed to Rubens, a Fleming. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the great Dutch painters Frans Hals (died 1666) and Rembrandt (died 1669) transformed the

345. Art north of the Alps

RAPHAEL'S SISTINE MADONNA

This masterpiece was painted by Raphael for an Italian church dedicated to Saint Sixtus, who is shown kneeling on the left (hence the name "Sistine Madonna"). The figure on the right is that of Saint Barbara. The picture was sold in 1753 to the Elector of Saxony, who removed it to Dresden, where it has since remained. In the countenances of the mother and child the art of Raphael reaches its highest point.

humblest subjects by the magic of their skill, and laid the foundation of modern art. In Spain Velásquez (vā-läs'kāth; died 1660) and Murillo (died 1682) created a Spanish school whose works rank in excellence with the best productions of Italy and the Netherlands. A Fleming, Van Dyck (văn dīk'; died 1641), had the chief part in introducing the Renaissance style of painting into England. In France, Claude Lorrain (lo-rān'; died 1682) founded modern landscape painting.[1]

346. Spread of the new learning

The intellectual awakening also spread gradually to the lands beyond the Alps. The great church councils of the fifteenth century were an important help in this work by bringing the scholars of Italy into touch with those of other lands. In addition, traders and persons going on church or other business to Italy aided in the movement, by bringing back new ideas of many sorts.

347. Invention of printing

The greatest aid to the Renaissance, however, was afforded by the invention of printing. As late as 1350 practically all books in Europe were prepared entirely with the pen. Some time after that date the practice arose of printing, from engraved blocks of wood, tracts and short books for which there was a large sale. Such crude "block books" were a step in advance, but their production is not what we mean by the invention of printing. This consisted in *the in-*

[1] The following is a list of famous paintings by the artists mentioned in this chapter; prints of many of these may be obtained at small cost in the Perry Pictures, Elson Prints, and other collections: (1) GIOTTO — Frescoes of Arena chapel, Padua. (2) MICHELANGELO — The Last Judgment; The Creation; figures of sibyls and prophets. (3) LEONARDO DA VINCI — The Last Supper. (4) RAPHAEL — The Sistine Madonna; The School of Athens; The Disputation of the Sacrament. (5) TITIAN — The Assumption; Bacchus and Ariadne; portrait of Francis I. (6) DÜRER — Portrait of himself; Adoration of the Magi; numerous engravings. (7) HOLBEIN — Portrait of Erasmus, and many other portraits. (8) RUBENS — Descent from the Cross; Horrors of War; etc. (9) FRANS HALS — The Laughing Cavalier; corporation pieces. (10) REMBRANDT — The Night Watch; The Lesson in Anatomy; The Windmill; portraits of himself; etc. (11) VELÁSQUEZ — Portrait of Philip IV, and other portraits. (12) MURILLO — The Immaculate Conception; St. John and the Lamb; groups of beggar boys. (13) VAN DYCK — Portraits of Charles I, and other portraits. (14) CLAUDE LORRAIN — The Queen of Sheba; views of the Roman Campagna.

vention of the type mold, by which separate types could be accurately cast in metal in large quantities. The honor of this invention is usually given to John Gutenberg (goo'ten-bĕrĸ) of Mainz, in Germany, who printed from movable types about the year 1450; but the date, place, and original discoverer of the art are all disputed. This invention cheapened books and spread broadcast the means of culture. By the end of that century,

Spread of Printing during the Fifty Years following its Introduction into Mainz

The boundaries are modern

printers had established themselves in more than two hundred places in Europe, and books and pamphlets were multiplied at an unprecedented rate. Leaflets containing woodcut pictures, illustrating the questions of the day, made an equally powerful appeal to the illiterate.

In Italy, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, scholars became almost pagan in their devotion to the learning of Greece and Rome; and frank disregard of religion and morality spread

among all classes. North of the Alps a more serious tone characterized the movement. Without neglecting the classical authors, scholars turned more to the study of early Christian writers. In England, John Colet (cŏl′et), dean of St. Paul's cathedral at London, labored for an educational and religious revival. In Germany, Reuchlin (roiĸ′lin) became the center of a bitter literary and theological quarrel, because of his Hebrew studies and his desire to save the books of the Jews from burning at the hands of bigoted scholastics. To defend him, a group of younger humanists, of whom the brilliant but dissolute Ulrich von Hutten was one, published a series of satirical letters entitled *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* ("Letters of Obscure Men") purporting to be written by Reuchlin's opponents, and designed to cast ridicule upon them as a stupid party.

348. Character of the Renaissance beyond the Alps

The best example of northern humanism is offered by Erasmus (e-răz′mus) of Rotterdam (1467–1536). After passing a few years as a monk in the Netherlands, he studied at Paris, in England, and in Italy. His home thenceforth was wherever there were literary friends, books, and a printing press. He was acknowledged and honored as the greatest scholar, both in Latin and Greek, north of the Alps. To these attainments was added a gift for wit and pungent satire which made his influence throughout Europe almost unparalleled. His most widely read work was his *Praise of Folly*, an elegantly written Latin satire. Folly is represented as singing her own praises, and showing that to her are due the arrogance and hairsplitting subtleties of the theologians, the ignorant preoccupation

349. Erasmus of Rotterdam

ERASMUS

From the painting by Holbein in the Louvre, Paris

with ceremonies on the part of the monks, the slavish worship of saints and images by the common people, the faith in indulgences on the part of unrepentant sinners, and the luxury and neglect of duty shown by heads of the church.[1] Scores of other books were written by Erasmus. He devoted himself especially to editing and printing works of the early church fathers, and thus became the founder of a more learned and comprehensive theology. The most important of his books was his edition of the New Testament (1516). This made accessible, for the first time in a printed volume, the original Greek text of that book. Its importance lay in the fact that it made it possible thenceforth for scholars, by referring to the Greek text, to test for themselves the accuracy of the Vulgate (or Latin) version used by the church.[2] Owing to the knowledge of Latin possessed by all educated men, Erasmus's works were everywhere read.

[1] The following passage concerning monks will illustrate the spirit and style of the *Praise of Folly:* "The greater part of them have such faith in their ceremonies and human traditions, that they think one heaven is not reward enough for such great doings. . . . One will show his belly stuffed with every kind of fish; another will pour out a hundred bushels of psalms; another will count up myriads of fasts, and make up for them all again by almost bursting himself at a single dinner. Another will bring forward such a heap of ceremonies that seven ships would hardly hold them; another boast that for sixty years he has never touched a penny except with double gloves on his hands. . . . But Christ will interrupt their endless bragging, and will demand, 'Whence this new kind of Judaism?' They do all things by rule, by a kind of sacred mathematics; as, for instance, how many knots their shoes must be tied with, of what color everything must be, what variety in their garb, of what material, how many straws-breadth to their girdle, of what form and of how many bushels' capacity their cowl, how many fingers broad their hair, and how many hours they sleep." — In Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, I, 182.

[2] Erasmus favored also the translation of the Bible into the language of the people. "I altogether and utterly dissent," he wrote, "from those who are unwilling that the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private persons, as though the teachings of Christ were so abstruse as to be intelligible only to a very few theologians, or as though the safety of the Scriptures rested on man's ignorance of it. It may be well to conceal the mysteries of kings; but Christ willed that his mysteries should be published as widely as possible. I should wish that simple women should read the Gospels, should read the Epistles of St. Paul. Would that the Scriptures were translated into all languages, that it might be read and known not only to Scots and Irishmen, but even by Turks and Saracens." — Translated in Milman, *Savonarola, Erasmus, etc.*, p. 122.

Erasmus desired a reformation in the church "without tumult," carried through by education and by appeal to the reason. In a letter to a schoolmaster who was one of his numerous correspondents he gave this advice: "Stick to your teaching work. Do not be crossing swords with the champions of the old ignorance. Try rather to sow better seed in the minds of the young. If princes are blind, if the heads of the church prefer the rewards of this world to the rewards promised by Christ, if divines and monks choose to stick to their synagogues, if the world generally chooses to preserve the forms to which men are accustomed — well then, we must put new wine in the old bottles. The seed will grow in the end, and the opposition is more from ignorance than ill-will. Teach your boys carefully, edit the writings of the fathers, and irreligious religion and unlearned learning will pass away in due time." Erasmus's plan of orderly reform, as it proved, could not avert the uprising against the church; but his work profoundly affected that movement as well as the church itself. "The Reformation that has been," says a writer of our own time, "is Luther's monument: perhaps the Reformation that is to be will trace itself back to Erasmus."

Froude, *Erasmus*, 291

Beard, *Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, 73

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics.— (1) What was there in the condition of Italy to cause the Renaissance to begin there? (2) Contrast the medieval and the modern ways of looking at nature and the world. (3) Did the Renaissance in Italy begin before or after the fall of Constantinople? (4) Was it the Revival of Learning that produced the humanistic spirit, or was it the humanistic spirit that produced the Revival of Learning? (5) Compare the parts played by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio in the Renaissance. (6) What part did princes and Popes play in the movement? (7) What other aspects were there to the Renaissance besides the Revival of Learning? (8) From what two sources came the influences which caused the development of the fine arts? (9) Make a list of all prints and photographs of Italian paintings of the Renaissance period that you can find. (10) Do the same for sculptures. (11) How did printing aid the spread of the Renaissance? (12) What was Erasmus's part in the Renaissance? (13) Why were the northern humanists more serious and religious-minded than the Italian?

Search Topics. — (1) The Italian Despots. Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, ch. iii; *Age of the Despots;* Sedgwick, *Short History of Italy*, ch. xx. — (2) Machiavelli's Advice to Despots. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, I, 516–520. — (3) Early History of Florence. Gardner, *Story of Florence*, chs. i–ii; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), X, 530–534. — (4) Dante. Symonds, *Introduction to the Study of Dante*, chs. ii–iii; Lowell, *Literary Essays* ("Dante"); Oliphant, *Makers of Florence.* — (5) Petrarch. Symonds, in *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Petrarch"); Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, Introduction and pages 84–97, 275–278, 307–320; Robinson, *Readings*, I, 524–528; Ogg, *Source Book*, 462–473. — (6) The Search for Manuscripts and the Founding of Libraries. Van Dyke, *Age of the Renascence*, ch. xi; *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 549–553; Robinson, *Readings*, I, 529–531. — (7) Lorenzo de' Medici. Dunn Pattison, *Leading Figures in European History*, 165–189; Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, chs. i, viii–ix; Horsburgh, *Lorenzo the Magnificent*, chs. xii, xvi. — (8) Florentine Life during the Renaissance. Oliphant, *Makers of Florence*, ch. vi; Horsburgh, *Lorenzo the Magnificent*, ch. xx; Biagi, *Men and Manners of Old Florence*, ii–iii; Norton, *Church Building in the Middle Ages*, 181–233. — (9) How Brunelleschi Built the Dome of the Cathedral of Florence. Norton, *Church Building in the Middle Ages*, 234–292. — (10) Michelangelo. *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Michelangelo"); Van Dyke, *History of Painting;* Lilly, *Chapters in European History*, II, ch. i. — (11) Leonardo da Vinci. *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Leonardo da Vinci"); Van Dyke, *History of Painting.* — (12) Raphael. *Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Raphael Sanzio"); Van Dyke, *History of Painting.* (13) The Venetian School of Painters. Symonds, *Short History*, 229–233; Van Dyke, *History of Painting.* — (14) Exploration and Discovery. Channing, *History of the United States*, I, ch. i; Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, chs. iii–iv; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, ch. iv. — (15) Copernicus. *Encyclopedia Britannica;* Lodge, *Pioneers of Science.* — (16) The Invention of Printing. De Vinne, *The Invention of Printing; Encyclopedia Britannica* ("Typography"). — (17) Erasmus. Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 186–205; Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus*, ch. v; Stone, *Reformation and Renaissance*, ch. v; Robinson, *Readings*, II, 41–46.

General Reading. — Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy* (7 vols.) is the best general account in English; his *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy* is an abridgment of the larger work. Robinson and Rolfe's *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters* is valuable and interesting, as also is Emerton's *Desiderius Erasmus*. Van Dyke's *History of Painting* is a good guide for the fine arts of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GERMAN REFORMATION

A. The Reformation Prepared

The Reformation was a many-sided movement, — political, economic, intellectual, and religious. Its fundamental cause was a general reaction against the life and religion of the Middle Ages, which manifested itself independently in several different countries at about the same time. Among the chief causes which in Germany contributed to produce a revolt from the Catholic Church we may note the following: —

350. Causes of the Reformation

(1) There was widespread dissatisfaction with abuses in the church, and with the failure of Popes and councils to reform them.

(2) A spirit was arising among the people which led them to oppose the exclusive power and privileges claimed by the clergy. The rise of strong national states, the heads of which followed their own interests and desires, was one manifestation of this spirit.

(3) There was a deepening sense of religion among the people, which made them dissatisfied with the purely formal and mechanical religion which the church often presented to them. "If the wider interests of religion are had in view," says Walker, "the period just previous to the Reformation witnessed not the lowest decline but the highest development of medieval Christianity — high enough to be dissatisfied with its state, to feel dimly the inadequacy of its institutions, and the need of their improvement."

Walker, *Reformation*, 6

(4) In addition there was the undermining influence of the

spirit of the Renaissance, with its contempt for the Middle Ages, its demand for freedom of inquiry, its appeal to reason instead of to authority, and its tendency to test the teachings of the church by the Scriptures and early church fathers.

(5) Finally, there was in Germany a deep-seated feeling of social and economic discontent, which for one or another reason made all classes, from princes to peasants, dissatisfied and predisposed to change. In part the discontent was due to a rapid rise of prices somewhat similar to that which the world experiences in the early part of the twentieth century. In part it was due to injustices inflicted upon knights by princes, and upon peasants by knights, in the political reorganization then taking place. In part it was due to a national feeling of irritation at the failure of the government to protect the land against the oppressive taxes which on one pretext or another the papacy levied upon Germany more than upon any other country. Thus Germany was in an inflammable condition, and Luther supplied the spark which set it afire.

LUTHER

From the painting by O. Brausewetter

351. Early life of Luther

Martin Luther was born in 1483 at Eisleben (īs'lā-ben), a little village of electoral Saxony. His parents were peasants, and his childhood was one of grinding poverty. His father, however, was determined that Martin, his eldest son, should become a lawyer and rise in the social scale. Luther became a begging student, singing for his bread, until at the age of eighteen his father's labors and sacrifices enabled the young man to go to the University of Erfurt, and devote all his time to study. After four years there, Luther took his degree of Master of Arts with unusual distinction. He was just ready to

begin the study of law, when suddenly he entered a monastery of the Augustinian friars, a mendicant order similar to the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Just what led Luther to give up the promise of a successful career and turn his back upon the world we can never know. In the monastery he was tortured by an agonizing sense of sin; and he strove to attain inward peace through a strict observance of the rules, — through fasting, vigils, and mortification of the flesh. "If ever a monk got to heaven by monkhood," he said afterward, "I should have attained it." But the much desired peace of mind did not come. At last, from his study of the Scriptures and from mystical teachers and writings, he gradually came to the conviction that all of man's own efforts to win salvation ("good works") are useless, and that justification (or salvation) is a divine gift which comes only as a result of personal faith in the power of Christ's atonement to remove sin.

352. His life in a monastery

This doctrine of *justification by faith alone* became the central idea of Luther's belief. The peace which it gave to him, he sought to impart to others in his labors as preacher and theological teacher. In 1508 he became a professor in the University of Wittenberg, newly founded by the elector of Saxony. Though he taught his new-old view of the way of salvation, he had as yet no idea of attacking the church. In 1511 he was sent on a mission to Rome, where his piety was shocked by the worldliness and irreligion of the clergy. On his return he speedily became the most influential teacher in his university. Students flocked to his lectures, and he was generally recognized as one of the rising men of Germany.

353. Professor in the University of Wittenberg

B. The Reformation Begun

In 1517 Luther was disturbed by the coming into his neighborhood of Tetzel, a preacher of indulgences. To understand the nature of an indulgence, you must know that in the sacrament of penance the priest, for each sin, imposed upon the sinner

various penitential acts, — such as fastings, pilgrimages, and the like. If the sinner died before these penitential acts were completed, his soul must be purified and prepared for heaven by long years of suffering in purgatory. But a way was discovered by which these long penances could be abridged and the sojourn in purgatory avoided. Christ and the saints were supposed by their holy lives and deeds to have stored up vast spiritual treasures in heaven; and this "heavenly treasury" (as it was called) was looked upon as a sort of bank on which the Pope had the power to draw checks transferring its spiritual benefits to the account of repentant sinners. An indulgence was such a check. It made the recipient a sharer in "the prayers, suffrages, alms-deeds, fastings, and all other spiritual benefits" of the Catholic church.

354. Tetzel sells indulgences

In earlier times indulgences could be obtained only by taking part in a crusade, by going on a pilgrimage, or by some notable act of piety. But in the later Middle Ages the practice arose of granting indulgences for a money contribution to some worthy cause. In Luther's time it was especially for contributions to the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church at Rome that indulgences were offered. By purchasing letters of indulgence, a man might procure release not only from the performance on earth of wearisome penitential acts, but also from the possibility of years of suffering in purgatory. Relatives were also encouraged to purchase indulgences for the dead. Tetzel is even reported to have said, "As soon as the money rattles in the box, the soul flies out of purgatory." In the authoritative teaching of the church, indulgences did not do away with the necessity for repentance on the part of the sinner. But such preachers as Tetzel, to increase the sale of indulgences, perverted the authorized theory, and gave the impression that an indulgence wiped away the penalties of sin even without true repentance.[1]

[1] Catholic writers admit that there were good causes for complaint of the traffic in indulgences. "Grievous abuses there certainly were in the proceedings and the behavior of the indulgence preachers, and the manner of offering and extolling the indulgence caused all sorts of scandal." — Janssen, *History of the German People*, III, p. 92.

Luther felt that such teachings were contrary to the deepest truths of Christianity. In accordance with the practice of medieval scholars, he posted on the door of the church at Wittenberg in 1517 a series of ninety-five theses (propositions for discussion) setting forth his views concerning indulgences. He was far from wishing to break with the ancient church. His theses merely denounced the abuses of the indulgence system, and emphasized the necessity of faith in order to attain salvation. He declared that no one would

355. Luther's theses against indulgences (1517)

WITTENBERG IN 1645. From a contemporary engraving

be quicker than the Pope to condemn the teachings of Tetzel. Much to Luther's astonishment, his theses when printed spread rapidly throughout Germany. Pope Leo X was at first inclined to look upon the whole matter as a mere "squabble of monks." But to give up indulgences, as then used, meant a considerable loss to the papal revenue. Luther's opinions, also, if carried to their logical conclusions, attacked the whole mediatorial power of the priest.

It was determined, therefore, to silence Luther. In 1519 he was prevailed upon to make a qualified submission. But his views were soon attacked by Dr. John Eck; and in a disputation at Leipzig, Luther went far beyond his earlier position. He now declared that many of the views for which

356. Development of Luther's views

John Hus had been condemned as a heretic (§ 322) were nevertheless true. His opinions developed still further in the months that followed. In a series of writings in 1520, the most important of which was his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, he taught doctrines which put him entirely outside the Catholic Church: —

1. He set up the Bible as the sole source of Christian truth, before which all other opinions must give way.
2. He rejected the headship of the Pope over the church. The Pope now seemed to him "not the most holy, but the most sinful of men," — perhaps even the antichrist foretold in the Bible.
3. He denied that priests had any power that Christian laymen do not have, and taught that "all Christian believers are priests."
4. He declared that the vows taken by monks and nuns were not binding, and that monasteries ought to be abolished.
5. He rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, though he believed that the body of Christ was physically present in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper.
6. He rejected all but two of the seven sacraments, — the Lord's Supper and baptism.

These views Luther set forth with great power and effect. It must be said, however, that in the heat of controversy his peasant blood betrayed him into coarse and intemperate language, which his friends in vain strove to check.

357. Luther excommunicated (1520)

In the latter part of 1520 the Pope's bull of excommunication was published against Luther. Forty-one articles selected from his writings were condemned, his books were ordered to be burned, and he and his followers, unless they recanted, were threatened with the punishment of heretics. This bull, together with some books of canon law and scholastic theology, Luther burned before the city gate of Wittenberg, amid great popular enthusiasm. "My meaning is," he wrote, "that the Papal Chair, its false teachings and abominations, should be committed to the flames." His breach with the Catholic Church was now complete. It was difficult to see what fate other than that of Hus could await him.

Alzog, *Church History*, III, 36

C. Spread of the Reformation

Luther was able to continue his work for many years, and to come at last to a peaceful death, largely because of three favoring circumstances. The first was the protection given him by his immediate prince, Frederick the Wise of Saxony. The second was the political disorganization of Germany, which prevented the central government from taking any effective steps against him. The third was the preoccupation of the Emperor, Charles V, with other parts of his vast dominions, — particularly his long wars for Italy with the king of France.

358. Circumstances favoring Luther

The young Emperor Charles V (§ 314) had inherited the sovereignty of the Netherlands, of Spain, of the united realms of Naples and Sicily, and of vast possessions in the New World and the Far East (genealogy, p. 283). To these was added, upon the death of his grandfather Maximilian (in 1519), the Hapsburg inheritance in Germany. Charles also secured the imperial crown, but only after a spirited contest against the candidature of Francis I of France. These possessions made Charles V the greatest prince of his age. Upon the course taken by him in Germany would depend in large measure the outcome of the Lutheran movement.

359. Emperor Charles V

Charles V

Painting in Windsor Castle, showing the famous "Hapsburg chin"

In 1521 the young Emperor came into Germany, for the first time, to hold an imperial Diet at Worms. To this meeting Luther, as a special concession to his friends, was summoned under the Emperor's safe-conduct. Charles was, by nature and education, a good Catholic, but it would never do to condemn the German heretic unheard. Even the

Creighton, *Papacy*, VI, 169

Pope's legate wrote: "Nine tenths of Germany shouts for Luther. The other tenth, if it does not crave for Luther's teachings, at least cries 'Down with the Roman Court,' and raises the further demand for a council to be held in Germany."

360. Luther at the Diet of Worms (1521)

When Luther was warned of the danger that awaited him at the Diet, he said, "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the roof, I will go there." At the Diet he was called upon to recant the opinions expressed in his books. He courageously replied: "Unless I am convinced by witness of Scripture or plain reason (for I do not believe in the Pope or in councils alone, since it is agreed that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am overcome by the Scriptures which I have adduced, and my conscience is caught in the word of God. I neither can nor will recant anything, for it is neither safe nor right to act against one's conscience." Then he added in German: "God help me! Amen." From Pope and council, Luther thus appealed to the Bible, interpreted by individual judgment.

Beard, *Martin Luther*, 441

All efforts to procure any other answer from him proved vain. It is to the honor of Charles V that Luther was allowed to depart in safety, and that the Emperor did not, like Sigismund at Constance, break his pledge of safe-conduct. In May, 1521, a month after Luther's departure, the Edict of Worms was issued, adding the ban of the empire to that of the papacy: —

1. Luther was to be seized and delivered to the Emperor for execution.
2. All persons were forbidden on pain of similar ban to give him "lodging, food, or drink," or in any way to assist him.
3. His friends and followers were to be seized and their property confiscated.
4. The writings of Luther and his adherents were to be burned or otherwise destroyed.

Immediately after this Diet Charles left Germany, and was continuously absent for nine years, engaged in wars with France. Luther for a time was secreted by the Elector Frederick in the strong castle of the Wartburg (värt'boork), where he

lived in disguise, few even of his friends knowing what had become of him. He occupied his leisure with translating the Bible into the German tongue. Earlier translations of the Bible into German had been made, but these were crude and hard to understand. Luther sought to translate the Scriptures into the language of the home and of the market place, so that the lowliest might read with understanding. He

361. Luther translates the Bible

LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG (Photograph)

succeeded so well that his version became the most widely read book in Germany. He thus established a literary standard for the German language, in much the same way that the King James's version of the Bible did later for the English tongue.

In spite of the danger which still threatened, Luther left his retreat in the Wartburg, in 1522, and returned to Wittenberg. The object of his return was to quiet disturbances caused by more radical reformers in his absence. Luther had been forced against his will into the position of a rebel

362. Progress of the Reformation

against the church. At heart he was a conservative, and wished to preserve all of the old worship that was not positively contrary to the Scriptures, as he interpreted them. Under his guidance a moderate reform of the church services and organization in Saxony was now carried out. The mass service in Latin was replaced by a service in the German tongue, in which preaching and congregational singing were given prominent places. Luther himself composed some of the finest hymns in the German language. Bishops and archbishops were replaced by officers called "superintendents," whose functions were wholly ecclesiastical. The doctrines of the Lutheran Church were ably set forth by Luther's friend and Wittenberg colleague, Philip Melanchthon (me-lănk'thun). From Saxony the movement spread to most of the states of North Germany. Even South Germany was for a time profoundly affected. Wherever the Reformation was established, monasteries and nunneries were dissolved, and the church property, beyond what was needed for the support of the new faith, passed into the hands of the secular rulers. The opportunity which the Reformation afforded to princes and cities to despoil the church was undoubtedly one cause of its rapid spread.

D. The Reformation Checked

The further spread of the Reformation was checked, and many nobles alienated from it, by the outbreak (in 1524) of a great revolt of the peasants in southern and western Germany. In part this revolt was due to the general unsettling caused by the religious agitation. Its fundamental cause, however, was the long-standing grievances of the peasants and of the lower classes in the towns. Their demands were formulated in a series of Twelve Articles, which may be summed up as follows: —

363. Revolt of the German peasants (1524–1525)

1. Each parish should have the right to choose its own minister, and to dismiss him when it wished.
2. The peasants should be freed from the personal bondage of serfdom.
3. The dues to their lords and to the clergy should be reduced.

Luther, to whom religious reform was of first importance, feared to see it complicated with questions of social and political revolution. Moreover, he denied the right of men under any circumstances to revolt against their lawful rulers. Accordingly, he urged the nobles to root out the rebellion by the sword. The revolt was put down in 1525 with pitiless cruelty, more than a hundred thousand peasants being slain in battle or executed. The peasants of Germany then sank into a state of oppression exceeding anything known elsewhere in western Europe.[1]

In the same year (1525) Luther, the ex-monk, showed his disbelief in the binding nature of monastic vows by marrying Catherine von Bora, an ex-nun. This step marks Luther's definite rejection of the requirement of celibacy for the clergy. Ultimately this proved an advantage to his cause, but at the time this marriage of a monk shocked many sober minds.

364. Luther's marriage (1525)

Erasmus, who had been accused of "laying the egg that Luther hatched," persisted in maintaining an attitude of neutrality toward the Reformation. He disapproved of Luther's violence of language and action, and had little sympathy with Protestant dogmatism. "I dislike these gospelers on many accounts," he wrote in 1528, "but chiefly because through their agency literature everywhere languishes,

365. Attitude of Erasmus

[1] In part Luther's attitude is to be explained by the violent proclamations issued by some of the more reckless peasant leaders. "Arise! fight the battle of the Lord!" reads one of these. "On! On! On! The wicked tremble when they hear of you. On! On! On! Be pitiless! although Esau gives you fair words (Genesis, xxxiii). Heed not the groans of the godless; they will beg, weep, and entreat you for pity like children. Show them no mercy, as God commanded Moses (Deut. vii), and as He has revealed the same to us. Rouse up the towns and villages; above all rouse the miners. On! On! On! while the fire is burning; let not the blood cool on your swords! Smite pinkepank on the anvil of Nimrod! Overturn their towers to the foundations; while one of them lives you will not be free from the fear of man! While they reign over you it is of no use to speak of the fear of God! On! while it is day! God is with you!" — (Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation*, 184–185.) But in general we may say with Lindsay that the peasants' "moderation in revenging wrongs by bloodshed forms a striking contrast to the horrible blood bath into which the conquering princes plunged almost every district of Germany when the revolt was overcome." (*Luther*, 178.)

disappears, lies drooping, and perishes. They love good cheer and a wife, and for other things they care not a straw." The bitterness of contending sects and the clash of arms overbore his plea for reason, moderation, and toleration. He died in 1536, out of harmony with all parties. Other scholars also, who had led in attacking the abuses in the church, returned to the ancient fold when reform became revolution.

366. Wars of Charles V with France (1521–1529)

From 1521 to 1530, as has been said, Charles V was continuously absent from Germany. He was engaged in a series of wars with the king of France for the duchy of Milan, to which both laid claim. The Pope feared Spanish rule in Milan more than French, because Charles V already possessed the kingdom of Naples. Accordingly, he actively aided Francis I, and Charles thereupon cooled in his zeal to crush the Lutheran movement. In 1525 a great victory at Pavia (pä-vē′ä) gave Charles possession not only of Milan but also of the person of his rival, the French king. Francis I then agreed to a treaty in which he surrendered his claims in Italy as the price of his release. But no sooner was he freed than he repudiated the treaty, and war was renewed.

In 1527 the Emperor's army in Italy, which was unpaid and largely composed of Germans of Lutheran sympathies, revolted and plundered Rome. The destruction wrought was enormous. The agony of this event "marked the end of the gay, easy-going, artistic, pleasure-loving Rome of the Renaissance." It forced the Pope to abandon the French alliance and to adopt a policy more favorable to Charles V. In a second peace (1529) Francis again renounced his claims in Italy and paid a heavy indemnity.

Walker, *Reformation*, 136

367. Origin of the name of Protestant (1529)

Each principality and city of Germany, meanwhile, dealt with the question of religion in its own way. Some held fast to the old faith, some adopted the new. As a result of Charles's success in Italy, the representatives of the Catholic faith were able to take a more decided stand at a Diet held at Spires in 1529. A decree was there passed which demanded the carrying out of the Edict of Worms. Against

this decree the Lutheran princes and cities issued the protest that won for them the familiar name of "Protestant." Fortunately for them, the Turks, who had overrun Hungary, now advanced (in 1529) to the siege of Vienna. Charles had to call upon both Protestants and Catholics to resist this foe, and the followers of Luther thus obtained a longer tolerance.

In 1530 Charles appeared in person at a Diet which met in Augsburg. The Protestants, in their attempt to justify their innovations, presented to him the Augsburg Confession, — the first great Protestant creed. It was the work of Luther's colleague, Melanchthon. It attempted to show that in fundamental beliefs the Protestants were at one with the Roman Church, dissenting only from its abuses.

368. The Augsburg Confession (1530)

1. It repudiated clerical celibacy, confession, fasts, penances, monastic vows, the temporal power of the clergy, and the sacrificial character of the mass (that is, the doctrine that Christ's sacrifice on the cross is renewed each time the mass is celebrated).
2. It affirmed the doctrine of justification by faith, and implied a rejection of the power of the priest as a mediator between God and man.
3. It distinguished sharply between the views of Luther and those of the more radical reformers, rejecting the latter.
4. It sought to conciliate the Roman party by nowhere expressly denying the headship of the Pope or the doctrine of transubstantiation.

It was impossible, however, to reconcile the differences between the two parties. The Catholics being in the majority, it was ordered that the Protestants must make their submission within five months. The long-expected religious war again seemed about to begin, and in anticipation of it the Protestants formed an alliance called the League of Schmalkalden. But again Charles found his hands tied by troubles with the Turks and by renewed war with France. It was not until 1546 — twenty-five years after the issuing of the Edict of Worms — that Charles found himself free to attempt the forcible suppression of the new beliefs.

369. Suppression of Protestants delayed

Four months before the final struggle began, Luther passed peacefully away, at Eisleben, the place of his birth (February, 1546). The Schmalkaldic War, as Charles's attack upon the Protestants was called, ended with the battle of Mühlberg (April, 1547), in which the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse were defeated and taken prisoners. The collapse of Protestantism seemed complete.

370. Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547)

But again Charles's hand was stayed in dealing with German heresy. This time the check was administered by the Pope himself, who was filled with alarm at the Emperor's too rapid victories. He adjourned the church council (which at Charles's request had been assembled at Trent to hear the Protestant demands) to the papal city of Bologna, where it might be more fully under the Pope's control (1547). After four years of diplomatic struggle, Charles secured the return of the council to Trent, but was then suddenly confronted by a dangerous political and religious combination. Besides the chief Protestant princes of Germany, the alliance included the Catholic king of France, Henry II, who promised financial aid to the rebels on condition that he be allowed to take possession of certain German fortresses on the border of France. Charles was taken unprepared at Innsbruck, in the Tyrolese Alps, and saved himself only by a hasty flight.

371. New difficulties of Charles V (1547–1552)

Wearied by a lifetime of struggle, Charles now gave up the contest. A truce was concluded, which in 1555 was converted into the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Catholics and Protestants alike longed for peace, and were ready to purchase it at the cost of some sort of toleration for the opposite party. The principle adopted was that expressed in the Latin phrase *cujus regio, ejus religio*, which meant that the rulers of each principality and free city might establish at their option either the Catholic or the Lutheran worship, leaving to dissentients the right to emigrate. For more than half a century this treaty gave repose to Germany. It contained two fatal defects, however, which ultimately brought about a new religious war: (1) There was no protection promised to Protestants

372. Peace of Augsburg (1555)

EXTENT OF THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT IN GERMANY, 1555

other than Lutherans, although Calvinism (§ 381) was already beginning to be of importance. (2) There was still room left, as time passed, for bitter disputes concerning the ownership of church lands secularized by Protestants.

In the negotiation of this peace Charles V took no personal part. In 1555 and 1556 he abdicated his many crowns and retired to a monastery in Spain, where he died in 1558. He was cold, calculating, far-sighted, patient. It was his fate to rule two diverse lands, Spain and Germany, at the most difficult moment of European history. His son Philip II (1556–1598) succeeded him as king of Spain and the Two Sicilies, and lord of Milan, the Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies, — but not (in spite of Charles's efforts) as Emperor.

373. Abdication of Charles V (1556)

The office of Emperor, by choice of the electors, passed to Charles's brother, Ferdinand I (1556–1564). He united to the archduchy of Austria the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which he acquired by election of the nobles and in fulfillment

of ancient treaties. After 1556 there were thus two Hapsburg houses, — the one in Spain, lasting until the extinction of its male line in 1700, and the other in Germany, which continues in the Austrian rulers to the present time. The imperial dignity and the elective kingships of Bohemia and Hungary made the Austrian Hapsburg house one of the greatest of European powers.

374. Division of the Hapsburg possessions

The extent to which Protestantism by 1555 had spread in Germany and neighboring lands is indicated on the map on page 335. In many respects the Reformation age was "the most striking period in religious history since the days of the early church." Doubtless the causes of the reform movement are not entirely to be found in laudable instincts for higher spiritual life and the cultivation of the human intellect; and its course does not show all zeal, holiness, and religion on one side, and tyranny, ignorance, and relic worship on the other. The immediate effects of the Reformation, too, were not altogether what the reformers had expected. Luther's later life was embittered by the excesses of radical reformers, and by the moral decay and theological bickerings which Protestant Germany experienced. Nevertheless, for Protestants the movement brought independence of religious thought, individual responsibility, and a freer life. For Catholics it developed more zeal and love for the old faith, and hastened the adoption of the reformatory measures within the church which we shall see enacted in the Council of Trent.

375. Results of the Reformation

It should be noted, finally, that although the Reformation rests on an appeal to the right of private judgment as against the authority of the church, the reformers were far from willing to concede this right to others. Religious freedom, therefore, followed only indirectly from the Reformation. Toleration in religion, "the noblest gift of four centuries," came in spite of, and not because of, the intentions of the reformers. It was a natural result of the existence of conflicting sects, no one of which was strong enough to overcome the others.

IMPORTANT DATES

1517. Luther's theses against indulgences.
1519. Charles V elected Emperor.
1520. Luther burns the Pope's bull of excommunication.
1521. The Diet of Worms condemns Luther.
1529. Their "protest" gives Lutherans the name Protestants.
1530. The Augsburg Confession.
1546–1547. The Schmalkaldic War.
1555. Religious Peace of Augsburg.
1556. Abdication of Charles V.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Did the cause of the Reformation lie more in Luther or in the general state of things? (2) What caused the development of Luther's views from the position he held in the *Ninety-five Theses* to that shown at the Diet of Worms? (3) Was the cause of the peasants in their revolt just or unjust? (4) Is Luther to be blamed for opposing them? (5) Why did Erasmus refuse to join Luther? (6) How did Charles's foreign wars aid the Reformation? (7) How did the Turks aid the cause of the Reformation? (8) What is the place of Melanchthon in the history of the German Reformation? (9) How far was the Reformation directed against observances and how far against doctrines? (10) What was the condition in which Germany was left by the peace of Augsburg?

Search Topics. — (1) Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, I, 127–157; Beard, *Martin Luther*, 54–65; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, ch. xxvi. — (2) Luther's Early Life (to 1517). Lindsay, *Luther*, 9–52; Beard, *Luther*, 116–165; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 438–442. — (3) Indulgences and Luther's Theses. Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Bk. VI, ch. iii; Lindsay, *Luther*, 53–74; Lindsay, *Reformation*, I, 216–233; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 783–788. — (4) The Diet of Worms. Lindsay, *Luther*, 127–132; Jacobs, *Luther*, 186–197; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, I, 263–284. — (5) Luther's Marriage and Home Life. Lindsay, *Luther*, 190–212; Jacobs, *Luther*, 263–267, 394–406. — (6) The Peasants' War. Seebohm, *Era of the Protestant Revolution*, Pt. II, ch. v; Lindsay, *Luther*, 169–189; Lindsay, *Reformation*, I, 324–339; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 597–599. — (7) Luther and Melanchthon. Walker, *Reformation*, 100–106, 172–176, 182–188; Henderson, *Short History*, I, 285–289.

General Reading. — Lindsay's *Luther* is the best brief life of the reformer; the lives by McGiffert and Preserved Smith are also excellent. The volumes by Lindsay and by Walker are the best general histories in English of the Reformation. Janssen's *Germany at the Close of the Middle Ages* is an excellent work written from the Catholic standpoint.

EUROPE IN 1556
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Spanish Hapsburg Territories
Austrian Hapsburg Territories
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
MUNSTER
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
York
London
Canterbury
English Channel
Calais (French after 1559)
NETHERLANDS
Rotterdam
Ghent
Cologne
Noyon
Paris
Versailles
BRITTANY
Nantes
Loire R.
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
POITOU
La Rochelle
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Pyrenees
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Vassy
FRANCHE COMTE
Geneva
Avignon
Rhone R.
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Douro R.
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
Ebro R.
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
Yuste
Madrid
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Guadalquivir R.
Cadiz
Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
L.L.POATES, ENGR'S CO., N.Y.
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Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
SWEDEN
G. of Finland
Volga R.
Novgorod
Moscow
RUSSIA
TEUTONIC KNIGHTS
Düna R.
Smolensk
BALTIC SEA
Lund
Danzig
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
Stralsund
BRANDENBURG
Vistula R.
Warsaw
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Turkish boundary in 1672
Dniester R.
KHANATE OF CRIMEA
Wittenberg
Leipsic
Breslau
SILESIA
SAXONY
Prague
Cracow
Carpathian Mts.
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Dniester R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Pruth R.
MOLDAVIA
Raab
Buda
Danube R.
TRANSYLVANIA
BESSARABIA
CRIMEA
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
AUSTRIA HUNGARY
HUNGARY
Mohacz
Theiss R.
Venice
CARNIOLA
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
WALLACHIA
Save R.
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Constantinople
ADRIATIC SEA
Bologna
Pisa
STATES OF THE CHURCH
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Rome
Naples
RUMELIA
ASIA MINOR
AEGEAN SEA
Lepanto
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
KINGDOM OF SICILY
CYPRUS
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
20
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from
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Greenwich
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CHAPTER XVIII

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION

A. The Reformation in Switzerland

The Reformation in German Switzerland began, independently of Luther, with the labors of Ulrich Zwingli (tsvĭng′lē; born 1484). The son of a prosperous peasant, he received a good education, and grew into his reform views without either the material or the spiritual struggle which shaped Luther's character. He represents the humanistic culture derived from Erasmus more than does Luther. The reformation which he carried out was more logical, and also more radical, than that of the Saxon reformer. Whereas Luther wished to preserve all that was not positively contrary to Scripture, Zwingli rejected everything which was not commanded by the Bible. Zwingli — anticipating Calvin — also introduced a rigid church discipline, under which playing games, swearing, and tavern frequenting were severely punished.

376. Character of the Swiss Reformation

Zwingli's work as a reformer began in 1518 with an attack upon indulgences and pilgrimages. His appointment, late in the same year, as preacher at the cathedral of Zurich, enabled him to secure a wider hearing for his "evangelical" views. Because the Swiss cantons were self-governing republics, every step of the Reformation there was accompanied by public debates between the Catholics and reformers, with the people sitting as judges. After such a debate between Zwingli and his opponents, in 1523, the magistrates of Zurich gave their approval to his work. "Pictures, crucifixes, and images were removed from the city churches, relics were burned, holy water was done away with, organs

377. Zwingli's reform at Zurich (1518–1529)

Walker, *Reformation*, 157

silenced, and frescoed walls whitewashed, as an effective method of making a *tabula rasa* [clean sweep] of the symbols of the older worship." Extensive changes were also made in the services and government of the church. From Zurich the reformation spread to the cities of Bern and Basel, and to other Swiss cantons.

Zwingli was more of a statesman than Luther. His mind formed projects of a union of all the opponents of Charles V. Luther had no liking for such political alliances, and moreover distrusted Zwingli's theological views, especially on the Lord's Supper. Both rejected transubstantiation (§ 87); but Luther believed that the body of Christ was physically present in the sacrament *along with* the bread and wine (consubstantiation), while Zwingli, interpreting the words of Christ "This *is* my body" to mean "This *signifies* my body," taught that Christ was present only in a symbolical sense.

378. Controversy with Luther (1529)

In 1529 a conference between the parties was held at Marburg, with a view to bringing about a union between them. Luther took his stand on the letter of the text, and with chalk wrote the words of Christ (in Latin) on the table before him, *Hoc est corpus meum*. From their literal meaning he would not budge. He even refused to take Zwingli's hand in token of fellowship, saying that the Swiss reformers were "of another spirit." This failure to agree was unfortunate, for a union of all Protestants was sorely needed to meet threatening dangers. A lack of political insight, a hasty temper, and some measure of intolerance were weaknesses intertwined with Luther's strength.

The wealthy and populous Swiss cantons embraced the cause of the reformers; but the five forest cantons remained zealously Catholic. In 1531 war broke out between the Catholic and the Protestant cantons. At Cappel the troops hastily levied by Zurich were totally defeated by a larger force from the forest cantons, and among the slain was numbered Zwingli himself. A peace was then made whereby each canton was left free to do as it liked in religious matters. This was really a victory for the Catholic party, which soon secured a majority in the federal Diet.

379. The Swiss war (1531)

The work which Zwingli began at Zurich was continued by John Calvin at Geneva.[1] As organizer and systematizer, Calvin was the greatest of the reformers and his influence was most widespread.

380. Early life of Calvin

Calvin was born in northern France, in 1509; he was thus a generation younger than Luther and Zwingli. He was prepared at French universities for the profession of law, but determined to devote himself to a life of scholarship. Then he fell under the influence of certain French reformers; and in 1535 he was forced to leave the French kingdom, a fugitive and an exile.

JOHN CALVIN
From an old print

A year later (1536) Calvin happened to pass through the French-speaking city of Geneva, which had recently thrown off the control of its feudal lords and accepted the Reformation. The urging of the Protestant leaders induced him to remain and take up the active duties of reformer in that turbulent little republic. With the exception of two years of exile, Geneva was thenceforth the scene of Calvin's labors, until his death in 1564. For a quarter of a century he controlled almost completely its civil and ecclesiastical government. Two important features of his system were: (1) the republican constitution which he gave to the church; and (2) the rigid supervision exercised over manners and morals.

381. Calvin at Geneva (1536–1564)

In the Calvinistic or Presbyterian system of church government, as it was fully developed in France, Scotland, and the Netherlands, control of the church is vested in representative councils called "synods" and "presbyteries,"

382. Presbyterianism

[1] Although Geneva did not finally enter the Swiss Confederation until 1815, it was for centuries in alliance with leading Swiss cantons. The history of its reformation belongs naturally, therefore, with that in Switzerland.

which are made up of the "ministers" and of "elders" (presbyters) elected by the entire church membership. Calvin's ideas of church discipline were extremely severe. From him and his predecessor, Zwingli, come those "Puritan" ideals of worship and life which influenced so profoundly Scotland, England, and America. Neglect of public worship, luxury in dress, gambling and dancing, became crimes severely dealt with. Blasphemy was regarded as worthy of capital punishment. In one instance a child was beheaded at Geneva for having struck his parents. In dealing with what he considered to be heresy, Calvin was as uncompromising as the Church of Rome. The greatest blot on his fame is the burning, with his approval, of a brilliant but unbalanced writer named Servetus, on a charge of heresy and blasphemy. This act, though strongly condemned by modern opinion, was in harmony with the views, both Catholic and Protestant, of that age.

Under Calvin's leadership the Genevan church became the model for Protestant churches in many lands. His views were embodied in a book call the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which became the leading theological work of the age. The reformation in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland was thoroughly Calvinistic. In England, and the English colonies in America, civil as well as religious institutions were greatly affected by Calvin's teachings.

383. Spread of Calvin's ideas

B. The Reformation in Great Britain

The English Reformation was largely the work of the Tudor dynasty, which ascended the throne in 1485 at the close of the Wars of the Roses. Henry VII, the first of the Tudor line, was able, as we have seen (§ 311), to make the crown almost despotic. His son, Henry VIII (1509–1547), was educated in the atmosphere of the Renaissance, but turned his attention as king to plans of foreign war. His alliance was eagerly sought by both Francis I and Charles V; and his minister, Cardinal Wolsey, by playing off one against the other,

384. England under Henry VII and Henry VIII

raised England to a position of importance among European nations. A book which Henry wrote against Luther led the Pope to give him the title (still borne by English sovereigns) of "Defender of the Faith." A few years later Henry embarked upon a course which ended in separating England as a nation from the Roman Catholic Church.

The English Reformation differs from that in continental countries in two ways: (1) It was begun and its course con-

385. Character of the Reformation in England

trolled by the government, the people for the most part passively following. (2) The English Church after the Reformation was more of a compromise between the old and the new religions, its doctrine being Protestant, while its ritual and government were largely Catholic.

The ground for the Reformation in England had long been prepared. Political resistance to the papacy was embodied in

386. The ground long prepared

the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire (§ 318). The labors of Wyclif had weakened the hold of the church upon the people. Here, as elsewhere, the Renaissance was a powerful influence. Printing was introduced by William Caxton in 1477. John Colet (died 1519; § 348), the son of a wealthy London merchant, played the chief part in introducing a sounder knowledge of Greek and Latin literature. Owing, perhaps, to the influence of Savonarola, whom he may have met in Italy, Colet advocated a moderate and enlightened reform of the church. He furthered this by his sermons as dean of St. Paul's cathedral in London, and by a school for boys which he founded in connection with the cathedral. Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar (§ 349), spent some years in England, and was influenced by Colet to take up his studies on the New Testament and the church fathers. Sir Thomas More, one of the wittiest and most lovable Englishmen of his day, was also a member of this group of scholars and Catholic reformers. His advanced ideas on social reform are shown in his *Utopia*, a book in which he describes an ideal commonwealth. Many factors thus coöperated to prepare England for a religious change.

The actual separation from Rome came from the desire of Henry VIII to have his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, with whom he had lived for eighteen years, declared void, in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn (bo͝ol'in), with whom he was infatuated. When the Pope refused to grant the annulment of his marriage, Henry obtained his divorce from a court of the English Church, presided over by Cranmer, his archbishop of Canterbury. In 1533 he proclaimed Anne queen, in defiance of the Pope.

387. The Reformation under Henry VIII (1529–1547)

In November, 1534, the separation from Rome was made complete by the Act of Supremacy, passed by Parliament. This declared the English king to be "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England," the authority which the Pope had exercised being divided between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. The clergy had already been induced by threat to acknowledge Henry as head of the English Church. Parliament at the same time reformed many practical abuses in the church. Also, the Bible was translated into English, and printed copies were placed in the churches.

Another important step was taken in the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of their property, carried out from 1536 to 1540. Two important results followed from this: (1) The abbots were removed from the House of Lords, and the power of the ecclesiastical peers was reduced. (2) The nobles and

ARMOR OF HENRY VIII

In Tower of London. Belongs to period of feudal decadence, when armor was largely for show, and tournaments were usually harmless spectacles.

gentry who received grants of monastic land became zealous supporters of the Reformation.

While repudiating the Pope's headship, Henry clung tenaciously to Catholic doctrine. He put to death impartially those who denied his supremacy in the church, and those who held Protestant views. Sir Thomas More was perhaps the noblest of those who were sent to the block for refusing to acknowledge the king's supremacy. Henry was equally ready to punish other offenders against his arbitrary will. Cardinal Wolsey, who had been deprived of power because of his inability to secure a papal annulment of the king's first marriage, escaped imprisonment in the Tower, and probably execution, only by his timely death. His successor in the government was beheaded for negotiating an unsatisfactory marriage for his royal master. Henry was six times married, two of his queens being divorced, and two (including Anne Boleyn) executed for misconduct. He was a strong monarch, under whom England prospered. But he was tyrannical and cruel, and many thousand persons — rebels, Protestants, and defenders of the papal headship — perished by his orders.

388. Tyranny of Henry VIII

Henry VIII left one son and two daughters, each by a different marriage (see genealogy, p. 349). His son Edward VI, aged nine years, succeeded him. In this reign the Reformation was carried by the ministers of the government into the field of doctrine and worship. Under the guidance of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, a Book of Common Prayer in English was prepared, to take the place of the Catholic "mass book" in Latin. Church doctrine was formulated in forty-two articles. The clergy were permitted to marry, church images were pulled down, stained glass windows in the churches were broken, pictures of saints and angels were whitewashed over, and many of the old customs and holy days were suppressed. These changes went beyond the desires of the nation, and rebellions broke out, which were easily suppressed. The young king, from whose precocious intelligence much was expected, died at the age of fifteen.

389. Further reformation under Edward VI (1547–1553)

By hereditary right, and by a will left by Henry VIII, Edward's half-sister Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was next in succession. She was a Catholic, and certain nobles plotted to secure the succession for Lady Jane Grey, a Protestant girl of noble character, who was a granddaughter of Henry VIII's younger sister. The attempt failed, and those implicated in it, including Lady Jane and her young husband, were executed.

390. Lady Jane Grey, the "nine days queen"

When Queen Mary secured the throne, in 1553, she restored the Catholic religion and the authority of the Pope over the English Church. She found it impossible, however, to restore to the church the monastery lands which were in private hands. She was greeted at her accession with great rejoicing; when she died five years later, she was hated by almost all her subjects. This was due, not to the fact that she restored the Catholic religion, for the majority of the English people were willing to accept the old worship, the old belief, and even the authority of the Pope. It was very largely due to her marriage with a foreigner, Philip II of Spain, the son and successor of Charles V. National feeling was exceedingly strong in England, and Englishmen were foolishly jealous of all foreigners. But stronger than jealousy was the fear that the Spanish alliance would make England merely a province of Philip's vast dominions, and that thereby Englishmen would lose their liberties and England her independence. Another cause of Mary's unpopularity was her persecution of Protestants, which appeared to her unbalanced mind to be a sacred duty. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had played the chief part in divorcing her mother, was among the 288 Protestant martyrs. In foreign affairs Mary sided with Spain against France. Through delay in sending aid, she allowed the French (in 1558) to take Calais, — the last of the English possessions in France. A few months later her unhappy life ended, and her half-sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne.

391. Catholic restoration by Queen Mary (1553–1558)

The reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603), alike in its economic

legislation, its foreign policy, and its religious interest, was one of the most important in English history. Its success was due in part to the ability of her councilors, especially Lord Burghley (or Burleigh). Still more was it due to Elizabeth's own character. She had her father's strength and imperious will, with her mother's vanity and fondness for display. Above all, she was devoted to England's interest.

392. Religious settlement of Elizabeth (1558–1603)

Elizabeth was without strong religious feeling either way. She had been educated as a Protestant, but had conformed to the Catholic religion during her sister's reign. When she her-

ELIZABETHA DEI GRACIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA FIDEI DEFENSOR
ELIZABETHA DEI GRACIA ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA FIDEI DEFENSOR

GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

"Elizabeth by God's grace queen of England, France, and Ireland; Defender of the Faith"

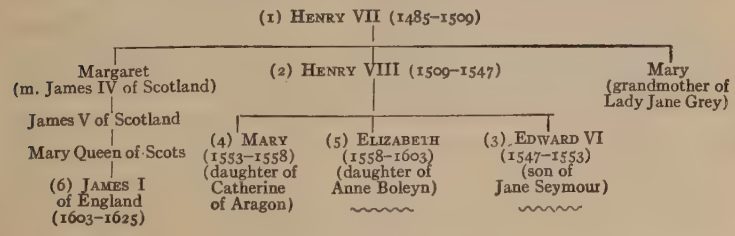
self came to power, she repealed Mary's Catholic statutes, although she refused to restore unmodified her brother's religious legislation. The Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles, in which are embodied the ritual and much of the doctrine of the Church of England, were issued by Elizabeth. They were based on the similar works of Edward VI, but so altered as to give less offense to religious conservatives. Elizabeth sought to include Catholics and Protestants in one national church, shaped by the royal will. "To this day," says the historian Macaulay, "the constitution, the doctrines, and the services of the [English] church re-

History of England, ch. i

tain the visible marks of the compromise from which she sprang. She occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. Her doctrinal confessions and discourses, composed by Protestants, set forth principles of theology in which Calvin and Knox [§§ 380, 393] would have found scarcely a word to disapprove. Her prayers and thanksgivings, derived from the ancient breviaries, are very generally such that Cardinal Fisher or Cardinal Pole [leaders of the Roman Catholic party] might have heartily joined in them."

Outward conformity to Elizabeth's settlement was enforced upon all classes by two great statutes passed by Parliament, — the Statute of Supremacy, and the Statute of Uniformity. In large measure this settlement met with acceptance, though extremists of both communions caused trouble. Extreme Catholics claimed, on the ground of the nullity of Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, that the crown should go to Mary Queen of Scots,[1] and plotted Elizabeth's overthrow. More than 175 Catholic priests and laymen were put to death in her reign for refusing to conform to the new religion. Protestant extremists, called Puritans, on the other hand, were intensely loyal, but were dissatisfied that Elizabeth did not go further in religious change. Many of them had fled to the Continent during Mary's persecutions, and now returned filled with the ideas of Calvin and the Genevan Reformation. In spite of Elizabeth's attempts at repression, their number and importance increased, until at the end of the reign they constituted a considerable party.

[1] The claims of Mary Queen of Scots, which she transmitted to the Stuart line, are shown in the following genealogy: —



393. Reformation in Scotland

In Scotland (unlike England) the Reformation was the work of the people, in opposition to the government. It was accomplished, and a Presbyterian settlement established (about 1560), largely through the efforts of John Knox. He was a man of intense force and fearlessness, who had adopted rigidly Calvinistic views during several years spent in exile at Geneva. The ruler of Scotland at this time was Mary Queen of Scots. After being reared in France, and becoming for a short time the bride of a French king, she had returned after her husband's death to her own kingdom (1560). The Scots at this time were rude, ignorant, and backward in civilization; while Mary was pleasure-loving, vivacious, and an ardent Catholic. Her second marriage, with her cousin Darnley, a Scottish nobleman, proved unhappy; and within two years he was murdered. Whether Mary was concerned in the deed or not, she allowed herself in a few months to marry the chief author of the crime. A revolt followed, in which Mary was forced to abdicate, and her infant son became King James VI. Less than a year later (in 1568) Mary escaped from captivity, fled to England, and threw herself upon the generosity of Elizabeth.

MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS
From a painting in Edinburgh

394. Elizabeth and Mary of Scotland

The English queen, although she disliked to countenance rebellion, could not forego the advantage which this step gave her against one who was a claimant of her throne. For nineteen years Mary was kept in England in honorable captivity. Plots were on foot with the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth and setting Mary on the English throne, through the aid of a Spanish invasion. The complicity of

Mary in one of these, which English law made a capital offense, was at last proved. Elizabeth reluctantly signed Mary's death warrant, and early in 1587 the Queen of Scots was beheaded. She went to her death with the courage of a martyr. "Cease to lament," said she to one of her weeping attendants, "for you shall now see a final end to Mary Stuart's troubles. I pray you take this message when you go — that I die true to my religion, to Scotland, and to France."

395. The Reformation in Ireland

In Ireland the Reformation failed to secure a hold upon the people. This was in part due to an antagonism between the native Irish and the English government, which introduced the Reformation. Ireland had been annexed to England by King Henry II. But until the time of the Tudor sovereigns, the English government had made little effort to exercise authority there, save in a narrow district about Dublin, known as the English Pale, where the land was held by nobles of English descent. Outside the Pale most of Ireland was in the hands of half-barbarous Irish tribes under native chiefs; and strife between different tribes and between the English and Irish was incessant. Henry VIII for the first time extended English authority over the whole of the island, and attempted to enforce upon Ireland English law and habits, together with his supremacy over the church. The Irish monasteries,

CROSS AT MONASTERBRICE, IRELAND

Erected in 9th or 10th century. Part of the carving on the cross represents Scriptural scenes.

which were peaceful centers of religion and industry in a turbulent country, were suppressed. In the disturbances which followed many deeply venerated relics and images were destroyed. The great mass of the Irish people regarded the changes in the church as only a part of the tyranny of the English government, and clung tenaciously both to their religion and their native practices. Rebellions, followed by confiscations of Irish land and its colonization by English settlers, occurred under both Edward and Mary; and it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the subjugation of Ireland was completed. Ferocious methods were employed in accomplishing this. During six months (in 1582) 30,000 men, women, and children perished in the province of Munster alone, chiefly from starvation; and half a million acres of land was seized and granted to Englishmen, who largely remained absentee landlords. The introduction of the Reformation, and the policy of settling English landlords in Ireland, sowed the seeds of bitterness and strife which have lasted to the present day.

396. Causes of war between England and Spain

Chief among Elizabeth's foreign enemies was her erstwhile brother-in-law, Philip II of Spain. Religious differences were only one of a number of causes for this hostility. Mary Queen of Scots, just before her execution, had made Philip the avenger of her death and heir to her claims to the English throne. Bold sailors such as Sir Francis Drake — the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe — had long been preying upon Spanish commerce in the New World. Finally there was the assistance sent to the Dutch by Elizabeth, in a revolt in which they were engaged against Spain (§ 426). This, indeed, was the chief factor in leading to open war between Philip and the English kingdom.

397. The Spanish Armada (1588)

The first expedition prepared by Philip II to attack England was prevented from sailing by Drake's daring raid into Cadiz harbor. There he "singed the king of Spain's beard" by burning the ships and stores gathered for the expedition. Next year (1588) the Great Armada set sail. This expedition numbered about 130 ships, nearly half of them

large, high-decked vessels, crowded with soldiers. The English fleet, though greater in numbers, was composed of much smaller vessels, but these were swifter and more easily managed. A running fight occurred in the English Channel and off the Netherlands. The superior seamanship of the English, together with their greater daring, gave them the advantage; and a tempest completed the work which they began. Out of Spain's vast Armada, only sixty-seven vessels returned home. This victory ended the danger of a Catholic restoration in England by Spanish arms. By weakening Spain's power of interference, it also made possible English colonization in America.

In many directions, Elizabeth's reign witnessed an outburst of energy such as the world had never seen. In no line was this more true than in literature. The poet Spenser, the philosopher Sir Francis Bacon, and the dramatists Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson, with many others, made this the golden age of English letters. Such activity was the result of many causes, long in preparation. One of these was certainly the freedom of thought and the intellectual stimulus which came with the religious Reformation.

398. Literature under Elizabeth

C. The Counter Reformation

While Protestantism was becoming systematized under the influence of Calvin, and spreading into France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, the Catholic Church began to reform the practical evils in its organization, and prepared to take the aggressive. The model for this reformation within the church was found in the Spanish Awakening (§ 327) carried out in Spain more than a half century before. After the sack of Rome by the soldiers of Charles V, in 1527, the political activity of the papacy was diminished. Under a series of reforming Popes a sincere effort was then at last made to do away with the long accumulation of abuses.

399. Origin of the Counter Reformation

One of the chief agencies of the Counter Reformation was the Council of Trent (§ 371). This council first assembled in 1545,

and lasted (with an intermission of ten years) until 1563. It rejected private interpretation of the Scriptures, and declared that only the highest authority in the church, and not individual members, could determine the meaning of its texts. The council also declared that the *tradition* of the church, equally with the Bible, should be used in settling religious doctrines, because it was held that not all the teachings of Christ are contained in the Bible. Moreover, the council made the Vulgate (Latin) version the standard in the church. In the matter of reform, the council increased the authority of the bishops, and strengthened the whole discipline over the clergy. It made preaching a more important function for both bishops and parish priests. It also issued decrees requiring seminaries to be established in every diocese, for the better education and training of candidates for the priesthood. The result of the council's labors was that the Roman Catholic Church could thenceforth appeal to a modern, clear, and authoritative statement of its faith, and was thus put in a position to present a united front to Protestantism.[1]

400. The Jesuits founded (1540)

The most aggressive force in checking the revolt from Rome was the Order of Jesus, popularly called the "Jesuits." This order was founded by Ignatius Loyo'la, and sanctioned by the Pope in 1540. Loyola was a high-minded Spanish nobleman, whose dreams of military glory were cut short by a wound which permanently lamed him. Thenceforth he

[1] We may here note a reform of the calendar which was discussed at this council, but was not authorized until 1582, when Pope Gregory XIII embodied it in a papal decree. The "Julian" calendar, arranged by Julius Caesar, — in which every fourth year was a leap year, — made the year eleven minutes, fourteen seconds too long, and by the sixteenth century the difference accumulated since the year of the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) amounted to nearly ten days. The reformed or "Gregorian" calendar not merely struck out ten days (from October 5 to October 14, inclusive) from the calendar of the year 1582, but directed the omission of three leap-year days in every four centuries thereafter. It thus provided for keeping the calendar year for the future in approximate harmony with the solar year. England did not accept the reformed calendar until 1752. Russia, owing to its adherence to the Greek Church, has not yet accepted it, and is now thirteen days behind the other nations in its reckoning of dates. The two calendars are distinguished as "old style" (O. S.) and "new style" (N. S.).

turned his energies to the service of the church. He sought to found an organization, the members of which should be bound by the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, as the monks were, but who should not be tied down by minute monastic regulations. At the same time he adopted certain features of military organization, — requiring instant and implicit obedience to the commands of superior officers, and drilling and disciplining his members by spiritual exercises as soldiers are drilled in the handling of their weapons. The members were bound by a special vow of unquestioning obedience to the Pope. They also renounced the holding of all ecclesiastical dignities such as bishoprics. No special dress was prescribed, thus permitting disguise in hostile lands. Room was found in the organization for the exercise of the most varied talents, and the order enlisted in its services some of the ablest men of the time. One of its chief functions was missionary work in heathen countries; and its missionaries did heroic work in carrying Christianity to the natives of America, and to the East Indies, Japan, and China. Saint Francis Xavier (zăv'ĭ-er), who worked especially in the Far East, represents the highest type of missionary spirit. Preaching and educational work in Europe were also carried on. The centralized organization of the society, together with an elaborate system of reports to its general or head, made its work extremely effective.[1]

IGNATIUS LOYOLA
From a painting in Venice

[1] Even in Catholic countries a strong opposition to the Jesuits arose. This was based largely on economic and political grounds. In 1759 Portugal expelled the members of the order from all Portuguese territory; and France, Spain, and Naples soon followed suit. In 1773 the Pope was obliged, as a result of this

A darker side to the Counter Reformation was the work of the Inquisition. This court for suppressing heresy had been revived and reorganized in Spain, during the Spanish Awakening; and after the rise of Lutheranism it was carried to other countries. Political conditions and the temper of the French and German people prevented its getting any great hold in their lands; but it held despotic sway in Portugal and Italy, and in the widespread Spanish territories. The methods of this terrible court became more arbitrary than ever. It did its work so thoroughly that it kept heresy out of Italy, Spain, and other lands of southern Europe. Its triumphs, however, were secured only at the cost of great intellectual, economic, and political backwardness.

401. Work of the Inquisition

Closely connected with the Inquisition was the censorship of printing. This was gradually established through legislation by the Council of Trent, and through papal edicts. Strict supervision was provided in Catholic countries over the printing and sale of books. In the case of all books dealing with religion or morals the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities was required previous to printing. A list of books called the *Index of Prohibited Books* was drawn up, in which were placed titles of books which good Catholics were not allowed to read. From time to time this list has been revised, the last revision being published in 1900. Some of the most eminent philosophers, historians, and scientists have had their books "placed in the *Index*." Protestant governments also established a censorship of the press, the one in England lasting until near the end of the seventeenth century.

402. Censorship of printing

The results of the Counter Reformation in strengthening and reinvigorating the Catholic Church may be summed up in the following passage from the work of a modern English historian: "By the end of the century the tables had been completely turned. Zeal, devotion, learning,

403. The church strengthened

Catholic opposition, to decree the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. In 1814, however, the bull dissolving the order was revoked, and the Jesuits were once more restored to favor in Catholic countries.

self-sacrifice, religious enthusiasm, were now on the side of the church. Superior in concentration, the church presented a united and effective front to her enemies, and was prepared when the opportunity should come to initiate a crusade by the help of the Jesuits against Protestantism in Europe, while a new world was being won for her across the ocean by their missionary efforts."

Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, 43

D. Summary View of the Reformation

In the Protestant Reformation it was mainly the Teutonic nations — Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, and parts of Germany and the Netherlands — that rejected the authority of the Pope. The nations which had most successfully withstood the power of imperial Rome of old were the ones which now broke away from papal Rome. The Romance nations — France, Spain, and Italy, which were most affected in language and habits by the Roman Empire — remained true to the papal allegiance. The Slavic nations which had received Roman Christianity, such as Poland and Bohemia, accepted Protestantism for a time, but were later won back to the Catholic Church. Russia and southeastern Europe, which were Greek Christian or Mohammedan, were unaffected by the movement.

404. Extent of the revolt from Rome

We have considered the Reformation chiefly as an event in religious history. But it must not be forgotten that it was also a political change; it was a revolt of the new national spirit against the control by Rome of ecclesiastical persons, property, and trials. In countries where the Reformation was established, the civil power claimed those rights of taxation, jurisdiction, and the like which the papacy had before exercised. Where the governing power was a monarchy, the crown was strengthened; but in Switzerland, where the government of each canton was republican, it was the power of the people that was increased. The political condition of the different countries also determined the course which the Ref-

405. Its character in different countries

ormation took. In Germany and Switzerland, where there was practically no central authority, a period of division and civil wars was followed by the definite establishment of Protestantism in some districts, and its rejection in others. In England, Denmark, and Sweden, where the central power was strong enough to carry the nation with it, the revolt from Rome was completely established. In France, in spite of its strong monarchy, a series of religious wars followed, ending in a limited toleration for Protestants. But a century later this settlement was overturned, and Catholicism completely triumphed.

IMPORTANT DATES

1518. Zwingli begins the Reformation in Switzerland.
1534. Henry VIII separates the English Church from Rome.
1536. Calvin takes up the work of the Reformation at Geneva.
1540. The Jesuit Order founded.
1553. Catholic reaction in England begun under Queen Mary.
1558. Accession of Elizabeth; permanence of Reformation in England assured.
1563. End of the Council of Trent.
1587. Mary Queen of Scots beheaded.
1588. The Spanish Armada defeated.
1603. Death of Elizabeth.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) How did the fact that Germany was *a confederation of sovereign principalities*, Switzerland *a league of republican cantons*, and England *a centralized monarchy*, affect the outcome of the Reformation in each? (2) Why were the forest cantons of Switzerland more likely to remain Catholic? (3) Who was to blame for the failure of the Swiss and German reformers to unite? (4) Compare Calvin's ideas of church government with those of Luther. (5) Was Luther's or Calvin's work in the Reformation the more important? Why? (6) Was the English Church Catholic or Protestant at the death of Henry VIII? At the death of Edward VI? At the death of Mary? At the death of Elizabeth? (7) Characterize Henry VIII in your own words. (8) Compare the persecution of Protestants under Queen Mary with the persecution of Catholics under Elizabeth. (9) In what ways was Elizabeth a great ruler? (10) What other things besides the personality of the queen contributed to make her

reign memorable? (11) Was Elizabeth's execution of Mary Queen of Scots justifiable? (12) How did the defeat of the Armada aid England's colonization of America? (13) Why did the Council of Trent succeed in carrying through reform measures which had failed at Pisa, Constance, and Basel? (14) What advantages did the Jesuit Order have over earlier religious orders?

Search Topics. — (1) ZWINGLI'S LIFE AND WORK. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, II, 24–38; Walker, *Reformation*, 149–152; Jackson, *Zwingli*, ch. i–v; Simpson, *Zwingli*, chs. i–v. — (2) CALVIN IN GENEVA. Walker, *Calvin*, ch. viii; Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 102–124. — (3) CALVIN AND SERVETUS. Walker, *Reformation*, 266–269; Walker, *Calvin*, ch. xii; Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, VII, ch. xvi. — (4) COMPARISON OF LUTHER, ZWINGLI, AND CALVIN. Walker, *Reformation*, 166–181, 246; Jacobs, *Luther*, 281; Schaff, *Christian Church*, VII, 257–260; Henderson, *Short History*, I, 356–357. — (5) ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII. Terry, *History of England*, 512–559. — (6) SUPPRESSION OF THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. Gairdner, *English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, ch. xi; Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* (Catholic). — (7) QUEEN MARY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY. Green, *Short History*, 364–368; Lindsay, *Reformation*, 368–384; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 766–767. — (8) THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. Walker, *Reformation*, 313–334; Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 274–314. — (9) ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS POLICY. Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, 128–148; Green, *Short History*, ch. vii, sec. 3; Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 385–420. — (10) ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. Green, *Short History*, 382–392, 415–417; Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, 62–79, 100–104; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 764–766. — (11) THE SPANISH ARMADA. Green, *Short History*, ch. vii, sec. 6; Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 130–140, 142; Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, II, ch. xix. — (12) THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH. Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, 199–226; Green, *Short History*, ch. vii, sec. 5. — (13) ORGANIZATION AND POWER OF THE JESUITS. Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 549–563, 606–611; Walker, *Reformation*, 375–392; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 81–84. — (14) JESUITS AS EXPLORERS AND MISSIONARIES. Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, chs. v and vi; Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, chs. ii, xviii. — (15) THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 564–596; Walker, *Reformation*, 392–400; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 30–35.

General Reading. — The second volume of Lindsay's *History of the Reformation* contains the best account of the movement outside of Germany. Froude's *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (12 vols.) is a brilliant but somewhat unreliable work. Creighton's and Beesly's lives of Elizabeth are the best short biographies.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS WARS (1562–1648)

A. The Huguenot Wars in France

By the time that the Council of Trent closed, in 1563, the Reformation had crystallized into permanent form. Protestantism had developed its characteristic doctrines; Catholicism had established its Counter Reformation. An armed struggle for the mastery followed, manifesting itself especially in France, in the Netherlands, and in Germany. Political motives entered into each of these contests, but religion played a leading part. The period may be considered as beginning with the Huguenot wars in France in 1562, and ending with the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

406. A period of religious warfare

The Reformation had an independent beginning in France, but its development and organization were largely the work of Calvin and other Genevan reformers. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the French Protestants, or "Huguenots," possessed 2000 places of worship, and are said to have numbered 400,000 persons. They were drawn mainly from the middle and higher classes, for the lower classes, unlike those of Germany, remained intensely loyal to the Roman Church. King Francis I [1] for a time showed toleration to the

407. The Reformation in France

[1] Charles VIII (§ 297) was succeeded, upon his death without children, by his father's second cousin, Louis XII (1498–1515), the representative of the nearest collateral line of the house of Valois. The death of Louis XII without male children gave the throne to his cousin's son, Francis I, whose successors were as follows: —

(1) Francis I (1515–1547)
(2) Henry II (1547–1559) m. Catherine de' Medici
(3) Francis II (1559–1560) first husband of Mary Queen of Scots
(4) Charles IX (1560–1574)
(5) Henry III (1574–1589)
Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou (d. 1584)

reformers, but in 1535 a policy of persecution was begun, which was continued in the reign of his son, Henry II.

Under the three weak sons of Henry II, who reigned one after another, the power of the Huguenots grew to such a point that they were prepared to take up arms. Their leaders were great nobles like the prince of Condé (côN-dā′) and Admiral Gaspard de Coligny (cō-lēn′ye). Members of the able but upstart house of Guise (gü-ēz′) headed the Catholic party. The queen mother, Catherine de' Medici, who was a thoroughly unscrupulous Italian, held aloof from the Guises for a time on account of political jealousies; but in the end she supported their policies. The wars began with an attack by the duke of Guise, in 1562, on a congregation of Huguenots assembled in a barn. Eight separate wars are counted in the struggle, separated by formal treaties of peace. With the first three of these we need not concern ourselves.

408. Huguenot wars begun (1562)

The peace which followed the third war was broken, in 1572, by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the most dreadful of the many crimes which mark this era of religious warfare. It derived its name from the fact that it began in the night preceding that saint's festival. The causes of this slaughter are to be found as much in political struggles for control as in religious hatred. For a time the weak-minded king, Charles IX, had cast off the sway of his mother, and had come under the influence of Admiral de Coligny. To recover her power the queen mother joined the Guises in a plot to murder Coligny. He was fired at from a window and seriously wounded, though not killed. In desperation, Catherine then played upon the fears and weaknesses of her son to procure the seizure and execution of Coligny and other Huguenot leaders. She claimed that a plot was on foot for a great Huguenot uprising, which would involve the most serious consequences to the crown and the country. When Charles IX at last yielded, he demanded that not only the leaders, but all Huguenots should be slain, in order that none might remain to reproach him with the deed.

409. Massacre of St. Bartholomew

The opportunity for the massacre was offered by the fact that

large numbers of the Protestants had assembled in Paris to celebrate the marriage of the king's sister with Condé's nephew, Henry of Navarre (na-vär').[1] The hatred of the Parisian populace for all Protestants gave the means for carrying it out. On the night of August 23, 1572, more than 2000 of the Huguenots were slain, including Coligny himself. The massacres in the provinces added at least 8000 more to this number. Personal enmities and opportunities for plunder were not forgotten by the fanatical mobs. "It was a combination of private vengeance and public condemnation," says a modern historian, "such as the world had never seen since the days of Sulla's proscriptions."

Ranke, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France*, 277

A renewal of the religious war followed immediately. Republican ideas now began to appear in Huguenot writings; for against the monarchy which had wronged them they raised the idea of the sovereignty of the people. The Catholics themselves were divided. The extreme party, under a new duke of Guise, turned more and more to Philip II of Spain, from whom came money, men, and leaders for their "Catholic League."

410. Henry of Navarre becomes king (1589)

The situation became more acute under Henry III. The death (in 1584) of the last intervening heir then opened up to Henry of Navarre, the Protestant head of the French house of Bourbon, the prospect of succeeding to the throne of France. His claims were strongly opposed by the Catholic League, backed by Spain and the Pope. In the eighth civil war, which followed, the duke of Guise showed himself more king than Henry III himself. Henry III, therefore, caused Guise to be murdered in the royal council chamber (1588). To escape a just vengeance, the king allied himself with Henry of Navarre, and aided him in laying siege to the rebellious city of Paris. In August, 1589, Henry III was himself assassinated by a fanatical monk.

[1] The kingdom of Navarre (§ 312) at first included land on both sides of the Pyrenees Mountains, but the portion lying south of that chain had been conquered by Ferdinand of Aragon in 1513. The small part which lay north of the Pyrenees became a center of Protestant opinions. It had passed to the French house of Bourbon through the marriage of Henry's father with its heiress.

· BEGINNING OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

Henry of Navarre now became king of France by the same hereditary right to which the Valois kings owed their succession.[1] Against his brilliant leadership the league struggled in vain. By becoming a Catholic in 1593, Henry IV removed the last obstacle to his acceptance by the French people. The religious question was then settled for the time by the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, which gave the Huguenots the following rights:—

411. Edict of Nantes (1598) ends the wars

1. Equal political rights with Catholics.
2. The right to reside anywhere in France without molestation.
3. Freedom of private worship in their houses, and of

[1] His claim to the throne is shown by the following table:—

HUGH CAPET
(Seven generations)
LOUIS IX (Saint Louis, 1226–1270)

PHILIP III (1270–1285)

PHILIP IV (1285–1314), father of LOUIS X (1314–1316), PHILIP V (1316–1322), and CHARLES IV (1322–1328), with whom the (1) **direct Capetian line** ends.

Charles, Duke of Valois, ancestor of the (2) **main Valois line**, which begins with PHILIP VI (1328–1350) and ends with CHARLES VIII (1483–1498); of (3) LOUIS XII (1498–1515); and of the (4) **line of Francis I** (see p. 360).

Robert (married heiress of Bourbon), ancestor of the (5) **Bourbon line** of kings, which ascended the throne in HENRY IV (1589–1610) and continued to the French Revolution (1792).

public worship in places where it had been enjoyed within the past two years. No Protestant services, however, might be held at the king's court, or within five leagues of Paris.

4. The Huguenots were given La Rochelle and other strong places as cities of refuge.

The Edict of Nantes completed the pacification of France. With the aid of his minister, the duke of Sully, Henry IV then restored the monarchial power, which had been seriously impaired in the religious wars. He also carried out a series of reforms to improve the finances and promote prosperity. "My wish," said he, "is that every peasant in the kingdom should be able to have a chicken in the pot for his Sunday dinner." He was affable, witty, wise, and courageous, and became the most popular king France has ever had. Extreme Catholics, however, remained irreconcilable; and in 1610, as his carriage was passing through the streets of Paris, Henry was stabbed to death by a religious fanatic.

HENRY IV. From an old print

Fifteen years of anarchy and disorder followed, for Henry's son, Louis XIII, was but nine years old, and the queen mother was a vain, weak, and selfish woman. The restoration of order at the end of that period was due to the rise to power of the great statesman, Richelieu (rē-she-lyû′). Through powerful patronage he became a bishop at the age of twenty-one and a cardinal at thirty-seven. From the first, however, he devoted himself to securing political advancement, and succeeded so well that in 1624 he became chief minister. When he entered the royal service (as he once told Louis XIII) "the Huguenots divided the state with you, the nobles conducted

412. Richelieu chief minister of France (1624–1642)

RICHELIEU

themselves as though they were not subjects, and the most powerful governors of provinces as if they were sovereign in their charges. I may add that foreign alliances were disdained. I promised your Majesty to employ all my efforts and all the authority which it might please you to give me, (1) to ruin the Huguenot party, (2) to lay low the pride of the nobility, and (3) to raise your renown among foreign nations to the point at which it ought to be."

What Richelieu planned he achieved. In 1625 a new revolt of the Huguenots broke out, and after three years' struggle La Rochelle, the chief of their towns, was taken. The practice of granting them fortified towns as places of refuge was then abandoned. Although freedom of worship and civil liberty were left them, they were no longer to hold the position of a state within the state.

413. Huguenot power crushed

The struggle with the turbulent nobility was of greater difficulty and longer duration, but it was no less successful. Once (in 1630) the king yielded for a moment to the outcry against Richelieu, and dismissed him. But after a few hours of this so-called "Day of Dupes," King Louis's good sense and patriotism reasserted themselves. "Continue to serve me as you have done," said he, "and I will maintain you against all who have sworn your ruin."

414. The nobles humbled

Thenceforth, to the day of his death, there was no time when Richelieu's power was seriously endangered. Revolt and intrigue did not cease, but they injured only their authors. Five dukes, four counts, and a marshal of France perished from this cause on the scaffold. The subjection of the nobility to the

crown — for the time, at any rate — was complete. The destruction of feudal fortresses not needed for national defense, and the introduction of royal officers (called "intendants") as a check upon the governors of provinces, helped to make permanent the political abasement of the nobles. In internal affairs, Richelieu's efforts were bent to two special objects, — the establishing of a civil service directly under control of the crown, and the organization of the army on a professional basis.

Richelieu's promise to raise the renown of France abroad was also fulfilled. The crowning principle of his foreign policy, like that of Henry IV, was resistance to the Hapsburg houses of Austria and Spain. He sought especially to expand France to the limits of ancient Gaul. To this end he concluded alliances with Protestant states (England, Sweden, and the Netherlands) as readily as with Catholic Venice and Savoy. To cut off land communications between the Spanish Hapsburgs in northern Italy and their Austrian brethren, he used all his arts of diplomacy and war. He did not hesitate, as we shall see, openly to take the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War.

415. Summary of Richelieu's administration

It is not too much to say that Richelieu gave to France national unity, secured for her religious peace, strengthened the monarchy, and raised it to the first position among the powers of Europe. The weakness of his policy was that he cared too much for the state, too little for the people. Hence gross abuses in the finances and internal administration were allowed to remain unchecked. Beneath the glamour of a brilliant court and military glory was the misery of a suffering nation.

B. The Revolt of the Netherlands

416. Condition of the Netherlands

The Netherlands, as we find them in the hands of Charles V (§ 359), were a group of seventeen distinct provinces loosely bound together. The northern were Dutch in speech and race; the southern were chiefly Flemish. The States-General, a federal legislature which met from time to time, had

little real power; everything rested with the separate provinces.

The wealth and prosperity which had marked the Flemish cities in the Middle Ages now characterized the Netherlands as a whole. Their land was undisturbed by war; their ports were well situated for ocean commerce; capital accumulated rapidly. Far more than Spain itself, the Netherlands profited by the enormous influx of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru. From the Portuguese discovery of India they drew large commercial gains. Flemish and Dutch fleets were found on every sea. Antwerp, in the sixteenth century, occupied the place that Bruges had held in the fourteenth. Often two hundred and fifty vessels lay at one time at its dock. Its bankers succeeded to the financial leadership left vacant by the decline of the great banking houses of Florence and Augsburg. Every city of the Netherlands was noted for some branch of manufacture, — as Lille (leel) for its woolen cloth, Brussels for its tapestries and carpets, etc. Well-watered meadows, protected by dikes from the encroaching sea, enabled the northern provinces to produce butter and cheese famous for their good quality. Agriculture was improved by careful cultivation; the fisheries flourished.

Charles V was himself Flemish born, and cherished the Netherlands more than any other part of his dominions. Nevertheless, he adopted measures of rigid repression when Protestantism crept in from Germany and France. These measures, however, caused no stirring of revolt, for Protestantism as yet was not widespread, and political grievances were lacking to swell the religious discontent.

417. Government of Charles V and Philip II

A change came when Charles, in 1556, resigned the government to his son, Philip II. With characteristic obstinacy and bigotry, Philip throughout his long reign sought to put down heresy everywhere, — in France, in England, in Germany, as well as in his own dominions. The edicts against heresy were enforced with greater severity; Spanish troops were kept in the land contrary to promise; and it was proposed to reorganize the church

in such a way as would increase the power of the crown and strengthen the Inquisition. Protestants and Catholics alike

THE NETHERLANDS, ABOUT 1650

united in opposing this measure, and at their head appeared one of the greatest statesmen produced by that age.

William of Orange-Nassau was born a Lutheran and a German; but upon succeeding, at the age of eleven, to the prin-

cipality of Orange (in southern France) and the possessions of his family in the Netherlands, he was educated as a Catholic. He won his surname, "the Silent," from the skill with which he masked his indignation when the French king at one time began to speak to him (as to one fully informed) of an agreement made with Philip II for rooting out heresy in the Netherlands. "From that hour," wrote William later, "I resolved with my whole soul to do my best to drive this Spanish vermin from the land."

418. William of Orange

WILLIAM THE SILENT
From an old print

At first Philip's measures called forth only peaceable resistance, in which both Catholics and Protestants joined. Philip was obliged to promise a redress of some grievances; but he accompanied this with a secret protest before a notary that he should not feel bound by his promise, because the concessions were not granted of his free will. The opposition gradually became more widespread, and the name "the Beggars" was adopted from a slighting remark of one of Philip's ministers. Protestant preachers used the opportunity to spread their teachings. The result was popular riots, in which churches were stripped of their rich images and shrines, and irreparable damage was done to art treasures.

419. Constitutional resistance

In 1567 Philip sent to the Netherlands as governor the duke of Alva, — a stern, narrow-minded bigot. William of Orange withdrew for a time to Germany. A tribunal, popularly known as the "Council of Blood," was appointed to hunt down all persons suspected of heresy or of participation in the late disorders. One of its members, it is said, usually slept during the proceedings; but when aroused, without inquiring

420. Tyranny of the duke of Alva

who was on trial or for what, he would cry out: "To the gallows, to the gallows!" A modern writer says: "From one end of the Netherlands to the other the executioners were busy with stake, sword, and gibbet, until the whole land ran red with blood." Many of the inhabitants emigrated to England and Germany, enriching those lands with their industrial skill. The climax of tyranny was reached when Alva imposed a tax of ten per cent on all sales of goods, — a measure which caused shops to close and trade to come to a standstill.

Cambridge Modern History, III, 217

Even before Alva's tyranny had reached its climax, constitutional resistance had grown into armed revolt. In 1568 William of Orange took the field, at the head of an army of German mercenaries, French Huguenots, and Netherlander exiles. But if the duke of Alva was tyrannical, he was also able. During the first four years of the struggle, "the Beggars" waged a losing fight. William was defeated and was again obliged to retire from the land. His feet were dogged by misfortunes, but he did not despair. "With God's help," he wrote, "I am determined to go on."

421. Armed revolt begun (1568)

At last the tide turned. Many of the exiles had taken to the sea, and under the name of "Beggars of the Sea" were preying on Spanish commerce. In 1572 a band of these freebooters seized the town of Brill, at the mouth of the river Meuse; and soon after they took by assault the important seaport of Flushing. With this event was laid the foundation of the free Netherlands. Town after town thereafter rose in revolt. The movement centered especially in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where William of Orange was strongest. Among the novelties of the war was the use of skates in winter attacks and maneuvers. Places retaken by the Spaniards were treated with ferocious cruelty, but this only nerved the Netherlanders to greater efforts.

422. Exploits of the "Sea Beggars"

Alva was recalled in 1573. His immediate successors carried on the war with greater moderation, but with no greater success. In 1574 the Spaniards laid siege to Leyden, situated on low ground, six miles from the sea. Under the leadership of its

heroic burgomaster, the citizens held out for four months. For seven weeks there was no bread within the city, and the people died by hundreds. At last William ordered the dikes to be cut. The sea swept over the land, drowning about 1000 of the besiegers; and Dutch barges, loaded with men and supplies, relieved the town.

423. The siege of Leyden (1574)

In 1578 a new regent arrived who followed a policy of sowing distrust between the northern and southern provinces. A permanent division of the Netherlands on racial and religious lines was the result. The ten southern provinces (now Belgium) were restored to Catholicism and to Spain. The seven northern provinces remained Protestant, and united in the Union of Utrecht (ū′trekt; 1579). Finally, in 1581, a formal declaration of independence was issued, and the Dutch Netherlands (now Holland, or the Netherlands) emerged as a separate nation under William of Orange. This is said to be "the first great example of a whole people officially renouncing allegiance to their hereditary and consecrated monarch." It was two generations in advance of the English Commonwealth (§ 488), and two centuries before the founding of the American and French republics.

424. Union formed and independence declared (1579–1581)

King Philip, meanwhile, had taken the despicable step of putting a price on William's head. In 1584 an assassin, animated by religious fanaticism no less than by hope of reward for his family, shot and mortally wounded that heroic leader. As the struggle with Spain had developed, William threw off Catholicism and accepted Calvinism. "Throughout he acted as politician, not as theologian. He was a diplomatist, not a reformer; a statesman, not a preacher; a man of the world, not a saint. As he passed into middle life and the terrific struggle which absorbed and killed him, he grew to a deeper conscience and a more spiritual temper." His place, like that of Washington, is firmly fixed among the creators of nations.

425. William of Orange assassinated (1584)

Harrison, *William the Silent*, 32

In spite of the death of William of Orange, the Dutch continued their struggle. But now there was less statesmanship

in their counsels. The different provinces were jealous of one another; opposite political and religious parties arose among the people; and the leaders engaged in desperate quarrels. One party wished to offer the crown of the Netherlands to France, and another to England. Both countries were jealous of the overgrown power of Spain and sent aid to the Dutch, but neither dared to accept the perilous offer. The destruction of the Spanish Armada by England, and the accession of Henry IV to the throne of France, destroyed Spain's chance of reconquering the revolted provinces. Nevertheless, Philip II doggedly protracted the struggle until his death in 1598; and it was not until 1609 that his successor, Philip III, would agree to terms. A truce for twelve years was then arranged. Before this expired the Thirty Years' War had begun in Germany, and the Dutch no longer stood alone. The independence of the seven United Provinces was formally recognized by Spain in 1648, just before the peace of Westphalia.

426. Close of the struggle

C. The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)

In 1618 there broke out in Germany the last great religious contest. From the length of time that it lasted it is known as the Thirty Years' War. In the beginning it was a war within the Empire, growing out of religious and political conflicts in Germany. As it progressed, Spain took an active part in it, Sweden at one time played the chief rôle, and France became a principal actor. Ultimately all the powers of western Europe were more or less involved. Its causes were (1) the opportunities for dispute between Catholics and Protestants left by the religious peace of Augsburg (§ 372), and (2) the increased strength of Catholicism due to the progress of the Counter Reformation.

427. Nature and causes of the contest

The war began with a revolt of the Bohemian Protestants against their rigidly Catholic king, a member of the Hapsburg house, who a few weeks later was elected Emperor as Ferdinand II. The count palatine of the Rhine, the leading

Calvinist prince of Germany, supported the revolt; but the Lutheran electors of Brandenburg and Saxony held aloof. The Palatinate was overrun by Spanish troops, and Ferdinand easily put down the Bohemians. Protestantism, which had been the religion of almost nine tenths of the inhabitants of Bohemia, was relentlessly rooted out. Thus one more land was added to those won back to Catholicism by the Counter Reformation.

428. Revolt in Bohemia (1618–1620)

BEGINNING OF THE BOHEMIAN REVOLT

Throwing the king's regents out of the windows at Prague

For a time (1625–1629) the Lutheran king of Denmark continued the war in behalf of the German Protestants. But money aid from England, upon which he counted, was not forthcoming, and he was obliged to make peace. The triumph of Ferdinand II was largely due to the rise of an able Bohemian nobleman named Wallenstein (wŏl'en-stīn) to chief command on the Catholic side. Without cost to the Emperor he raised a force of 50,000 men, drawn from every country of Europe, and supported by enforced contributions from the German states. As an organizer of troops Wallenstein was unsurpassed. As a general in the field he had only one rival (Tilly) on the Catholic side. As a statesman he was ambitious, calculating, tolerant in religion, and desirous of unifying Germany by building

429. Wallenstein, chief Catholic general

up the power of the Emperor at the expense of the German princes.[1]

430. Gustavus Adolphus, Protestant champion (1630–1632)

After the withdrawal of the Danish king, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden came forward as the chief Protestant champion. He was himself a sincere Lutheran and the head of a Lutheran state. In addition, the extension of the Emperor's power in northern Germany threatened the Swedish supremacy about the Baltic Sea which it was Gustavus's policy to build up. Gustavus landed in Germany in July, 1630. For a time the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony hung back, but when forced from their neutrality they chose the Protestant side. Protestant resentment against the Catholics was increased by the sacking and burning, by Catholic soldiers, of the city of Magdeburg, in which men, women, and children were massacred. At Breitenfeld (brī'ten-felt), near Leipzig, in September, 1631, Gustavus won an over-

Musketeer of Thirty Years' War

Showing gun rest in right hand, and burning "match," with which to fire the charge, in left.

Gustavus Adolphus

[1] The armies of the Thirty Years' War, like those of the Middle Ages, were without uniforms. To distinguish friends from foes, bands of white or red cloth were worn on the arm, hat, or cap. Soldiers often took their women and children with them on the march, and at times an army of 40,000 fighting men drew along with it a motley host of 140,000 camp followers. Troops and followers often appeared like hordes of beggars or famishing vagrants; but after the sack of a city or a successful marauding expedition, they could deck themselves with fine fabrics and gold and silver ornaments.

whelming victory. He then pushed on into southern Germany. Bavaria was occupied by his soldiers, while Saxon troops overran Bohemia.

The Catholic cause had been weakened by the Emperor's dismissal of Wallenstein, in 1629, as a concession to the princes, who complained of the methods by which he supported his armies, and feared his political plans. Now Ferdinand was obliged to recall Wallenstein on his own terms. Within a few months Wallenstein was again at the head of an army, and the Saxons were driven headlong out of Bohemia. At Lützen, however, he was defeated (in November, 1632) by the superior discipline of Gustavus's troops. But the Swedish victory was won at the cost of the life of their king, who fell riddled with bullets while leading a cavalry charge. Gustavus Adolphus was the greatest general of his time. He was the first of modern commanders to supply his army from a fixed base, instead of living upon the country; and the strict discipline of his troops was in marked contrast to the lawless violence of Wallenstein's forces. His death was an irreparable loss, not merely to his country, but to the Protestant cause. He was the one man who could unite German Protestants and successfully withstand both the ambitions of France and the fanaticism of the Emperor Ferdinand. When he fell, "all moral and religious ideal died out of the Thirty Years' War."

431. Death of Gustavus Adolphus (1632)

Wallenstein now sought to impose a peace upon Emperor, Swedes, and Saxons alike. How far his designs extended it is difficult to say. At all events, the jealousy of Ferdinand was aroused, and a proclamation was issued which again deposed him from his command and set a price upon his head. Wallenstein counted upon the devotion of his army, but at Eger (ā′ger), in Bohemia, he was murdered by four of his own officers. Next year the elector of Saxony retired from the contest. The desire, however, of France and Sweden to obtain lands in Germany protracted the war for more than a decade longer.

432. Assassination of Wallenstein (1634)

France's great minister Richelieu had supplied Gustavus

Adolphus with money for his war, and he now decided to take part openly in the contest on the Protestant side. The fact that the minister of a Catholic country, himself a cardinal of the Catholic Church, should do this shows that the Thirty Years' War was far from being merely a religious struggle. Thenceforth it consisted of a series of separate wars, centering in the great contest between the Bourbon house of France and the Hapsburg houses of Spain and Austria. The theater of the war was Germany, Italy, the Netherlands; its objects, the humiliation of the Hapsburgs, and the extension of France to the northeast. Under the guidance of Richelieu, France more and more gained the ascendancy. Into the details of this part of the war we cannot go. It is enough to say that gradually the power of Spain was broken, while Germany was rendered desolate.

433. Last phase of the war (1635–1648)

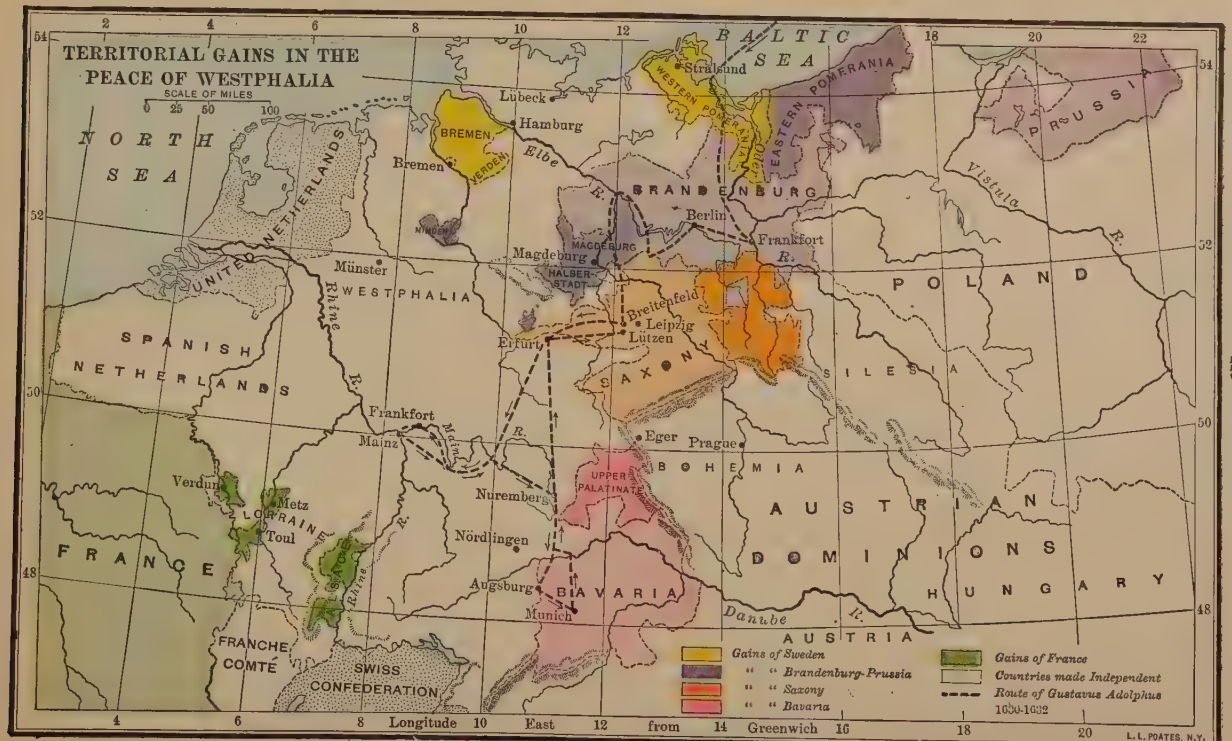
All parties were at last worn out by the struggle. After five years of tedious negotiations, treaties of peace were signed in Westphalia in 1648. The religious settlement included the following provisions: —

434. Peace of Westphalia (1648)

1. The peace of Augsburg, with its principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* (§ 372), was confirmed, and extended so as to include Calvinists as well as Lutherans.
2. Catholics and Protestants were to share alike in the administration of the Empire.
3. The church lands were to remain as they were in the year 1624, and the restoration of Catholicism in Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria was confirmed.

The conflicting political interests presented greater difficulties. In the end the following provisions were agreed to: —

1. Sweden received extensive territories on the German coasts of the Baltic and North seas as fiefs of the Empire.
2. France obtained Alsace, and was confirmed in possession of the border fortresses gained in 1552 (§ 371).
3. Saxony, Brandenburg, and other German states received additional territories.
4. The duke of Bavaria was given a vote in the electoral college,


TERRITORIAL GAINS IN THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
UNITED NETHERLANDS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SWISS CONFEDERATION
WESTPHALIA
BREMEN
VERDEN
MINDEN
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
MAGDEBURG
HALBERSTADT
SAXONY
SILESIA
POLAND
PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
LORRAINE
UPPER PALATINATE
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
HUNGARY
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Main R.
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Stralsund
Berlin
Frankfort
Magdeburg
Münster
Breitenfeld
Leipzig
Lützen
Erfurt
Frankfort
Mainz
Eger
Prague
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Nuremberg
Nördlingen
Augsburg
Munich
Gains of Sweden
" " Brandenburg-Prussia
" " Saxony
" " Bavaria
Gains of France
Countries made Independent
Route of Gustavus Adolphus 1630-1632
Longitude East from Greenwich
L. L. POATES, N.Y.

which thenceforth (until 1692; p. 426) numbered eight members.

5. The United Netherlands (Holland) and the Swiss Confederation were recognized as completely independent of the empire.

The Pope refused to sanction the treaties, and pronounced null and void the concessions to Protestants. His protests went unheeded, and from this time papal influence in international politics practically ceased. The importance of the peace of Westphalia was very great. It marked the close of one epoch and the opening of another. The long series of religious wars growing out of the Reformation was now at an end. There began a new period of international rivalry and war due to political and commercial causes and marked by the ascendancy of France.

435. Importance of peace of Westphalia

D. Germany and Spain after the Religious Wars

In concluding our account of the religious wars, something must be said of the internal and international conditions of Germany and Spain at their close. Seldom has warfare brought more suffering and desolation than did the Thirty Years' War to Germany. Its population, which in 1618 numbered between twenty and thirty millions, sank to about one half. Augsburg fell from 80,000 to 18,000, Berlin from 25,000 to 6000. Commerce and industry were annihilated. The Hanseatic League, already declining, was broken up, and most of the separate towns passed under the rule of neighboring princes. "How miserable are the cities," wrote a contemporary; "how wretched the smaller towns and open country! They lie burned, ruined, destroyed, with neither roof, rafters, doors, nor windows to be seen. How has it fared with the churches? They have been burned, or converted into stables for horses or booths for sutlers' stores. Their altars have been plundered and their bells carried off. O God, how lamentable are the villages! One may wander forty miles and scarcely see a human being, or an ox, — no,

436. Economic condition of Germany

Richter, *Quellenbuch*, no. 110

not even a sparrow." Two centuries passed before Germany recovered from the wasting effects of this dreadful war.

The political condition of Germany was equally discouraging. In form there was still an Emperor, imperial Diet, and imperial court of justice. In fact, everything rested with the separate states, of which (including the free cities) there were several hundred. They made their own laws, coined money, maintained armies, sent representatives to other courts, and could even form foreign alliances, except against the empire or Emperor. All sense of German patriotism was stifled.

437. Its political condition

By a separate treaty Spain acknowledged the independence of the United Netherlands (Holland). She refused, however, to give her assent to other provisions of the peace of Westphalia; and for eleven years longer the Franco-Spanish war dragged on, until ended by a peace in 1659. Spain's international position in the seventeenth century was much lower than it had been in the sixteenth. The German Hapsburg lands, with the imperial office, were now in the hands of the younger branch of the family (§ 374); the Dutch Netherlands had successfully revolted; and Portugal, which in 1581 had been made a Spanish province, regained its independence in 1640.

438. International position of Spain

These external losses were accompanied by internal decay. The constant wars in which the ambitious plans of Charles V and Philip II involved Spain weakened her resources in men and in money. The Inquisition, which stamped out all opposition to church or crown, undermined freedom of thought and of initiative. The expulsion, in 1609, of the descendants of the Moors reduced the population by hundreds of thousands. The flood of gold and silver brought in from the New World proved as much of a curse as a blessing. Together with slavery, it bred a contempt for honest labor and produced a false system of political economy — the "mercantile" system — under which the efforts of government were directed chiefly to increasing the stock of precious metals, instead of fostering trade and industry. The Spanish character, with its intolerance, pride, and southern indolence,

439. Its internal decay

contributed to the decline. Finally, after the death of Philip II, its kings were mere figureheads, and its ministers incompetent favorites. Under Charles V Spain was the first state of Europe, and her might overshadowed the world. A hundred years later she had declined to a third-rate power.

440. Spanish literature and art

The period of Spain's political decline was nevertheless an epoch of great literary and artistic excellence. Cervan'tes (died 1616) wrote his inimitable satire on chivalry, *Don Quixote;* and Lope de Vega (lō'pā dā vā'gä) and Calderon, who flourished somewhat later, founded the Spanish drama. This was also the period of the great Spanish painters Velásquez and Murillo (§ 345). It seemed as if Spain, at the very moment when she was losing her political supremacy, might exercise a literary and artistic empire. But this glory also was not long in escaping her.

IMPORTANT DATES

1562. Huguenot wars in France begun.
1568. Revolt of the Netherlands begun.
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1584. William of Orange assassinated.
1598. Henry IV issues the Edict of Nantes.
1618. Beginning of the Thirty Years' War in Germany.
1624. Richelieu becomes chief minister of France.
1632. Gustavus Adolphus slain in the battle of Lützen.
1634. Wallenstein assassinated.
1648. Peace of Westphalia.

1581 Netherlands

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What motives other than the religious one entered into the Huguenot wars? (2) Can you see any reasons why massacres and assassinations were more frequent in the religious struggles of France than elsewhere? (3) Do you think Henry IV did right in giving up Protestantism and becoming a Catholic in 1593? Give your reasons. (4) Was the Edict of Nantes a wise settlement of the religious question for France? Why? (5) In what respects was the internal administration of France under Henry IV and Sully better than under Richelieu? (6) In what ways was Richelieu a great minister? (7) Was the prosperity of the Netherlands

in the sixteenth century greater or less than in the Middle Ages? (8) Were religious or political motives more important in causing the revolt of the Netherlands? (9) To what were due the divisions which arose between the northern and the southern provinces? (10) What qualities made William of Orange a great leader? (11) To what was due the final success of the Netherlands? (12) Were the causes of the Thirty Years' War in Germany more religious or political? (13) What is shown by the attitude of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg toward the Bohemian revolt? (14) Why did the English kings promise aid to the German Protestants? (15) Why did France aid them? (16) In what ways was Gustavus Adolphus a great ruler? (17) Did the Protestants gain or lose on the whole by the Thirty Years' War? (18) Why did the religious wars do more injury to Germany than to France?

Search Topics. — (1) COLIGNY. Besant, *Gaspard de Coligny.* — (2) MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. Besant, *Coligny*, 197–218; Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 179–183; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, 333–338. — (3) HENRY OF NAVARRE. Willert, *Henry of Navarre*, 328–346 (religious settlement), 347–368 (reforms), chs. v, vi, ix (character). — (4) PHILIP II OF SPAIN. Hume, *Philip II*, 1–6, and ch. xviii; Motley, *Dutch Republic*, Pt. I, ch. i (older view); Dunn Pattison, *Leading Figures in European History*, 245–273; Robinson, II, 168–171. — (5) CONDITION OF THE NETHERLANDS BEFORE THE REVOLT. Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 224–234; Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Introduction, secs. x–xii; Griffis, *Brave Little Holland*, chs. xiii–xvii; Rogers, *Holland*, 12–45. — (6) WILLIAM THE SILENT. Motley, Pt. VI, ch. vi; Harrison, *William the Silent*, 208–211, and ch. xii; Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 254–270. — (7) SIEGE OF LEYDEN. Motley, Pt. IV, ch. ii. — (8) CAUSES OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, I, ch. xvii; Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War*, 1–30. — (9) WALLENSTEIN. Henderson, I, ch. xvii. — (10) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. Gardiner, 136–162; Häusser, *Reformation*, 458–482; Dunn Pattison, *Leading Figures*, 274–300; Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus.* — (11) TREATY OF WESTPHALIA. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. xx; Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, 120–128; Henderson, *Short History*, I, 490–495; Robinson, *Readings*, II, 213–216. — (12) EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON GERMANY. Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War;* Henderson, *Short History*, I, 496–497. — (13) RICHELIEU'S LIFE AND CHARACTER. Lodge, *Richelieu*, ch. i, and 221–229. — (14) FRANCE UNDER RICHELIEU. Lodge, *Richelieu*, ch. viii; Perkins, *Richelieu*, ch. ix.

General Reading. — Ranke's *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France* is a good account of the French religious wars. Baird's *Rise of the Huguenots* (2 vols.) is the standard work on this subject. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (various editions) is a classic. Gardiner's *Thirty Years' War* is an excellent brief sketch, by one of the greatest of English historians.

Louis XIV. From the painting by Rigaud in the Louvre, Paris

CHAPTER XX

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

A. The Government of France

In the period which opened with the peace of Westphalia a new political principle began to govern international relations. For a hundred years before that peace, religious motives were the real or avowed reason for most of the European wars and alliances. Now motives became wholly political, and international relations were governed by the idea of a "Balance of Power." This phrase meant that no one state or prince should be allowed to become so powerful as to overshadow the rest. If one great state gained territory anywhere, its rivals claimed the right to despoil some weaker neighbor. We can see the beginning of this principle in the last phase of the Thirty Years' War. In the new period it "formed the basis of the coalitions against Louis XIV and Napoleon, and was the occasion or the excuse for most of the wars which desolated Europe between the congress of Münster [peace of Westphalia] in 1648 and that of Vienna in 1814." France now held the ascendancy which Spain had formerly enjoyed, and the purpose of its policy was to extend that kingdom to its natural mountain and river boundaries. In the interest of the Balance of Power other nations combined to prevent this expansion. From the long reign of the French king Louis XIV, and the prominent part which France played in literature and culture as well as in war and politics, the first half of this period is well called the Age of Louis XIV.

441. The Balance of Power

Encyclopedia Britannica (11th ed.), III, 235

Upon Richelieu's death (in December, 1642), he was succeeded as chief minister of France by Cardinal Mazarin (mȧ-zȧ-răn′), an Italian who early left the papal service for that

of France. Five months later Louis XIII himself passed away, leaving the throne to his son, Louis XIV, then less than five years old. Anne of Austria, the queen mother, was named regent. She confirmed Mazarin in office, and so long as he lived she supported him. He had to face the opposition of the Parlement of Paris (the chief judicial body of France), riots among the people of Paris, and the intrigues and rebellions of the French nobles. Whether Anne was secretly married to Mazarin or not, is one of the riddles of history.[1]

442. Mazarin, chief minister (1642–1661)

Mazarin lacked the creative genius of Richelieu, but was well qualified to carry on an established system of government. The device upon his arms was "Time and I." He was tricky, fond of money, and a great collector of rare books and works of art. He was hated because he was a foreigner and the favorite of a foreign queen, and because he continued a policy fatal to the nobility and oppressive to the people. Nevertheless he is entitled to rank as a great minister, because of his triumphs in foreign affairs and the success with which he maintained the authority of the crown at home.

In 1661 Mazarin died. Louis XIV, who was then twenty-three years old, announced that thereafter he would be his own minister, and that he "was unwilling to have the least ordinance or the least passport signed without receiving his orders." The young king had considerable ability, was well trained, and worked with the greatest industry at what he called "his trade of king." He discharged the public duties of his office with much dignity and tact, and showed a refinement of behavior which made his court the model of Europe.

443. Louis XIV his own minister (1661)

The idea of government held by Louis XIV is summed up in the words (which, however, he never uttered in precisely this form): "*L'état c'est moi*" — "I am the state." This saying embodied the theory of the "divine right" of kings. According to this theory, kings were appointed by God as His representatives on earth. They were the *source* of law, and

444. The divine right of kings

[1] Since Mazarin, although a cardinal, was only in minor clerical orders, it was possible for him to contract a valid marriage.

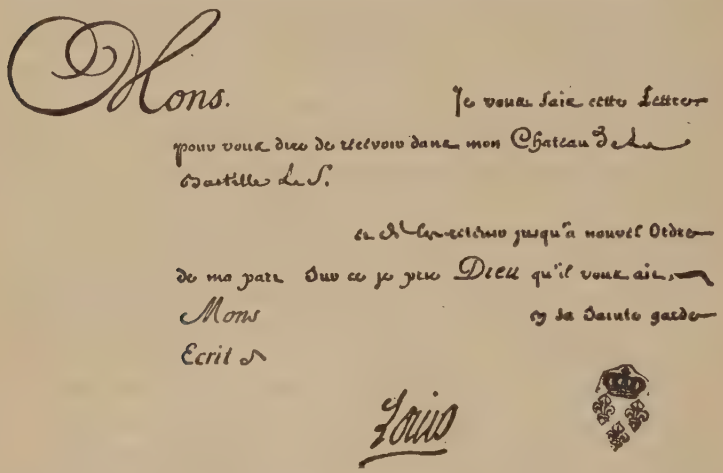
could not themselves be *controlled* by law. "The whole duty of subjects," to use Louis's own words, "consists in carrying into effect the commands given them." The obedience exacted by Louis XIV was a blind, machine-like submission. "For subjects to rise against their prince, however wicked and oppressive he may be, is always infinitely criminal. God, who has given kings to men, has willed that they should be revered as His lieutenants, and has reserved to Himself alone the right to review their conduct. His will is that he who is born a subject should obey without question."

Under Louis XIV the government was absolute to the last degree. The relentless policy of Richelieu and Mazarin had reduced the disorderly feudal nobles to the position of mere courtiers, who possessed many privileges but no political powers. The Estates-General were not summoned after 1614, the Parlement was confined to its judicial duties, and "intendants" (governors of provinces) were held to strict accountability. It should be remembered that there was no Great Charter in France to safeguard the liberties of the people. The king had unlimited power, both in taxing his subjects and in expending the state revenues. Worse than this, the king had the right to imprison or to exile any of his subjects without trial or even formal charge, by means of a system of *lettres de cachet* (lĕt'tr' dĕ cȧ-shā'). These were letters written by order of the king, countersigned by a secretary of state, and signed with the king's seal (*cachet*). The persons against whom the letters were issued usually deserved punishment; but the system lacked all safeguards of personal liberty, such as *habeas corpus* proceedings and trial by jury, which are the pride of the English law. Under Louis XIV's successors, the letters were sometimes issued in blank, leaving to the person obtaining them the right to fill in such names as he chose. The most celebrated of Louis's prisoners was the mysterious "Man in the Iron Mask," — really a mask of black velvet. Many attempts have been made to establish the identity of this unhappy prisoner, but without general acceptance of their results.

445. Absence of checks on the king's power

Under the inspiration of Louis XIV, trained and able ministers organized the foreign office, the internal administration, and the war department. The principles on which these departments were organized were soon adopted by the leading countries of Europe. The military improvements included uniforms to distinguish the different regiments; bayonets affixed to the muskets, to serve as pikes; marching in step; pontoon bridges; and the Hôtel des Invalides (ō-tĕl′ dā zăn-vä-lēd′), a home for disabled soldiers. Vauban (vō-bäN′), the

446. Military reforms


Mons.

Je vous fais cette Lettre pour vous dire de recevoir dans mon Chateau de la Bastille M. S.

et de la retenir jusqu'à nouvel Ordre de ma part. Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait Mons en sa Sainte garde

Ecrit à

Louis

LETTRE DE CACHET

"Mr. ——. I send you this letter to tell you to receive in my chateau of the Bastille Mr. —— and to hold him until further orders from me. And I pray God to have you, Mr. ——, in his holy keeping. Written at ——.

LOUIS.

creator of the engineer corps, made many advances in the art of fortifying and taking cities. "A city besieged by Vauban," says a proverb of the time, "is a captured city; a city defended by him, an impregnable one." For many years thereafter, the French army remained without an equal in Europe.

The internal administration was placed in the hands of Colbert (cōl-bâr′), one of the greatest finance ministers that France ever produced. When he took charge of the revenues there

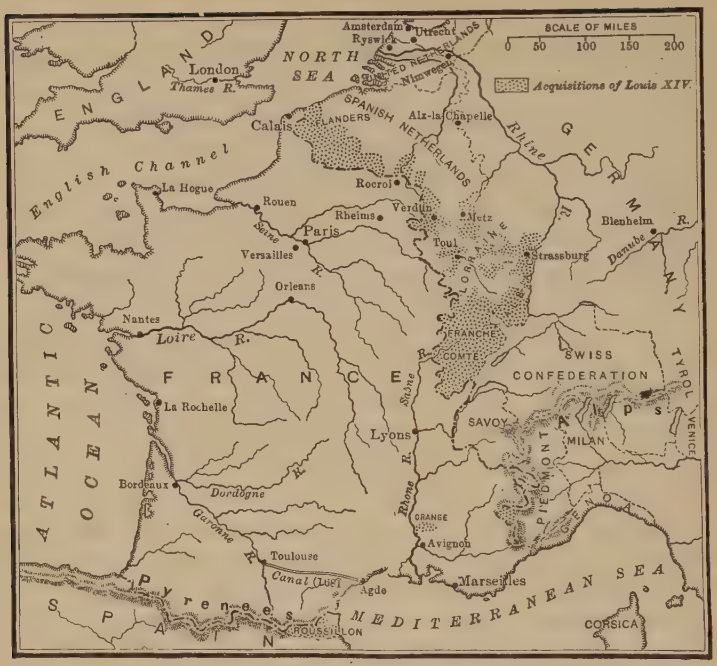
was no system of accounts, no thought of economy, and no check against dishonesty. Hereditary offices were created for the sole purpose of selling them. Taxes were "farmed out" on ruinous terms.[1] Of the vast sums collected from the people, less than half found its way into the king's treasury. The revenues were spent two years before they were collected. There were debts of large amounts drawing interest at exorbitant rates. Out of this financial chaos Colbert soon brought order. The number of those exempted from taxes was reduced. The cost of collecting the revenues was cut down one half. The plunderers of the treasury were forced to disgorge. Fraudulent certificates of debt were repudiated. A proper system of bookkeeping was introduced. Within a year, Colbert was able to show a surplus of forty-five million francs ($9,000,000) without having perceptibly increased the burden of taxation.

447. Colbert reforms the finances

In other ways, also, Colbert was active. Roads were improved, and a system of canals was constructed, of which the most important was one connecting the Atlantic with the Mediterranean (see map, p. 388). Manufactures were encouraged by a system of tariffs, bounties, and monopolies. Five great commercial companies were formed on the model of the Dutch and English East India companies. The navy and merchant marine were developed. Many islands in the West Indies were acquired. The French colony of Canada — neglected by Richelieu — was fostered; and steps were taken to occupy the Mississippi valley, which had just been explored by La Salle. The way was open for France at this time to secure the commercial and colonial supremacy of the world. But Louis XIV preferred the traditional but disastrous path of military glory, and soon abandoned the wise policies of Colbert.

448. Manufactures, commerce, and colonies

[1] Under this system the right to collect certain taxes was granted to a company of speculators (called "farmers-general"), who paid a fixed sum to the government every year in advance. All beyond this amount the "farmers-general" put in their own pockets or divided with influential courtiers and corrupt officials. The agents who collected the taxes were notoriously greedy and oppressive. This system lasted, with some modifications, down to the French Revolution.



FRANCE: ACQUISITIONS OF LOUIS XIV

B. WARS OF LOUIS XIV

A passion for fame and the desire to increase French territory in Europe were the leading motives of Louis XIV. These produced the four wars of his reign.

449. First war of Louis XIV (1667–1668)

The first war (1667–1668) had for its object the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, to which Louis XIV advanced a flimsy claim. The independent Dutch Netherlands thereupon concluded with England and Sweden a Triple Alliance against France. Louis was soon forced to sign a peace by which he surrendered most of his conquests. Against "their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces," who had balked him of his prey, Louis XIV cherished a lively resentment.

The prosperity of the Dutch Netherlands had continued undiminished in the first half of the seventeenth century. In America they colonized New York and New Jersey; in Asia they secured Ceylon and Java; in Africa they founded Cape Colony (Cape of Good Hope). Said an old writer: "Like bees they gathered honey from every land. Norway was their forest; the banks of the Rhine, the Garonne, and the Dordogne their vineyards; Germany, Spain, and Ireland their sheep pastures; Prussia and Poland their grain fields; India and Arabia their spice gardens." They became masters of the seas, and had the chief share of the carrying trade of the world. A serious source of danger, however, was the commercial rivalry of England. After much friction between the two countries, the English Parliament, in 1651, passed the first Navigation Act, under which foreign ships might import into England or her colonies only the products of their own countries. The Navigation Act was especially designed to wrest from the Dutch the control of the carrying trade of the world. Two wars with England followed, the first lasting from 1651 to 1654, the second from 1665 to 1667. Just before the second war, the Dutch colonies in North America were taken by the English. In the end the Dutch were obliged to accept a peace by which the Navigation Act remained in force. The republic's greatest prosperity was thus already past, when the Dutch became involved in war with France.

450. The Dutch Netherlands (1609–1667)

Wicquefort, in Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale* VI, 488

Soldier of Louis XIV

As a preliminary to this war, Louis won Sweden and England from the Triple Alliance. Charles II of England even agreed to assist Louis, and secretly pledged himself to adopt the Catholic religion whenever conditions seemed ripe for that step. The army which Louis gathered num-

451. Louis's war with the Dutch (1672–1678)

bered more than 120,000 men. On the French side the war was characterized by the brilliant strategy of a great general, Turenne (tü-rĕn′), until his death in 1675. The Dutch resisted doggedly, cutting the dikes to save Amsterdam. On the sea their intrepid admiral, De Ruyter, twice defeated the French and English fleets.

William III of Orange, the great-grandson of William the Silent, became captain general of the Dutch Republic in 1672.[1]

452. William III becomes captain general (1672)

The remainder of his life, until his death in 1702, was one long struggle against the power of Louis XIV. By forming a new coalition of European states, he was able to hold his own against France. In England Parliament forced Charles II to make peace with the Dutch. This was cemented by a marriage between Mary, the oldest daughter of Charles's brother James, and her cousin William III.

In 1678 Louis XIV agreed to a peace with the Dutch. His only substantial gains were made at the expense of Spain, which

453. End of the war (1678)

ceded to France the Franche-Comté (on the eastern border of France), and a number of places in the Spanish Netherlands. The attempt to conquer the Dutch had failed ingloriously.

During the ten years following this peace, Louis XIV, on one pretext or another, seized about twenty towns on the

454. French aggressions cause a new coalition

borders of France and Germany. Strassburg, the chief place of Alsace, was included in this number; and the genius of Vauban soon made it one of the strongest fortresses of the kingdom. The German Emperor was too much occupied at this time with the Turks on the Danube to resist such high-handed proceedings, and other powers were loath to go to war. However, in 1686, the Emperor, Spain, Sweden, the princes of North Germany, and the Dutch United Provinces joined in a league to oppose France. Two years later William III of Orange succeeded by revolution to the throne of his father-in-law, James II of England. Great Britain then ranged

[1] The power of the house of Orange was not made definitely hereditary over all the seven provinces until 1747. From a federal republic the Dutch Netherlands (Holland) then became a federal principality, its ruler bearing the title "Stadholder."

itself definitely against France. Against this coalition of European powers, Louis XIV stood alone.

455. Third war of Louis XIV (1689–1697)

The third war of Louis's reign followed (1689–1697). So far as Europe was concerned, it was chiefly a war over the succession to the Palatinate of the Rhine, the greater part of which was claimed by the brother of the French king. Its chief event on the Continent was the frightful wasting of that fertile German province by Louis's express orders. Cities, cathedrals, and a large number of castles on the Rhine were ruthlessly destroyed. The war was also a part of the lifelong duel in which William III and Louis XIV were now engaged. Twenty times William barely escaped being crushed. But he "represented the ideas of the future — free thought in religion, popular sovereignty in politics"; and these principles sustained and inspired him. In yet another aspect the war was the first stage of a vast world-wide contest — a new "hundred years' war" — between England and France. These two powers were now beginning to contend for sea power, colonial dominion, and the commercial supremacy of the world. In 1692 the English recovered the mastery of the sea, by a victory off La Hogue (ōg) — "the greatest naval victory won by the English between the defeat of the Armada and the battle of Trafalgar (1805)." The war spread to America, where the chief event was the conquest of Acadia from France by the Massachusetts colonists (1690). The exhaustion of all parties led to a new peace in 1697. France and England restored their recent acquisitions of territory, but Louis XIV was allowed to keep Strassburg.

Within four years from the conclusion of this peace, war blazed forth anew, on a yet more disastrous scale. The cause of conflict was now the question of the Spanish succession.

456. The Spanish succession

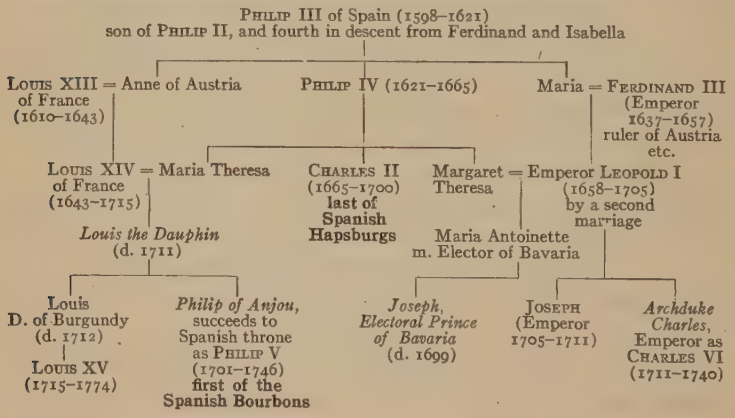
Charles II of Spain, the last male representative of the Spanish Hapsburg line, was weak in body and mind, and without children. The inheritance which he would leave embraced "twenty-two crowns"; and included Spain, the greater part of Italy, the Spanish Netherlands, the Philippine

Islands, and a vast American empire. If the rules governing private inheritances were followed, the whole of these territories would go either to the French or to the Austrian monarch. This would violate the principle of the Balance of Power, which required that no state should be allowed to grow so great as to threaten the others. The European Powers therefore sought to settle the question before the death of the Spanish king, by arranging a partition treaty for the division of the Spanish territories among the chief claimants.[1] This arrangement, however, wounded Spanish pride. The national party among the Spaniards, therefore, induced Charles II to make a will, three weeks before his death (1700), by which he left the whole inheritance to the dauphin's *second* son, Philip.

457. War of the Spanish Succession (1701)

Louis XIV had solemnly pledged his honor to the partition treaty, but acceptance of the legacy offered greater prospect of gain. His decision was announced when he appeared, leaning upon the arm of his grandson, and pre-

[1] By this treaty (1700) the Emperor's *second* son (the Archduke Charles) was to secure Spain, the "Indies" — that is, the American colonies and the Philippines — and the Netherlands. The dauphin of France was to receive certain other territories. An earlier partition treaty (1698) had given the greater part of the Spanish inheritance to the young Electoral Prince Joseph, of Bavaria. This arrangement was upset by his death the following year. The descent of the various claimants is shown by the following table, their names being printed in *italics:* —



sented him to the court, saying, "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain!" The spirit which animated the court is summed up in the saying (wrongly ascribed to Louis himself), "The Pyrenees no longer exist." A new coalition, which embraced England, Austria, the Dutch, and certain German provinces, was soon in arms to check this great increase of the Bourbon power.

458. England's trade interests involved

The war was waged in Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and North America. The question at issue was not merely the disposal of the Spanish Hapsburg possessions in Europe, but whether France should be allowed to add to her own North American colonies the control of Spain's vast colonial empire. English traders had managed to carry on a profitable (but illegal) commerce with the Spanish colonies in America. This would be stopped if the strong rule of France was substituted for the weak rule of Spain. For this reason the trading classes in England gave loyal support to the war.

459. Marlborough at the head of the allies

At the head of the allied forces were the imperialist general Eugene of Savoy and the English duke of Marlborough. Both are ranked among the greatest generals of history. Of Marlborough it was said that he "never besieged a fortress which he did not take, never fought a battle which he did not win, never conducted a negotiation which he did not bring to a successful close." The two generals acted in perfect harmony, but each was hampered by political enemies at home. The French generals were not the equals of Eugene and Marlborough, and they were hampered by the necessity of having precise orders from the king for all that they did.

460. Battle of Blenheim (1704)

In 1704 Eugene and Marlborough won the great battle of Blenheim (blĕn'ĭm) from the French and the Bavarians, who were advancing upon Vienna by way of the Danube. This battle broke the spell of Louis's victories and preserved the coalition. It increased the renown of the English soldiery and confirmed the revolution which had driven James II from the English throne. In spite of the view set forth by the English poet Southey (in his poem "The Battle of Blenheim") it *was* "a famous victory," and was decisive of great issues.

461. Peace of Utrecht (1713)

Other brilliant victories of the allies finally led Louis XIV to negotiate for peace, which was concluded at Utrecht in 1713. Its chief provisions were the following: —

1. Philip V was recognized as king of Spain and the Indies, on condition that France and Spain should never be united under the same sovereign.
2. The Austrian ruler received Naples, Milan, Sardinia (soon exchanged for Sicily), and the former Spanish Netherlands.
3. England received Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay territory from France. From Spain she secured Gibraltar, the island of Minorca (in the Mediterranean; lost again in 1756), and limited rights of trade with Spanish America.

Territorial Gains of the War of the Spanish Succession

The peace of Utrecht closes the long struggle — dating from before the days of Richelieu — of France against the Austro-Spanish power. A Bourbon was seated on the throne of Spain; but England had begun that expulsion of France from Canada

which was completed fifty years later. Austria for her part secured not merely the Spanish Netherlands, but also a hold upon Italy which she did not finally lose until 1866. The Dutch were forced into the peace against their will, and sank to the rank of a third-rate power.

Louis XIV died September 1, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven. He had reigned seventy-two years — the longest reign in European history. He had set a Bourbon on the throne of Spain in place of a Hapsburg. He had enlarged the borders of France on the south by the acquisition of a small county on the French side of the Pyrenees. On the east he had advanced its boundary to the Swiss Confederation and to the Rhine. On the north he had extended the frontier a considerable distance by taking several strips of territory from the Spanish Netherlands (map, p. 388). In spite of some defeats, France remained the leading state of Europe, though with lessened prestige. It owed its importance not merely to the ambition of its king, but to the energy and ability of the French people, the richness of its soil, and the advantages of its geographical position.

462. Death of Louis XIV (1715)

C. Social Conditions and Culture

In the midst of his wars, Louis XIV found time both for a long quarrel with the Pope (which he brought to a successful conclusion) and for the suppression of the Huguenot religion. His policy against his Huguenot subjects was as much political as religious. They formed about one fifteenth of the population of France, and were by far the thriftiest and most enterprising part of the nation. But Louis's suspicion that they were still disloyal to the crown, his passion for uniformity, a desire to prove his orthodoxy, and his religious bigotry alike urged him to suppress the Huguenots. An impulse in the same direction came from the religious zeal of Madame de Maintenon (măn-t'nôn′), the estimable governess of his children, to whom he was secretly married after the death of his queen. After numerous attempts at peaceful conversion of the Hugue-

463. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)

nots, the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. All protection of law was thus withdrawn from the French Protestants. Their worship was suppressed, their ministers were ordered to leave France within fifteen days, and their adherents were forbidden to follow them. Many pastors who braved the edict suffered the penalty of death. Hundreds of their followers who were taken in the attempt to flee were sentenced to long years of service at the oar in French galleys. More than 250,000 Huguenots succeeded, however, in making their escape from France, and carried to other countries French arts, the secrets of French manufactures, and hatred for Louis XIV. The industries of England, Holland, and Brandenburg profited greatly from this emigration. America found in the Huguenots some of her most desirable colonists. France lost many of her choicest citizens, who carried with them treasures of heroism, of constancy, of disinterestedness, which she could ill spare.

464. Rise of international law

It is remarkable that in the age of Louis XIV, when foreign relations were governed chiefly by unscrupulous ambition, there were laid the foundations of scientific international law. In the treatises published on this subject,[1] the following principles (of which the reign of Louis XIV was one long violation) were laid down to guide states in their relations with one another: —

1. War should be carried on only for a just cause, and for the purpose of defense.
2. Do no more injury to the vanquished than is strictly necessary.
3. Force alone ought not to regulate the relations of peoples, for there is justice between states as well as between individuals.
4. To observe treaties is the wisest practice and the greatest strength of sovereigns.

In spite of its almost constant warfare, the reign of Louis XIV saw a general advance in the ways of living and in culture. A system of street lighting for Paris was established, by which

[1] The most important among these works were the treatise of a Hollander named Grotius, *On the Law of War and Peace* (published in 1625), and that of a German named Pufendorf, *On the Law of Nature and of Nations* (published in 1672).

a lantern containing a lighted candle was placed at the entrance or in the middle of each street every night from November 1 to March 1. Within the houses, candles and shallow lamps filled with animal or vegetable oils still furnished the only lights.[1] With better paved streets, carriages could be used; and cabs for hire, and even the "omnibus" following a fixed route, were introduced. For travel from city to city, heavy coaches were provided which took fourteen days to go from Paris to Bordeaux. Tobacco began to be used in France in the preceding reign. Coffee was first brought from the eastern Mediterranean under Louis XIV, and the example of the Turkish ambassador made it the fashionable drink. Chocolate was introduced from Central America, and tea from China, at about the same time.

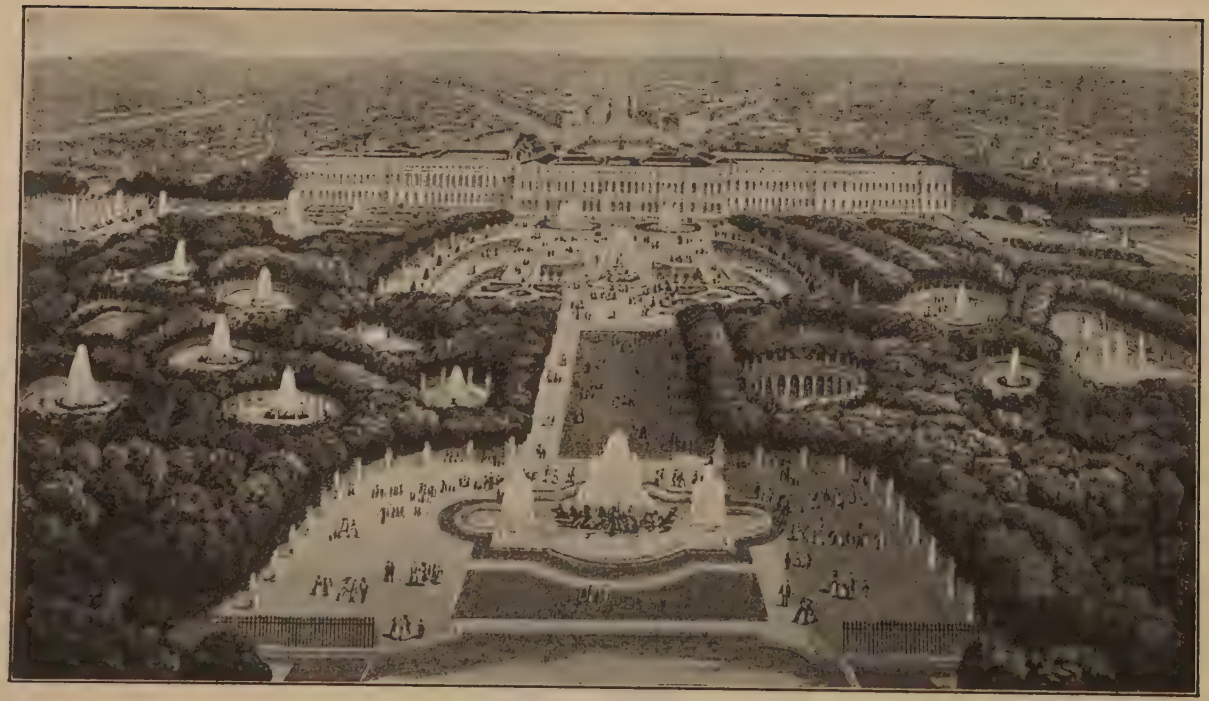
465. Social life and condition of the people

COSTUME OF NOBLEMAN IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV

French civilization became the most brilliant in all Europe, and its center was Louis's court at Versailles (vĕr-sä′y'), about twelve miles from Paris. His palace there, with its gardens and outlying buildings, was the most magnificent ever seen in the West. Its construction cost France more than a hundred million dollars. The life of the palace was on an equally splendid and costly scale. Five thousand attendants served the wants of the king and the royal family. In addition, the chief officers of the government, with their clerks, and a great part of the nobility of France, were housed at Versailles. The nobles were attracted there not only by the splendor of the court, but also because it was only by living close to the king, — the source of all power, — that they could hope to win favors, pensions, and offices.

466. The court at Versailles

[1] Kerosene and improved lamps are first met with in the middle of the nineteenth century. Gas lighting came into use in cities a little earlier.



PALACE AND GARDENS OF VERSAILLES

The palace, 1900 feet long, was erected in 1668–1688.

Every act of the king was governed by a most elaborate ceremonial. "Etiquette," it has been said, "became the real constitution of France." The king's rising in the morning was an occasion which it was accounted a great privilege to attend. The manner of putting on each garment was minutely regulated. It required seven persons to put on the king's shirt.[1] The same pomp and ceremony surrounded the king's meals and his going to bed. A French historian says of Louis XIV: "He was a god in his temple, celebrating his own worship, in the midst of his host of priests and faithful."

467. Its elaborate etiquette

The brilliancy of Louis's court was not due entirely to its gorgeous trappings, the polished manners and extravagant pleasures of the courtiers, and the beauty of the court ladies. His liberal gifts attracted men of wit and learning, who spread the glories of his court throughout Europe. The age of Louis XIV was one of the most brilliant in the history of French literature. By means of the French "Academy" (founded by Richelieu), and a system of pensions for literary effort, great men were fostered and rewarded. Corneille (cor-nā′y′) founded the classical school of French dramatists. His younger contemporary, Racine (ra-sēn′), is styled by a French critic "the most perfect of our tragedians, and perhaps of our poets." Molière (mō-lyâr′), in a series of admirable comedies, held up to ridicule the vices and follies of the time. The names of many others — poets, philosophers, orators, and moralists — might be added to the list. Coming between the religious reformers of the sixteenth century and the political reformers of the eighteenth, these writers were occupied chiefly with matters of literary form. They sought to ascertain and establish the laws of good taste. They exerted a strong influence on English

468. Literature under Louis XIV

[1] "A valet of the wardrobe brought the king's shirt; he passed it to the first gentleman of the bedchamber, who handed it to the dauphin, or (in his absence) to one of the other princes, who gave it to the king. Two valets of the bedchamber then held up his majesty's dressing-gown to conceal him from the gaze of the onlookers. The first valet of the bedchamber and the first valet of the wardrobe then put on the shirt, the one holding it by the right sleeve, the other by the left." — Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, VI, 198.

writers of the eighteenth century, of whom the poet Pope is the most striking example. In painting, however, the art of France could show nothing to compare in strength and effectiveness with the work of the Dutch painter Rembrandt (§ 345).

469. Influence of France in Europe

France now became the center of fashion for the civilized world. This was true alike in literature, art, dress, and court etiquette. Every little princeling in Europe sought to set up a court like that of the Grand Monarch of France. The French tongue became the universal language of diplomacy, philosophy, and high society. "The taste of France," wrote Frederick the Great of Prussia some years later, "rules our cooking, our furniture, our clothes, and all those trifles over which the tyranny of fashion exercises its empire." The sway over Europe which Louis XIV was not able to conquer with the sword was peaceably won by French intelligence and taste.

470. Internal ills of France

There is, however, another side to the picture. The palace of Versailles, with all its splendors, lacked sanitary appliances. To cover its bad odors, perfumes were freely used. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the habit of bathing all over was introduced into fashionable society from England. The moral tone of the French court was extremely corrupt. Its luxury and the costly wars of the reign reduced the peasantry to its lowest condition. An author of that time (Fénelon) dared to write to the king: "Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of the soil is almost abandoned. The towns and the country decrease in population." In time of famine peasants were reduced to living on grass, nettles, roots, and whatever else they might find. In internal administration the absolute monarchy of France proved a failure. "French kings knew how to exact obedience, but they did not know how to govern." At home the reign of Louis XIV established political despotism, economic misery, and social inequality. The logical outcome of these evils was the French Revolution, which broke out three quarters of a century later.

IMPORTANT DATES

1661. Death of Mazarin; Louis XIV takes the government into his own hands.
1672. Louis XIV attacks the Dutch Netherlands.
1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
1689. War over the Palatinate begun.
1701–1713. War of the Spanish Succession.
1704. Battle of Blenheim.
1715. Death of Louis XIV.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) To what extent does the principle of the Balance of Power affect the relations of European states at the present time? (2) What are its good features? Its bad ones? (3) Compare the "divine right" theory of government held by Louis XIV with the claims of the medieval Popes. (4) Was the prosperity of the early part of the reign of Louis XIV due to the king or to his ministers? (5) What were the effects of Louis XIV's wars on France? (6) Compare the objects of the English wars with the Dutch with those of Louis XIV against the same people. (7) What advantages did England reap from her Dutch wars? (8) What led to the cessation of wars between the English and the Dutch? (9) Why was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes unwise? (10) Was Louis XIV's conduct with reference to the Spanish succession honorable or dishonorable? Was it expedient or inexpedient for France? (11) Why did William III make himself the head of the opposition to Louis XIV? (12) What was the prize at issue in the series of wars between England and France? (13) Why did sea power now begin to be important? (14) Did Louis XIV do more good or harm to France?

Search Topics. — (1) Louis XIV's Character and Abilities. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, ch. v; Hassall, *Louis XIV*, ch. iii; Dunn Pattison, *Leading Figures in European History*, 306–328; Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 4–10. — (2) Colbert's Economic Policy. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, ch. iv; Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despots*, ch. i; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 12–14. — (3) Court Life at Versailles. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, ch. v; Hassall, *Louis XIV*, ch. xi; Taine, *Ancient Régime*, 86–90, 100–109; Dabney, *Causes of the French Revolution*, ch. xii. — (4) Influence of Madame de Maintenon. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, 148–160. — (5) Effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, 199–203; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 534–535. — (6) Huguenots in America. Parkman, *Pioneers* (ed. 1887), 27–179; Doyle, *Virginia*, I, 88–100. — (7) Canada under Louis XIV. Parkman, *Old Régime in*

Canada, ch. xv; Fiske, *New France and New England*, ch. ii. — (8) THE DUTCH BEFORE THE WARS WITH FRANCE. Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, 214–233; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 50–74, 96–101. — (9) THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Seeley, *Expansion of England*, lect. 2. — (10) WILLIAM III. Traill, *William III*, ch. i, and 197–203. — (11) DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. Green, *Short History of England*, 705–719; Stanhope, *Reign of Queen Anne*, I, ch. iii. — (12) FRANCE AT THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. Perkins, *France under the Regency*, ch. ix. — (13) TREATY OF UTRECHT. Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, 364–370; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 50–53.

General Reading. — In addition to the above, see the volumes in the *Epochs of Modern History* by Airy, Hale, and Morris (*English Restoration and Louis XIV; Fall of the Stuarts; Age of Anne*). Wakeman's *Ascendancy of France* is excellent for the political history. Martin's *Age of Louis XIV and the Decline of the Monarchy* (4 vols., translated from the French) gives a comprehensive account, as does the *Cambridge Modern History*. Saint-Simon's *Memoirs* (abridged translation in 4 vols.) is the best source for the court life.

CHAPTER XXI

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND

A. Conflicts between King and Parliament (1603–1642)

While absolute government was establishing itself in France, control by Parliament arose in England. This was no accident, but was rather the result of the whole tendency of English history.

When Queen Elizabeth died (in 1603), the nearest heir to her throne was James VI of Scotland. He was the son of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (§ 393), but had been reared as a Protestant. He now became king of England as well as of Scotland, and was there known as James I. In other respects the governments of England and Scotland remained separate and independent. James was one of the most learned rulers of Europe, but was so lacking in tact and prudence that Henry IV of France called him "the wisest fool in Christendom."

471. Accession of James I (1603)

The times were changed since the days when the English quietly accepted the despotism of the Tudors. There was no longer the danger of oppression by the barons, or of foreign invasion, or of religious war to cause them to desire a strong kingship at any cost. Puritanism, moreover, was becoming more insistent in its demands for further reform in the church. The middle classes, through the development of commerce and industry, were becoming important enough to claim an active voice in the government. Even Elizabeth, in the later years of her reign, had seen the necessity of bowing to the will of Parliament. But James I and his Stuart descendants were influenced by the same ideas of the divine right of kings that animated Louis XIV. They set themselves to rule

472. Causes of conflict with Parliament

as absolute monarchs, disregarding the wishes and prejudices of the nation. The result was that the "murmuring Parliament of Queen Elizabeth" developed into "the mutinous Parliament of James I, and the rebellious Parliament of Charles I"; and the end was the "glorious revolution" of 1688, which brought William III to the throne.

Bagehot, *English Constitution*, 349

The first question which James had to face was the religious question. At the time of his accession he was in favor of granting to Catholics some relief from the oppressive laws which had been passed against them. Certain rash members of that faith, however, joined in what is known as the Gunpowder Plot, their purpose being to blow up the Parliament House when the king, Lords, and Commons were assembled at the opening of the session. But the suspicions of the government were aroused, and the night before the session opened search was made in the cellars under the Parliament House. Guy Fawkes, the chief conspirator, was discovered watching over a number of barrels of powder which had been prepared for the explosion. He and his fellow conspirators were tried and executed. After the discovery of this plot, James heeded the demands of his Protestant subjects, and allowed the harsh laws against Catholics to remain in full force.[1]

473. Gunpowder Plot (1605)

With the Puritans also (§ 392) James found it difficult to deal. At a conference held in 1604, some of the Puritan speakers, in justifying their worship, used words which led James to think that they wished to introduce into England the Presbyterian system of church government, which he had found vexatious in Scotland. "If this be all they have to say," said the king, "I shall make them conform them-

474. Puritan persecution and American colonization

[1] November 5th, the anniversary of the discovery of the plot, is still celebrated in England with bonfires and the burning of stuffed figures of Guy Fawkes (whence comes our expression to "look like a guy"). Until recent years English children learned the following verse:—

"Remember, remember, the Fifth of November,
Gunpowder treason and plot;
I see no reason why Gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot!"

selves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

Persecutions followed which led many of the more radical Puritans to seek homes beyond the seas. In 1620 occurred the famous settlement of Plymouth colony by the Pilgrims, and ten years later came the great emigration which founded Boston. Virginia, founded in 1607, was settled more from economic than religious motives. Though the founding of the American colonies can receive little attention in this book, it was one of the great events of the time. In the mother country the Puritan ideas were in the end rejected (after 1660); and a reaction then arose which seriously checked English political and religious development. The Puritan Colonists in America, on the other hand, preserved their religious doctrine, together with progressive ideas of government and society. For a century after 1660, England paid little attention to these sturdy young communities three thousand miles away. The result was the rapid growth of the ideas which the colonists had brought from England, into the colonial principles of the eighteenth century. These seemed purely American only because the Puritan ideas of the seventeenth century had been stamped out so completely at home.

The harsh policy which James I adopted toward the Puritans led to friction between the king and Parliament. Other causes worked in the same direction. The king of England, unlike the king of France, had no right of arbitrary taxation and no standing army. The extravagance of James made him more dependent upon Parliament than his predecessors had been, yet he quarreled with Parliament over questions of privilege and religion. In the Thirty Years' War, James sought to aid the Protestants through a treaty with Spain, which should include the marriage of his son, Prince Charles, to a Spanish princess. When Parliament attacked this project, in 1621, James roundly ordered its members "not to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state." Their privileges, he asserted, rested only on the will of the king. The Commons answered this assertion by a written protest in

475. Quarrels with Parliament

which they set forth: (1) That "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England." (2) That "affairs concerning the king, state and defense of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws," were properly debated in Parliament. (3) That "in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House of Parliament hath and of right ought to have freedom of speech," and freedom from arrest for his conduct in Parliament. This protest James tore from the journal of the Commons with his own hand. Its authors he imprisoned.

A trip to Madrid, however, convinced Prince Charles and the king's favorite, the duke of Buckingham, that the Spaniards were deceiving them. So when James met his next Parliament, in 1624, he invited it to declare war against Spain. The question of the privileges of Parliament was allowed to rest. For the first time James found himself really popular. The next year he died, and Charles I became king.

Charles I was a more kingly man than his father, but he was also more arbitrary, more self-willed, and more unbending. His personal morals were of the highest, but there was an unintentional untruthfulness in him which made it impossible to bind him by any promise. To these traits he added an unswerving devotion to the established English Church. This was one of his noblest characteristics, but it proved a fruitful source of trouble.

476. Accession of Charles I (1625)

CHARLES I
From the contemporary painting by Van Dyck

At this time a new religious party was arising among the English clergy, headed by William Laud. It wished to restore certain forms and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, while continuing to reject the

headship of the Pope and the mass service. At the opposite religious extreme to this party stood the Puritans. They wished to carry the Reformation even further, and to do away altogether with priestly robes, altars, and pictured windows, and to reduce the worship to the bare simplicity of the early church. Laud's party was small, but it had the king with it. In return it zealously supported the king's authority, and taught that disobedience to the king was sin. The Puritans regarded this doctrine as intended to overturn civil liberty and to pave the way for the reintroduction of Catholicism. Their opposition to Laud and his party found strong support in the House of Commons.

477. Laudians and Puritans

Another source of growing dissatisfaction was the power exercised by the duke of Buckingham. He had been raised from humble station to the highest rank, and was now intrusted with practically the whole administration of England. Buckingham was insolent in behavior, while his government was miserably inefficient. England was already engaged in war against Spain, and had pledged aid to the Protestant cause in Germany (§ 429). Nevertheless Buckingham rushed headlong into a new and inglorious war with France. Men began openly to name him as "the grievance of grievances." In 1626 he was saved from impeachment (§ 309) only by the king's dissolving Parliament.

478. Opposition to Buckingham

Charles's third Parliament passed a measure called the Petition of Right, which Charles was obliged to accept as law. Its importance is second only to that of Magna Carta, for it settled in favor of the nation most of the constitutional questions then in dispute. It provided: —

479. The Petition of Right passed (1628)

1. That no one should be required to give any gift, loan, or tax to the government unless it was granted by act of Parliament.
2. That no one should be imprisoned contrary to the law of the land, even by the king's orders.
3. That soldiers and mariners should not be quartered in private houses.
4. That commissions of martial or military law should not be issued.

Charles then "prorogued" this Parliament, — that is, he adjourned it for some months, without putting an end to its existence. Before it met again, Buckingham was murdered by a fanatic who had a private grievance to add to the public discontent. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who hitherto had been one of the opposition leaders, then changed to the royal side. He was neither a Puritan nor a believer in popular government, so he cannot be styled a "turncoat." He had opposed the government because it was inefficient. With Buckingham gone, he now gave his support to the government, and ultimately, as earl of Strafford, became Charles's chief adviser.

When Parliament reassembled, the king and the Commons were as wide apart as ever. Besides the dispute over the Laudian changes in religion, the controversy was mainly over the king's right to collect (without grant of Parliament) a customs duty called "tonnage and poundage." The Commons claimed that this was prohibited by the Petition of Right, but Charles denied that he had given up this right. The parliamentary session ended in a scene of great confusion. While the king's messenger knocked loudly for admittance at the locked doors of Parliament, the Speaker of the Commons was held forcibly in his chair and resolutions were passed declaring: (1) That the Laudian innovators in religion, and those advising the taking of tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament, were "capital enemies of the kingdom." (2) That every one voluntarily paying tonnage and poundage was "a betrayer of the liberties of England."

480. New quarrels with Parliament (1629)

Charles thereupon dissolved this Parliament. Eleven years of arbitrary government followed, during which no Parliament was held. Laud, now made archbishop of Canterbury, forced his ideas upon the English Church with conscientious obstinacy. As a result, the Puritan emigration to New England was much increased. The wars with France and Spain were brought to an end for lack of means to continue them. The Court of Star Chamber (an organization which practically dates from Henry VII) and the Court of High Com-

481. Arbitrary government (1629–1640)

mission (originally created by Elizabeth to enforce the royal supremacy in the church) dealt relentlessly with those who opposed the king's will. Sir John Eliot, one of the leaders in the last Parliament, was imprisoned for his course there, and died in the Tower three and a half years later, a martyr to constitutional liberty. Judges who were suspected of being unfriendly to the royal claims were dismissed. The king's need of funds, together with his determination to rule without a Parliament, caused him to rake up all sorts of obsolete rights of exacting feudal dues and fines, and to resort to other questionable means of raising money. The most important of these means was a new and arbitrary tax called "ship money." The right of the king, in time of war, to call upon the maritime counties to furnish ships for the defense of the realm was unquestioned. Charles now, in time of peace, converted this right of *ship service* into a *money tax*, and extended it over all the counties of England. By levying the ship money in three successive years, he also showed that he meant to make the tax permanent. A rich and patriotic man named John Hampden refused to pay the tax and contested the king's right to levy it. The result was the Ship Money Case, tried in 1637. The decision of the judges was against Hampden; but the publicity of the trial enabled Hampden's lawyers to get their arguments before the people almost as completely as they could have done in a Parliament. The result was greatly to strengthen the opposition to the government.

In spite of the economic prosperity of these years, English discontent became more widespread than ever. Finally the attempt of Charles and Laud to force upon the Presbyterian kingdom of Scotland a new church service book led to a revolt of the Scots. An English Parliament, when summoned early in 1640, showed itself entirely on the side of the rebels, and was dissolved within three weeks. New reverses in the war with the Scots forced Charles, in November, 1640, to convene another Parliament; and of this he was not so easily rid.

This body, known in history as the Long Parliament, showed

itself almost unanimously opposed to the king's religious and civil policy. Charles could not dismiss it, as he had dismissed his earlier Parliaments. A Scottish army was now on English soil, ready to march southward in case he failed to pay each month the sums agreed upon in a recent treaty; and for these sums Charles was dependent upon Parliament. The principal leader of the Parliament was John Pym, whose influence in the House of Commons was so great that his enemies called him "King Pym." Under his guidance the Long

482. Beginning of the Long Parliament (1640–1641)

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

From a contemporary print. Note the Tower of London in the background

Parliament proceeded (1) to punish the authors of the late oppressions, (2) to compensate the sufferers from them, and (3) to provide securities for the future. Both Strafford and Laud were beheaded. Other officials escaped punishment only by flight. The victims of the Star Chamber and the High Commission were freed from prison and granted sums of money for their sufferings. These two oppressive courts were then abolished. To secure the regular assembling of Parliaments, a Triennial Act was passed, which provided that not more than three years

should elapse without a session of Parliament. Another act provided that the existing Parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent.

In assenting to this last act Charles made his greatest mistake. Divisions now began to appear among the members of Parliament. The Puritans desired to cast out, "root and branch," the government of the church by bishops. The Anglicans, on the other hand, wished merely to restore the conditions which existed before Laud's innovations. If Charles had been free to dissolve this Parliament, while frankly accepting the acts already passed, new elections would doubtless have returned a Parliament of more moderate composition. Three things gradually widened the breach between the king and the Parliament. These were: (1) Charles's determination to punish the opposition leaders; (2) their wish to preserve what had been gained; (3) the agitation by some of the members for more radical reforms in church and state. Some of those who formerly had opposed Charles now rallied to his support. The name "Cavaliers" was soon given to the royalist party; while their opponents, from their short-cut hair, in contrast with the cavalier's flowing locks, were called "Roundheads."

483. Drifting into war

In the latter part of 1641 a rebellion broke out in Ireland which made necessary an English army to quell it. The question was raised whether it was safe to give the king a force which might be used, after Ireland was pacified, to put down the Parliament itself and undo its work. It was known that Charles had already endeavored fruitlessly to get together soldiers for this purpose. To Pym it seemed necessary to take the control of the government and of the army out of the king's hands. Accordingly a document called the Grand Remonstrance was drawn up, in which all the king's acts of misgovernment since the beginning of his reign were set forth. It demanded that the government should be put in the hands of ministers responsible to Parliament, otherwise no money would be voted to carry on the government. The Grand Remonstrance was carried, amid great excitement, by the small ma-

jority of eleven votes. "If it had been rejected," said Oliver Cromwell, who was a member of the House of Commons, "I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never seen England more."

Gardiner, *History of England*, X, 78

The king refused the demands of the Grand Remonstrance, and prepared a counterstroke. It was known that Pym and four other leaders of Parliament had been in communication with the Scottish rebels. Technically this was treason. With a large body of armed courtiers Charles went to the House of Commons, and sought to arrest the accused persons. The Speaker of the House, when called upon by the king to point out the members named, replied, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me." "Well, well," answered Charles, "'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's." But "the birds were flown," and the arbitrary attempt of the king to arrest them only injured his cause.

Over the question of the control of the army, which involved the question whether the king or Parliament should rule, the two parties drifted into civil war.

B. The Great Civil War (1642–1649)

484. Parties in the civil war

In this contest the north and west — the poorer and more backward parts of England — were royalist, while the richer and more progressive south and east adhered to Parliament. Socially, the middle classes (including the Londoners) were parliamentarians; while a great part of the gentry, and most of the nobles — save a small number who continued attendance in the House of Lords — supported the king. The navy, the arsenals, and the machinery of taxation were all in the hands of Parliament.

Both sides sought allies. In 1643 the parliamentarians entered into a Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots, by which a reformation of religion in England and Ireland was pledged "according to the Word of God, and the example of

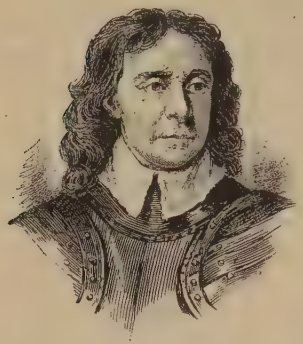
the best reformed churches." This was understood to mean the establishing of Presbyterianism; only on that understanding would the Scots furnish troops, whose expenses were to be borne by Parliament. The king in the same year came to terms with the Irish rebels, and sought to bring over armies from Ireland and the Continent.

ENGLAND IN THE CIVIL WAR (1642)

Hampden and Pym died early in the war. Oliver Cromwell, who was an earnest, God-fearing man, organized a body of cavalry, like-minded with himself, who were styled the "Ironsides." The efficiency of these troops and Cromwell's own tactical genius brought him more and more into prominence as the war went on. On the king's side, the most brilliant officer was Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, the son of a German Protestant prince. The first great reverse sustained by Charles was at Marston Moor (July, 1644), when Cromwell's Ironsides and the Scots overthrew Rupert and the royalists. This secured the north of England for Parliament. The feeling that the first generals of the parliamentary army, who were chiefly nobles, were disinclined to follow up their victories against the king led (in 1645) to the passage of the "Self-denying Ordinance." This provided that all officers who

485. Victories of the parliamentarians

were members of either House of Parliament should lay down their commands. Cromwell, however, was reappointed, and the army was reorganized under him as lieutenant general. In 1645 the second decisive victory over the king was won at Naseby. The royalist forces were there practically destroyed; and copies of Charles's private letters were captured, showing his intrigues and untrustworthiness. In May, 1646, Charles gave himself up to the Scots, thinking to obtain better terms from them than from his English subjects.



OLIVER CROMWELL
From the contemporary painting by Van der Faes

The religious question in England meanwhile took a new turn. An assembly of clergy and laity, called by Parliament, sat from 1643 to 1647. It framed the famous Westminster Confession, which contained Presbyterian principles, including the abolition of bishops and disuse of the prayer book. The Presbyterians controlled Parliament and sought to force their principles upon the nation. But in the army the majority were Independents, or radical Puritans, who opposed an established church of any sort, and favored religious toleration.

486. Negotiations with Charles I

When Charles surrendered, the Scots, Parliament, and the army all tried their hands at negotiating with him. In 1648 he succeeded, although a prisoner, in stirring up a second civil war. In this conflict the Scots, who now supported the king's cause, were routed by Cromwell at Preston. The army officers, convinced at last of the folly of further dealings with Charles, joined in demanding that he be brought to trial. When Parliament, after passing measures directed against the Independents, voted to reopen negotiations with the king, a body of troops under Colonel Pride took possession of the Parliament House, and excluded one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members from that body (1648).

After "Pride's Purge," the "Rump" (that is, the sitting portion of Parliament) seldom numbered more than sixty members, and of course did not really represent the country. Nevertheless it appointed a High Court of Justice, which tried the king and condemned him to death as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation." Throughout the trial indications were given that the proceedings were not approved even by Londoners. Nevertheless, on January 30, 1649, Charles was publicly beheaded. He bore himself with quiet dignity and religious resignation, and his death went far to remove the unfavorable impression created by his misgovernment and intrigues. His great error lay in trying "to substitute the personal will of Charles Stuart for the legal will of the king of England."

487. Execution of Charles (Jan. 30, 1649)

Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 16

C. The Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660)

The Rump declared that "the people are, under God, the source of all just power." Assuming to act in their name, it declared the monarchy and House of Lords abolished, and made England a Commonwealth, or free state, under an executive council of forty-one members.

488. The Commonwealth (1649–1653)

The Commonwealth was threatened from Ireland and Scotland by the adherents of Charles's son, whom the Scots proclaimed as Charles II. In Ireland Cromwell took two places by storm and put the garrisons to the sword, as a means "to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." In September, 1650, he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Scots at Dunbar. The next summer young Charles II made a dash into England, where the royalists were expected to rise to his assistance. This expectation was disappointed, and the Scots were overwhelmingly defeated at Worcester. Prince Charles escaped to France after six weeks of thrilling adventures. For the next nine years Scotland was forcibly united to England.

New dissensions meanwhile arose between the army and Parliament. Cromwell and the army desired that elections be held for a new Parliament, but the members of the Rump insisted

that they should sit in the new body and have a veto on the election of the new members. In April, 1653, Cromwell ended the matter by forcibly turning out the Rump.[1] He then called together an assembly of persons nominated by the Independent pastors of the three kingdoms. This assembly was popularly styled "Barebone's Parliament," from a London member named Praise-God Barebone.

The failure of this body to deal satisfactorily with matters of government led to the adoption of a written constitution called the Instrument of Government. Under this constitution Cromwell was named Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Protector, together with a council of not less than thirteen persons, constituted the executive. All legislative power was vested in a Parliament of a single chamber. Like the American constitutions, the Instrument of Government was a rigid constitution, containing provisions which could not be changed by ordinary legislation. It was the only written constitution that England has ever had.

489. The Protectorate (1653–1659)

In foreign affairs Cromwell's government was very successful, and he made England more respected abroad than she had ever

[1] "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating," cried Cromwell. "You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your sitting. Call them in, call them in." Whereupon the sergeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and two files of musketeers entered the House; which Sir Henry Vane, observing from his place, said aloud, "This is not honest, yea, it is against morality and common honesty." Then Cromwell fell a-railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, "O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane." Then looking upon one of the members, he said, "There sits a drunkard"; and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace [the symbol of the House's authority] to be taken away, saying, "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away." Having brought all into this disorder, Major-General Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him that it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker answered that he would not come down unless he were forced. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you my hand"; and thereupon putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the House, who were in number between eighty and one hundred, and said to them, "It's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." — Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 354.

been since Elizabeth's day.[1] In internal affairs the Protectorate proved a failure, because it was based upon the support of the army, and not upon the free consent of the nation. When the first Parliament under the Protectorate met, in 1654, its members insisted on debating the advisability of "government by a single person," and otherwise called in question the constitution under which they were assembled. Cromwell therefore dismissed them at the earliest moment possible; and royalist plots for a time led him to assume the powers of a dictator.

In 1656 Cromwell again called a Parliament, and after excluding some ninety members from their seats, he got along smoothly with the rest. They even offered the crown to Cromwell, and proposed the formation of a "second house" of Parliament. Cromwell declined the crown, but organized the second chamber. New difficulties forced him, in February, 1658, to dissolve this Parliament, as he had done in the case of its predecessor. On September 3 of the same year, — the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, — Cromwell died. He had not sought power, neither had he shirked it; and while it was in his hands, he administered the government honestly and ably. In his wish to grant toleration to all Protestant Christians, whether Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents, he was in advance of his time.[2]

[1] For Cromwell's Navigation Act, and war with the Dutch Netherlands, see § 450.

[2] The poet Milton in 1652 wrote this noble sonnet on Cromwell: —

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued;
While Darween stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resound thy praises loud,
And Worcester laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War; new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of Hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw."

Oliver's son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded him as Protector. But the son had neither the force of character nor the hold on the army possessed by the father. Quarrels arose between the Protectorate Parliament and the army, and Richard permitted the latter to turn out the Parliament. The Rump was then restored. Richard Cromwell was soon forced to abdicate and retire to private life (1659). The Rump then quarreled with the army, was again expelled, and again restored. By this time England was heartily tired of Commonwealth and Protectorate alike,[1] and was ready to welcome the restoration

490. Restoration of the Stuart line (1660)

[1] The sentiments with which a great part of the English people welcomed the restoration are shown in a royalist poem entitled "A Litany for the New Year" (1660): —

"From all and more that I have written here,
I wish you protected this New Year;
From Civil war and such uncivil things
As ruin Law and Gospel, Priests and Kings;
From those who for self-ends would all betray,
And from such new Saints that Pistol when they pray,
From flattering Faces with infernal Souls,
From new Reformers, such as pull down [St.] Paul's,
From Linsy-woolsy Lords, and from Town betrayers,
From Apron Preachers, and extempore Prayers,
From Pulpit-blasphemy and bold Rebellion,
From Blood and — something else I could tell ye on,
From new false Teachers which destroy the old,
From those that turn the Gospel into Gold,
From that black Pack where Clubs are always Trump,
From Bodies Politic and from the Rump,
From those that ruin when they should repair,
From such as cut off Heads instead of Hair,
From twelve-months' Taxes and abortive Votes,
From chargeable Nurse-Children in red Coats [soldiers],
From such as sell their Souls to save their Sums,
From City Charters that make Heads for Drums,
From Magistrates that have no truth or knowledge,
From the red Students now in Gresham College,
From sweet Sir Arthur's [Sir Arthur Haslerig, a member of the Rump] Knights of the Round Table,
From City Saints whose anagram is Stains,
From Plots and being choked with our own Chains,
From these and ten times more which may ensue,
The Poet prays, *Good Lord deliver you.*" — *The Rump*, II, 94–95.

of the legitimate monarch. George Monk, a strong, silent general, who had taken no part in recent squabbles, marched to London with the northern troops, and forced the Rump to admit the members expelled by Pride in 1648. The reconstituted assembly then ordered a new election, and voted its own dissolution (March, 1660).

This ended the Long Parliament, twenty years after its first assembling. Its republic had failed, but it had forever put barriers to the absolutism of the crown. Thenceforth no king could get along without Parliament, as Charles I had once done; and its part in the government steadily grew larger.

D. The Restored Stuarts and the Revolution of 1688

The Convention Parliament, as the new assembly was styled, proceeded at once to call Charles II to the throne, and restore the old unwritten constitution. The new monarch was a man of great natural sagacity, but indolent and grossly immoral. He came back with the fixed determination "never to set out on his travels again"; so he did not hesitate to give way on any point when circumstances compelled him to. Thirteen persons implicated in the execution of Charles I were put to death. The Puritanic mode of life, which had been forced upon the country in the preceding period, was followed by a flood of gay immorality, of which the king's court was the center.

491. Character of the restoration

Woman's Dress in Court of Charles II

In spite of the fact that those chiefly responsible for Charles II's restoration were Presbyterians, the next (Cavalier) Parliament (1661–1679) showed itself violently intolerant of every-

thing which differed from the Church of England. Nearly two thousand Puritan ministers were expelled from their churches.

492. Persecution of dissenters (1660–1685)

The holding of religious assemblies which were not according to the Church of England was forbidden under heavy penalties. The dispossessed ministers were debarred from acting as teachers or living in the boroughs. No person could hold a borough office who did not receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the way of the Anglican Church.

From this time there existed, along with the established church, a large body of Protestant dissenters, — Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and the like. Their ranks contained the noblest English writers of that time. John Milton, the blind author of *Paradise Lost*, was for ten years secretary of the Council of State under Cromwell, and in his prose writings defended the Puritan cause. John Bunyan also embodied the ideas of the dissenters in his prose allegory entitle *Pilgrim's Progress*.

In his foreign policy Charles II aided Louis XIV of France, in return for money to spend upon his pleasures. But in his two wars against the Dutch (1665–1667 and 1672–1674) he was also following the policy, begun by Cromwell, of building up English shipping against foreign rivals.

493. Charles's favor to Catholics causes conflict

At heart Charles was a Catholic, so far as he was anything, and wished to secure toleration for his Catholic subjects. To test public opinion, his brother and heir, James, duke of York, declared his adherence to the Roman Church. In 1672 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the laws which imposed disabilities on Catholic and Protestant dissenters. He based his right to do this on what was called his "dispensing power," — that is, the right claimed by the king to suspend the execution of practically any law. But the "dispensing power" was attacked as illegal, and the declaration was withdrawn. Parliament then (1673) passed a Test Act, which excluded Catholics from offices in the gift of the crown.[1] Five years later the exclusion was extended to Catholic members of the House of Lords.

[1] The act was so framed that it excluded Protestant dissenters as well, but nevertheless it was supported by them.

As Catholics had been ineligible for the Commons since the days of Elizabeth, the exclusion now extended to all public life.

In 1678 England went wild over rumors of a "Popish plot" for the forcible restoration of Catholicism. Under the influence of this panic, a persistent but unsuccessful attempt was made in Parliament to pass a bill excluding the duke of York (the king's brother) from the succession to the throne. Over this question arose the division into political parties in the form which they were to hold for more than a century. On the one side stood the Tories, who laid stress upon the ideas of hereditary succession, divine right, and the duty of nonresistance. They were usually stanch supporters of the established church. On the other side were the Whigs, who leaned to toleration of Protestant dissenters, and looked upon the king as a mere official who was subject to the law, and bound to act through ministers responsible to Parliament. The reign closed in 1685, with the Tories completely triumphant, and Charles at the height of his power. The greatest gain to liberty in Charles II's reign was the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act (in 1679), by which Englishmen were better protected against arbitrary and illegal imprisonment. The French did not gain such safeguards until after their Revolution of 1789.

494. Whigs and Tories (1672–1685)

Two great calamities of this reign deserve notice. In 1665 a terrible plague swept away a hundred thousand persons in London alone. Next year, fire destroyed a great part of the city. The fire ended the plague by burning the old rat-infested quarters; and out of the ashes soon rose a new and finer London.

495. London plague and fire

In spite of his Catholic faith the duke of York, as James II, was allowed quietly to succeed his brother.[1] James possessed Charles I's narrow-mindedness and tenacity of opinion, without his ennobling traits. It has been said of him that, "by in-

[1] A rebellion which aimed to set upon the throne the Protestant duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II (1685), met with little support. Monmouth was put to death, and all who were in any way implicated were punished in the Bloody Assize, held by a brutal and servile judge named Jeffreys. Blackmore's novel, *Lorna Doone*, deals with these events.

credible and pertinacious [obstinate] folly, he irritated not only the classes which had fought *against* his father, but also those that had fought *for* his father." The opposition arose chiefly from James's efforts, through the exercise of the "dispensing power," to free Catholics from the provisions of the Test Act and to set aside all laws imposing religious tests for offices. James thought that Protestant dissenters would support his policy, but their fear of a Catholic restoration led them to join the opposition. The universities and clergy especially were alienated by his high-handed attempts to force Catholics into university offices.

496. Tyranny of James II (1685–1688)

Bagehot, *English Constitution*, 351

For a time the nation bore patiently with these illegal acts. James's two daughters were both Protestants, and the elder (Mary) was married to William III of Orange (§ 452). When James should die, therefore, a Protestant would come to the throne. In 1688, however, the birth of a son gave James an heir who would be educated as a Catholic, since James was now of that faith. About this time, also, James made a second attempt to set aside the laws against Catholics by the use of his "dispensing power." He even ordered all the clergymen throughout England to read this edict from their pulpits. Seven of the leading bishops, in spite of their teaching that resistance to the king was sin, presented a petition to the king asking to be excused from doing this. For their petition they were prosecuted, but the jury acquitted them of any wrongdoing. This unjust prosecution of the seven bishops brought matters to a head. Protestants claimed that the little prince was not really the son of James and his queen; and Whigs and Tories alike united in an appeal to William III of Orange to save England from James's tyranny.

Unfortunately for James, his friend Louis XIV had directed the French armies elsewhere just at this time, thus leaving William free to invade England. Scarcely a blow was struck in James's behalf, for the army which he had laboriously built up proved untrustworthy. Deserted by practically all his adherents, he lost courage and fled to France.

497. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688

Nothing could have better served William's interests. A Parliament, called on the advice of leading peers, decided: (1) That James by his actions had abdicated the government, and that the throne was vacant. (2) That it was "inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince." (3) That the throne should be offered to William and Mary as joint sovereigns.

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II

From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe

A declaration of the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this realm" was then made in the Bill of Rights, which settled the constitutional questions in controversy. It included the following points:— **498. The Bill of Rights (1689)**

1. That the pretended dispensing power by which James had evaded the laws was illegal.
2. That the people have the right to petition the king.
3. That keeping a standing army in time of peace, unless by consent of Parliament, is illegal.
4. That freedom of speech and of debate in Parliament ought not to be questioned in any court or place outside of Parliament itself.
5. That excessive bail ought not to be required in cases at law, nor

excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

6. William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England, and all persons who were Papists or who should marry a Papist were declared incapable of occupying the throne.

The Bill of Rights, following Magna Carta (1215) and the Petition of Right (1628), completed the structure of the constitutional monarchy. All the rulers of England, since the Revolution of 1688, have owed their throne ultimately to this act of Parliament. That fact has prevented the supremacy of Parliament ever again being called in question.

E. Strengthening Constitutional Government

The Catholic population of Ireland was loyal to James II, and he sought to regain there the power that he had lost in England. But he was defeated by William in the battle of the Boyne (1690), and Ireland was soon pacified. The Scots followed the example of the English in declaring James deposed and in accepting William and Mary; but some severe fighting was necessary before James's adherents were forced into submission. The religious question in England was partly solved, in 1689, by the passage of a Toleration Act. This permitted Protestant dissenters, under certain restrictions, to set up their worship alongside that of the established church. The decline of religious hatreds to which this testifies was due in part to the growth of scientific knowledge. Sir Isaac Newton had just announced his discovery of the laws of gravitation; the composition of the atmosphere was being studied; botany was becoming a science; Harvey had discovered the circulation of the blood; and the microscope had revealed the existence of minute animal life. Such increased knowledge of nature affected men's attitude in religion also, and helped to produce a growth in religious toleration. A further evidence of the progress of intelligence is seen in the fact that, after 1712, no executions for witchcraft took place in England.

499. William III (1689–1702)

William's long struggle with Louis XIV (described in the preceding chapter) was the chief feature of England's foreign relations in this reign. In constitutional history the strengthening of Parliament's ascendancy in the government was the fact of chief interest. The Triennial Act of the Long Parliament had sought to make sure that not more than three years should elapse *without* a Parliament. A new Triennial Act now prohibited the *continuance* of a Parliament for more than three years, the period later being extended to seven years.[1] Unlike the legislative bodies of the United States, English Parliaments are not elected for a fixed term, but last until dissolved. They must come to an end, however, before the expiration of the period named in the law. Annual sessions of Parliament were secured by the practice of voting taxes and the army bill for but one year at a time. If the government should fail to call Parliament to renew these, it would be left without legal revenue and without legal means of controlling the army. This practice effectually insures that the government will heed the voice of Parliament.

500. Increased power of Parliament

The development of the Whig and Tory parties, with their definite political principles, made it easier to ascertain the voice of Parliament. Fully organized parliamentary government, however, required also a center of influence. This was supplied by the Cabinet. In its present form the Cabinet is practically a committee of members of the two houses of Parliament, who are in charge of the administration of the government. They are chosen nominally by the sovereign, but really by the prime minister. They are members of either one or the other of the two houses of Parliament, and belong to the party which has a majority in the House of Commons. The members of the English Cabinet have the chief *executive* powers of the government, and are also the leaders of the *legislative* branch. This is contrary to American practice, which requires that executive and legislative powers shall not be united in the same persons. The beginning of the Cabinet system was

501. Rise of Cabinet government

[1] In 1911 the maximum duration of Parliament was reduced to five years.

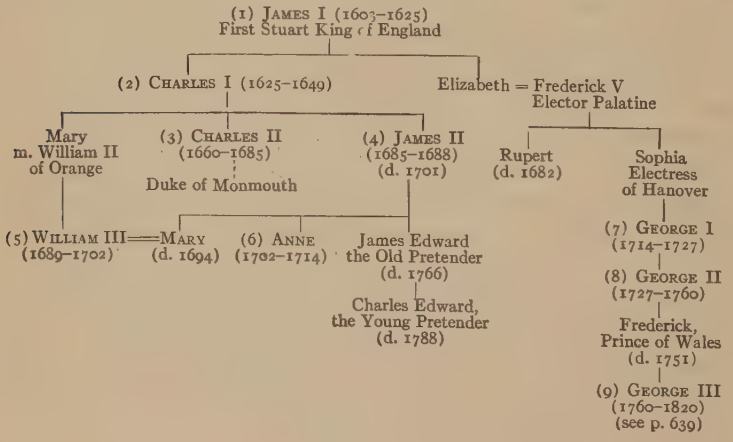
made in 1694, when William for the first time chose his ministers entirely from one political party, — the Whigs.

Mary died in 1694, and William in 1702. They left no children, and the throne passed to Anne, Mary's younger sister.

502. Queen Anne (1702–1714) The long War of the Spanish Succession (§§ 457–461) was the chief feature of her reign, in foreign affairs. In domestic affairs an important event was the merging of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England into the single kingdom of Great Britain (1707). By the terms of this Act of Union the Scottish Parliament came to an end, and Scottish representatives were thenceforth elected to both houses of the English Parliament. Anne was a stupid but good-natured woman, and struggles between Whigs and Tories for control of the government fill her reign. Although Anne had many children, they were weakly and died young.

In 1701 an Act of Settlement was passed which provided that, after the death of Anne, the throne should go to the descendants of the electress of Hanover, the nearest Protestant family descended from the house of Stuart.[1] As Anne's death drew near,

[1] Hanover (§ 126) was given a vote in the imperial electoral college (the ninth) in 1692; it became a kingdom in 1815. The following genealogy shows the relationship of the house of Hanover to the house of Stuart: —



the Tories, who were then in power, opposed the Hanoverian succession. It was only the sudden termination of Anne's last illness, and the firmness of the Whig leaders, that prevented a second Stuart restoration.

George I (1714–1727), the first Hanoverian king of Great Britain, was commonplace and a thorough German.[1] His ignorance of the English language led him to absent himself from Cabinet meetings, thus establishing a precedent which greatly increased the independence of the ministry. A "Jacobite" rising in favor of the Old Pretender (James Edward, son of James II), in 1715, was easily put down. A daring invasion by the Young Pretender (Charles Edward, grandson of James II), in 1745, which penetrated from Scotland to the heart of England and caused a panic at London, failed equally because of a lack of English support. The government under both George I and George II (1727–1760) was for twenty-one years in the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, the first real prime minister in English history. His policy was to strengthen the Hanoverian dynasty, maintain peace, and allow free development to English industry and commerce. He was supported by the Whig party, which was composed largely of dissenters and the middle classes. He was opposed by the Tory squires and Anglican clergymen, who long preserved a secret loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. This period is characterized by the prosperity of agriculture and commerce, the wide prevalence of political corruption, and a great religious revival under John and Charles Wesley (the "Methodists").

503. First two Hanoverians (1714–1760)

In England, Germany, and France the literature of the eighteenth century possessed certain features in common, in spite of local peculiarities. In the early part of the century it was ar-

[1] Hanover was connected with the British crown from the accession of George I in 1714 to the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. Though Great Britain and Hanover were subject to the same sovereign, their governments were entirely separate and independent. Hanover was usually ruled by a deputy who was responsible to the king-elector. Both George I and George II preferred Hanover to England as a place of residence, and spent a considerable part of their time in their continental dominion.

tificial and closely followed classical forms. In the latter part came a return to nature and the beginning of what is known as the Romantic movement. In Great Britain, the first half of the century saw the works of Addison and Steele, joint authors of the polished essays called the *Spectator;* of Jonathan Swift, the satirist; of Defoe, best known by his *Robinson Crusoe;* and of the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744). The second half of the century saw the works of Fielding and Richardson, who developed the modern English novel; the essays and English dictionary of Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), whose life was entertainingly written by his friend Boswell; and the history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* by Edward Gibbon. The reaction toward Romanticism is seen in the Scottish poet, Robert Burns (1759–1796).

504. English literature in the eighteenth century

It was England's insular position which had protected her from foreign interference while passing through the political crises of the seventeenth century, as it had while passing through the religious revolution of the sixteenth. Three passions animated Englishmen in this period: —

505. Summary of English history in the seventeenth century

(1) *The sentiment of loyalty,* which long protected Charles I, recalled Charles II from exile, and disturbed the security of the Hanoverians by Jacobite risings.

(2) *Hatred of Catholicism,* which put Charles I to death, raised up Cromwell, and exiled James II.

(3) *Attachment to political liberty.* "When the quarrel between the loyalists and the anti-papists had been settled, and foreigners, — first a Dutchman and then the Hanoverians, — succeeded to the throne of England, the dominant passion became that of liberty." Under the system of government which followed, Parliament could do almost everything without the king, but he could do nothing without Parliament. "Against its own government the country defended itself by means of its rights and liberties. It had private rights, whereby the person of an Englishman, his domicile, and his purse were rendered inviolable against all illegal acts; and public rights, — namely, the right of complaint and petition, the

Lavisse, *General View,* 109–111

right of meeting, the right of association, the right to speak and to write. England was free; indeed, in the eighteenth century she was the only free nation in the world."

IMPORTANT DATES

1603. Stuarts ascend the throne in the person of James I.
1607. Virginia colony founded.
1625. Accession of Charles I.
1628. Petition of Right passed.
1629–1640. Period of arbitrary government.
1640. Long Parliament assembled.
1642. Civil war between king and Parliament begun.
1649. Execution of Charles I; England becomes a republic.
1658. Death of Cromwell.
1660. Long Parliament dissolved and the Stuarts restored.
1685. Death of Charles II.
1688. Flight of James II (the "Glorious Revolution").
1689. William and Mary seated on the throne; Bill of Rights passed.
1702. Accession of Queen Anne.
1714. Hanoverian line ascends the throne with George I.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Why did absolute monarchy not succeed in England as it did in France? (2) In the contest between James I and his Parliaments, which was seeking to introduce a change? (3) What were the chief causes of the failure of Charles I as king? (4) Was the execution of Strafford and Laud just or unjust? (5) Was toleration in religion most likely to come from Charles I, the Long Parliament, the Scots, or the army? (6) Was the execution of Charles just or unjust? Was it expedient or inexpedient? (7) Was Cromwell an ambitious usurper or a sincere patriot? (8) Was Charles II a good or a bad king? Why? (9) Why did all sects of English Protestants unite in refusing toleration to Roman Catholics in the seventeenth century? (10) Why did Englishmen turn to William III of Orange? (11) Did the Bill of Rights enact new principles? (12) Review the steps in the growth of Parliament before the seventeenth century. (13) What were the chief developments in the seventeenth century with respect to Parliament? (14) How did the Hanoverian succession help the growth of constitutional principles?

Search Topics. — (1) Rise of Puritanism. Green, *Short History*, 460–469. Compare Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 1–6, 13–17, with Firth,

Oliver Cromwell, 10–11. — (2) PURITAN EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA. Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, chs. ii, iii; Green, *Short History*, 505–509. — (3) STUART ABUSE OF THE PREROGATIVE. Montague, *Constitutional History*, 120–124; Dale, *Principles of English Constitutional History*, 313–321; Hallam, *Constitutional History*, ch. viii. — (4) LAUD'S RELIGIOUS POLICY. Gardiner, *Student's History*, 516–521; Green, *Short History*, 509–513. — (5) JOHN HAMPDEN AND THE SHIP MONEY CASE. Macaulay, *Essays* ("John Hampden"); Green, *Short History*, 528–531. — (6) JOHN PYM. Goldwin Smith, *Three English Statesmen*. — (7) ATTEMPTED ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS. Green, *Short History*, 544–546; Cheyney, *Readings*, 460–463. — (8) TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. Green, *Short History*, 571–572; Cheyney, *Readings*, 485–494. — (9) OLIVER CROMWELL. Morley, *Cromwell*, 1–6, 461–472; Firth, *Cromwell*, ch. xxiii; Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*, lect. 6. — (10) CHARLES II AND THE REACTION AGAINST PURITANISM. Green, *Short History*, 605–608, 629–632; Macaulay, *History of England*, I, ch. iii. — (11) GREAT FIRE IN LONDON. Cheyney, *Readings*, 524–528; Henderson, *Side Lights on English History*, 124–142; Pepys, *Diary* (for Sept. 2–6, 1666). — (12) REVOLUTION OF 1688. Traill, *William III*, 19–55; Gardiner, *Student's History*, 643–648; Green, *Short History*, 677–683. — (13) RISE OF THE CABINET. Montague, *English Constitutional History*, 163–173; Morley, *Walpole*, ch. vii. — (14) UNION OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND. Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 52–66; Montague, *English Constitutional History*, 158–161.

General Reading. — Gardiner's *First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* is the best short book on the subject of this chapter. His larger works (17 vols.) are the standard authority, but are too comprehensive for high school use. Morley's *Cromwell* is also excellent. Macaulay's *History of England* (various editions) deals with the period from 1685 to 1701; the third chapter gives a brilliant account of the state of society at the accession of James II. Pepys's *Diary* is full of interest for the reign of Charles II. Advanced students may make use of the admirable articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA

A. Rise of Russia and Decline of Sweden

"Russia is the last-born child of European civilization." During the whole of the Middle Ages its history may be neglected, because it was the history of barbarism, not of civilization, — of Asia, not of Europe. In the ninth century, Rurik the Northman had established his sway over the Slavic tribes of the Russian plain (§ 46); in the tenth century his descendants had received Greek Christianity from Constantinople. For nearly two hundred and forty years (after 1241) the "Golden Horde" of Mongols were suzerains over the land. Poland, seizing the western districts, placed herself between Germany and Russia, and seemed about to develop permanently into a powerful Slavic kingdom.

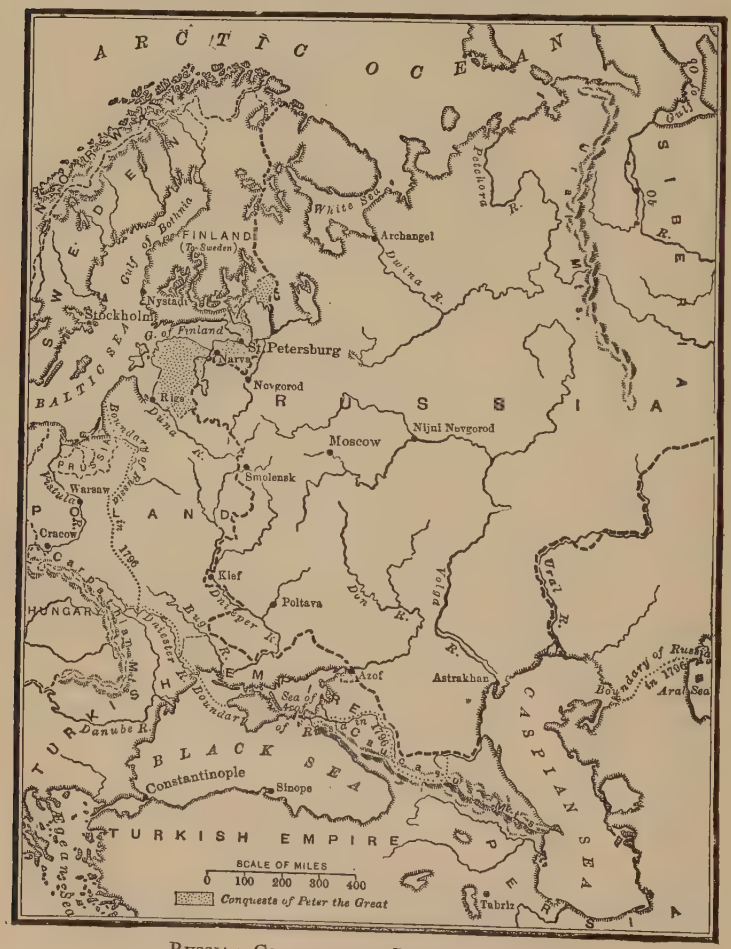
506. Russia before Peter the Great

In 1480, however, the grand duke of Mus'covy cast off the Mongolian yoke, and set about the creation of an independent Russian state. Now that Constantinople had fallen before the Turks, Moscow claimed to be its heir and its avenger. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Russian boundary was pushed to the Caspian Sea. In 1613 the Romanoffs (ro-mä'nōfs), ancestors (in the female line) of the present ruling dynasty, ascended the throne. Under the early rulers of this house the beginning was made of that eastward expansion — paralleled in United States history by the "winning of the West" — which gave Siberia to Russia. But internally barbarism still ruled, and externally Russia was cut off from European politics.

In both these respects a revolution was effected by the hero of Russian history, Peter the Great (1689–1725). His character was a strange mixture of nobility and cruelty, of culture and

savagery. When aroused to anger he cut off his enemies' heads with his own hands. He presided at the torture and death of his reactionary eldest son. His drunken sprees sometimes lasted for days. Yet his nature was truthful, simple, and straightforward, and no one could be a truer friend to those who deserved his friendship.

507. Early reign of Peter the Great



RUSSIA: CONQUESTS OF PETER THE GREAT

Peter's reign really began in 1689, when he was seventeen years old. While still a lad, he manifested that passion for western arts and for warfare which proved to be his most prominent characteristics. He loved to slip away to the part of Moscow frequented by foreign merchants, to pick up a knowledge of German and Dutch, and learn something of European science and inventions. In a shed by the river he discovered a forgotten sailboat, which fired him with a desire to learn navigation and shipbuilding; and this half-rotten boat became the "grandfather of the Russian fleet." Playing at war led to the formation of a company of soldiers equipped in European fashion and commanded by a German officer; and this proved the beginning of a new Russian army. In two expeditions (1695 and 1696), Azof (ä′zōf), on the Black Sea, was captured, and the value of the young Tsar's[1] "amusements" was made manifest.

PETER THE GREAT

But the Russian nobility, the Russian priesthood, the old Russian army, were hostile to change. To obtain that first-hand knowledge of the West which was necessary to overcome Muscovite inertia, Peter, with a large suite (in 1697 and 1698), made a "journey of instruction" to Germany, Holland, and England. In Holland he worked for some time in the shipyards, disguised as a common sailor. Wherever he went he refused honors, in order to visit workshops and laboratories. Anatomical and natural history collections were examined, as well as sawmills, paper mills, flour mills, printing offices, and the like. His constant utterance was, "I must see."

508. Peter's journey of instruction

[1] This is the better form of the title, though it is often written "Czar." Formerly it was supposed to be derived from the Latin *Caesar* (German, *Kaiser*, i.e. Emperor), but this view is now disputed.

On his way to Venice, Peter was recalled home by a revolt of the old Russian army (Streltsi), which had long played a part similar to that of the praetorian guard in Roman history. His native savagery burst out in fearful vengeance, and the revolt was used to do away entirely with such dangerous troops. By refusing to appoint a successor to the last patriarch of Moscow (died in 1700), and by later committing the direction of the Russian Greek Church to a Holy Synod, Peter broke the power of the priesthood, and thus weakened a second center of blind conservatism. The nobles were gradually depressed, until (in 1711) the Tsar felt strong enough to forbid them for the future to hold their council, and so ended their political power. Thus army, church, and nobility alike were rendered powerless to oppose reform.

509. Conservative opposition broken

A series of "ukases," or decrees, appeared meanwhile which reformed Russia's institutions — central, provincial, and municipal; social, military, and educational. Western shipbuilders, engineers, and physicians were invited into the land, under promise of security, rewards, and religious toleration. Shaved faces and the short-cut sleeves of the West replaced at the Russian court the long beards and flowing sleeves of the East.

In spite of all efforts, "Holy Moscow," the center of Russian conservatism, remained hostile to Peter's measures. Russia also needed a maritime capital. Since Archangel (on the White Sea) was closed by ice for more than half the year, and Azof (on the Black Sea) was cut off from the Mediterranean by the Turks at Constantinople, a port on the Baltic was a necessity. But both shores of that sea were in the hands of Sweden. To gain the site for a Baltic port, Peter the Great embarked upon a war against the Swedish king, Charles XII, who had just ascended the throne as a boy of fifteen. Poland and Denmark joined in the attack. But the allies miscalculated the character of the young king, for Charles XII possessed exceptional ability and power, with a positive genius for war.

510. Reason for war with Sweden

Without waiting for attack, Charles took the offensive and invaded Denmark. Before her allies could come up, Denmark

was forced to make peace (August, 1700). Then Charles turned to meet the Tsar, who was attacking the Swedish provinces on the Gulf of Finland. With 8000 disciplined men against the 60,000 still half-trained troops of Peter, Charles won a brilliant victory at Narva (November, 1700). Poland was next invaded, and there for five years the war continued. Charles was completely successful here also; and Poland was obliged to accept a ruler of Charles's choice, and to withdraw from the Russian alliance.

511. Beginning of the Northern War (1700)

Peter the Great, meanwhile, had conquered the Swedish provinces about the Gulf of Finland. There, amid the marshes and low-lying islands about the mouth of the river Neva, he began, in 1703, to build his new capital, St. Petersburg.[1] An army of peasants was set to work. The channels were deepened, the level of the islands was raised, and countless piles were driven into the swampy ground as supports for the heavy foundations of the buildings. Lack of provisions and shelter, with constant toil in the cold and wet, cost thousands of lives. Every cart entering the place, and every vessel sailing up the Neva, was forced to bring a specified quantity of building stones, while the construction of stone buildings in other parts of the empire was temporarily forbidden. To furnish inhabitants for the new city, thirty thousand peasants were transported thither at one stroke. The nobles also were required to maintain houses in the new capital proportionate to their means. To beautify the city, foreign workmen and artists were imported. Thus Peter obtained his coveted "window toward the West," and freed his successors from the trammels of conservative Moscow.

512. Founding of St. Petersburg (1703)

In the spring of 1708 Charles XII invaded Russia, where he hoped to rival the exploits of Alexander the Great in Asia. The Russians refused battle (as they later did against Napoleon) and retired upon Moscow, with the Swedes in pursuit. The winter, the most severe for a century, passed with Moscow still untaken. Spring found Charles in the extreme south of Russia, with reënforcements and supplies cut off,

513. Charles XII invades Russia (1708)

[1] Renamed Petrograd in 1914.

laying siege to the fortified city of Poltava. To the advice that he retreat while there was yet opportunity, he replied, "If an angel should descend from heaven and order me to depart from here, I would not go." When Peter arrived to relieve the city, the Swedes found themselves outnumbered two to one, and were defeated. Charles's army was almost entirely destroyed or captured, and he himself escaped with difficulty to Turkish soil.

514. Death of Charles XII (1718)

With unbending obstinacy Charles XII stirred up the Sultan to war against Russia. The Russian army was entrapped by the Turks, but Peter purchased peace by the return of Azof to Turkey. Charles XII was indignant at this peace, and behaved like a madman. At last he was expelled from Turkey, and with but two companions returned to Sweden. He found his outlying territories almost entirely lost, and the Swedish power in ruins. Four years later, while attempting the conquest of Norway, his adventurous life was ended in the siege of a petty fortress.

515. End of the Northern War (1721)

The death of Charles XII made it easier to end the Northern War, and peace between Sweden and Russia was made in 1721. The former government was restored in Poland. Most of Sweden's possessions in Germany (§ 434) were given to Prussia and Hanover. Russia secured the provinces about the Gulf of Finland, — the lion's share of the booty. Sweden, whose power had been founded chiefly on the army created by Gustavus Adolphus, now sank to the position of a second-rate state; while Russia, whose power was based ultimately upon her vast territories and the numbers of her people, rose to the position of foremost power in the North.

516. Russia after Peter the Great (1725–1796)

At the death of Peter the Great, in 1725, Russia had taken on the forms of a modern state. But the ancient government changed its form without changing its substance. Russia remained at bottom an oriental state, with a heritage of manners and ideas borrowed mainly from Byzantine and Mongol civilization. For seventy years, excepting three brief intervals, the government was in the hands of women. It was

a time of palace revolutions, of struggles between native Russians and foreign favorites, and between oligarchical and absolutist factions. The Empress Elizabeth (1741–1762), daughter of Peter the Great, adopted a reactionary policy at home, but acted vigorously in foreign affairs. The immoral but energetic Catherine II (1762–1796) is accounted one of the chief founders of the Russian Empire. She extended the boundaries of her country in every direction, and fostered western civilization. Russia now reached to the heart of Asia. It was the only country of Europe that could increase indefinitely by absorbing barbarian lands.

B. The Rise of Prussia

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw also the rise to power of another northern state, — Prussia. Since 1415 the electorate of Brandenburg had been a possession of the house of Hohenzollern (hō-en-tsōl′ern), the family of the present German Emperor; but until the seventeenth century there was nothing to show that this territory was destined to leadership among German states. The first half of the seventeenth century, however, brought three events of importance in the growth of its power.

517. Union of Brandenburg and Prussia (1618)

(1) Some small territories upon the Rhine were acquired by inheritance in 1609. These gave Brandenburg a footing in western Germany.

(2) In 1618 a large part of the region known as Prussia was acquired. This land had been conquered from the heathen Slavs in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Knights (§ 163); but Poland had annexed its western half, and forced the Knights to hold East Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown. At the time of the Reformation the Grand Master of the Knights, who was a member of the Hohenzollern family, dissolved the order on Luther's advice, and made its territory a secular duchy. In 1618 his line became extinct, and the duchy fell, by previous arrangements, to the Brandenburg line of Hohenzollern. This

acquisition almost doubled the territories of the elector of Brandenburg, and paved the way for future growth.

518. Gains of the Great Elector (1640–1688)

(3) The accession of "the Great Elector," Frederick William, in 1640, did much to remove the ill effects of the Thirty Years' War. To natural gifts of a high order, he added the advantages of education at a Dutch university. The territories to which he succeeded lay in three widely separated groups, — the Brandenburg territories, the Rhine territories, and the Prussian territories. The consolidation, increase, and development of these *nuclei* became his life work.

GROWTH OF BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA

By the treaty of Westphalia (1648), Frederick William secured eastern Pomerania, together with a group of secularized bishoprics on the west. Brandenburg was thus brought to the sea, while the gaps separating it from its sister territories were narrowed. By adroitly using the opportunities offered by wars between Sweden and Poland, Frederick William obtained, in 1660, his highest political triumph, — a renunciation of Polish lordship over Prussia. His greatest military success was an overwhelming victory over the Swedes in 1675.

While increasing his dominions and enhancing his prestige abroad, Frederick William also busied himself with internal reforms. Commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were all encouraged. Roads were built, and a waterway, — the Fred-

erick William Canal, — by joining the Oder to a branch of the Elbe, secured a free outlet to the North Sea (map, p. 438). French Huguenot immigrants to the number of twenty thousand were made welcome, their skill and industry proving a valuable acquisition. The army was brought to a high degree of perfection. The administration of the three groups of territories was merged into one, and absolutism was established. We may regret the lost liberties of the Estates, but the unity, strength, and good order of the realm were thereby increased. The work of Frederick William is well summarized by his great-grandson, Frederick II: "With small means he did great things. He was himself his own prime minister and general in chief, and rendered flourishing a state which he had found buried under its own ruins."

519. His internal reforms

The Great Elector's less capable son, Frederick, added to his electoral and ducal titles the higher one of king. "Great in small things and small in great things," his mind dwelt much upon matters of etiquette and ceremonial. At an interview with William III, the latter as king of England occupied an armchair, while Elector Frederick was given one without arms. Thenceforth offended dignity joined with motives of policy in urging him to seek the royal title. The head of the Holy Roman Empire was the source from which such honor should come, and the need of military assistance forced him (in 1701) to grant the coveted dignity. The Emperor's pride was saved, while fuller independence was achieved for the new king, by making the title read "Frederick I, King in Prussia," — for Prussia lay outside the limits of the Empire.[1]

520. Prussia becomes a kingdom (1701)

Frederick's son, King Frederick William I, resembled his grandfather, the Great Elector, in his diligence, economy, and careful attention to administration, and his father in his tendency to eccentricities. The Prussian-Brandenburg lands were without defensible frontiers, and were sur-

521. Frederick William I (1713–1740)

[1] The title was made King *in* Prussia to save the feelings of the king of Poland, who in 1701 still ruled western Prussia. Later the title was changed to King *of* Prussia.

rounded by hostile neighbors. Their head, therefore, could rise to independent greatness only through military power. This required as its basis both industrial development of his lands, and absolutism in the government. Realizing this, the new king's aims were directed to securing a strong army and a well-filled treasury, and to fostering industry. Economies were made in every department; for example, the number of the king's riding horses was cut down from one thousand to thirty. A rigid supervision, the beginning of the Prussian bureaucracy, was also introduced to prevent wastefulness and theft. Careful attention was given to increasing the royal revenues, in part through a better administration of the crown lands. Manufactures were encouraged, and foreign weavers were induced to settle in Prussia by the offer of a wife, a loom, and a supply of raw material. When the Catholic archbishop of Salzburg (in 1731) drove out his Protestant subjects, fifteen thousand of them were received in Prussia, where they founded six new towns and many villages. The Prussian nobles, who had the old feudal dislike of paying taxes, were forced by Frederick William to pay their full share. To a remonstrance that by his changes "the whole country would be ruined," the king bluntly replied, "I don't believe a word of it, but I do believe the political independence of the country nobles will be ruined."

Giant Soldier of Frederick William

522. The king's tall soldiers

Under Frederick William's fostering care the Prussian army was doubled in numbers and greatly increased in efficiency. Tall soldiers were his hobby; and through the payment of large sums of money, through kidnaping, and through presents of giants from friendly powers, he obtained a palace guard that was the wonder of Europe. He watched over his "children in blue" like a father; but his ready cane chastised them for the slightest offense.

Not merely soldiers, but servants, citizens, and even his children suffered chastisement when they incurred the royal ire. Frederick William's eye and stick were everywhere. His idea of kingship was patriarchal absolutism. He was a ruder, simpler, more primitive Louis XIV. He would establish his sovereignty, he wrote, "like a rock of bronze." Even his famous "tobacco parliament," where officers, citizens, scholars, and foreign travelers smoked and drank with him, would on occasion be converted into an informal council of state, at which the weightiest measures were discussed. In his only war — waged as a part of the Northern War against Charles XII — he acquired a part of Swedish (western) Pomerania, and the convenient port of Stettin (stĕ-tēn′), at the mouth of the river Oder.

Within the little more than a hundred years that had elapsed from the union of Brandenburg and Prussia (in 1618) to the death of King Frederick William (in 1740) the Prussian power had made great strides. Its territory had doubled, its holder had been raised to the rank of king, its population and revenues had been increased, its government reformed and strengthened, and the basis of yet further growth laid in the well-filled treasury and well-drilled army which were the especial creations of King Frederick William I. What could be done with these means was to be made manifest by his son and successor, Frederick the Great.

523. Review of Prussia's progress

IMPORTANT DATES

1415. Hohenzollern family secured Brandenburg.
1480. Russia freed from Mongol rule.
1618. Brandenburg and Prussia united.
1688. Death of the Great Elector.
1689. Peter the Great begins to rule in Russia.
1701. Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia gains title of king.
1703. Founding of St. Petersburg.
1708. Charles XII of Sweden invades Russia.
1725. Death of Peter the Great.
1740. Death of Frederick William I of Prussia.
1762. Catherine II ascends Russian throne.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the condition of Russia at the accession of Peter the Great with that of the Frankish kingdom at the accession of Charlemagne. (2) What advantages had Peter over Charlemagne in developing his state? (3) Was Charles XII or Peter the Great the better general? (4) Which was the better statesman? (5) What territorial advantages had Russia over other European states? What disadvantages? (6) State in your own words what Peter the Great did for Russia. (7) Sum up the steps in the rise of the kingdom of Prussia. (8) How did Frederick William earn the title "the Great Elector"? (9) Was King Frederick William I a good or a bad ruler? Why? (10) Why was the growth in power of Russia and Prussia important? (11) On what grounds could absolute government for Prussia be justified at that time? Do these reasons exist to-day?

Search Topics. — (1) RUSSIA BEFORE PETER THE GREAT. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, I, ch. xx; Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, 297–300: Morfill, *Story of Russia*, chs. v–vi. — (2) PETER'S TRAVELS IN THE WEST. Motley, *Peter the Great*, 7–27; Browning, *Peter the Great*, ch. x; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 57–61. — (3) REFORMS OF PETER THE GREAT. Johnson, *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, 99–105; Schuyler, *Peter the Great*, I, ch. xxv; II, chs. lvii, lxiii; Rambaud, *Russia*, II, ch. iii. — (4) FOUNDING OF ST. PETERSBURG. Schuyler, *Peter the Great*, II, ch. xlvi. — (5) CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN. Bain, *Charles XII*. — (6) ORIGIN OF THE HOHENZOLLERN FAMILY. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 1–2. — (7) REFORMS OF THE GREAT ELECTOR. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 22–24; Tuttle, *History of Prussia*, I, 226–250. — (8) FREDERICK WILLIAM I. Henderson, *Short History*, II, ch. ii, 87–104; Lavisse, *Youth of Frederick the Great*, ch. ii.

General Reading. — For Russia the histories by Rambaud and by Morfill are the best. Henderson's *Short History of Germany* (2 vols.) is the best brief account of its subject. Fuller accounts may be found in Tuttle's *History of Prussia* (4 vols.), and in the *Cambridge Modern History*.

CHAPTER XXIII

WIDENING AREA OF EUROPEAN RIVALRY (1715–1789)

524. General features of the period

THE period between the death of Louis XIV and the outbreak of the French Revolution (in 1789) was one of almost constant warfare between the Powers of Europe. At first glance the wars seem a mere continuation of the dreary struggles of the preceding period, caused by the desire of certain states to increase their territories, and of others to maintain the Balance of Power. France continued to decline in power, and Prussia and Russia to rise in the European scale. One great European state — Poland — totally disappeared as a result of the unscrupulous attacks of its neighbors. But the area of the struggles was now widened. North America and far-off India became the scenes of important European conflicts. Other issues than that of the Balance of Power in Europe were evidently at stake. A close examination of the period shows that these contests were largely for *colonial empire* and *sea power*. Perhaps the most important outcome was the fact that Great Britain succeeded in this period in laying the foundations of her vast empire, through which have spread the principles of personal liberty and constitutional government. The tangled threads of the political history of this time may best be grouped under these three heads: (1) The further growth of Prussia through the wars and works of Frederick the Great. (2) The founding of the British Empire through successful warfare with France and the colonization of Australia. (3) The partitions of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In these three developments the political history of the world was being settled for many generations to come.

A. Prussia under Frederick the Great

525. Youth of Frederick the Great

The education which Frederick William I of Prussia planned for his son and heir, the future Frederick the Great, was hard, practical, and matter-of-fact. The prince's own inclinations, joined to his mother's and teacher's secret efforts, supplemented this with studies in literature, music, and art. Young Frederick showed himself as self-willed as his father, and ill-feeling sprang up which was increased by a public flogging. To make matters worse, the prince, who was an officer in the Prussian army, attempted to flee from the kingdom. This was military desertion, an offense which the laws of war made punishable with death. For a time the old king was with difficulty restrained from inflicting this extreme penalty. Finally he contented himself with the beheading, before Frederick's eyes, of the prince's friend and accomplice, and the close imprisonment of Frederick himself. This harsh treatment went far to cure the prince of his persistent folly.

Frederick the Great
From a painting by J. Moller

Then followed the "second education" of young Frederick. To discipline him and train him in the practical work of administration, his father set him to work in the War and Domain Office as assistant clerk. The harsh treatment he received sobered and strengthened Frederick, and prepared him for his duties as king; but it also developed in him bitterness and hypocrisy. His apprenticeship over, he was restored to favor, and soon was allowed to set up a little court of his own, where he

surrounded himself with a brilliant circle. He entered into correspondence with the skeptical French philosopher Voltaire (§ 560), and he wrote a refutation of the political treatise of Machiavelli (§ 333). To a superficial observer, Frederick II seemed likely to prove anything but the unscrupulous master of war and of statecraft that his reign showed him to be.

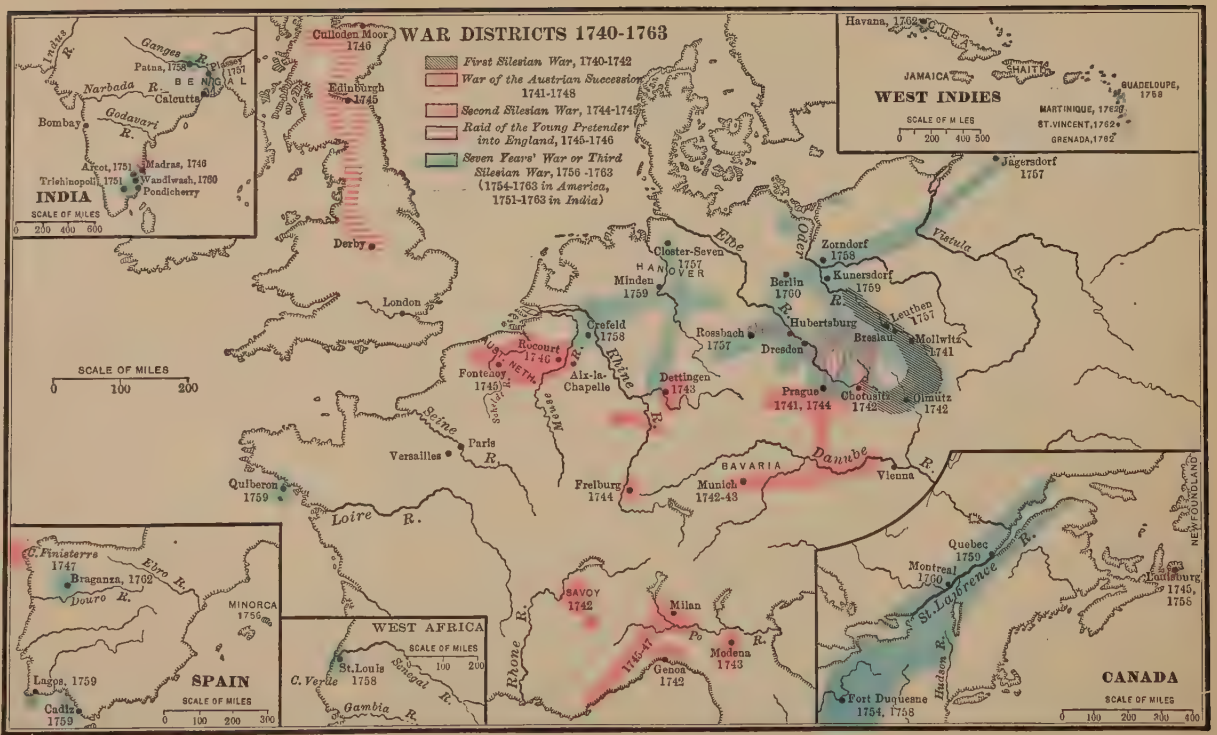
Frederick II succeeded to the throne in 1740, at the age of twenty-eight. A few months later the Emperor Charles VI died. He left no son, but he had secured the assent of Europe (including Prussia) to a document called the Pragmatic Sanction, which recognized Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa, as queen over all the Austrian dominions.

526. The seizure of Silesia (1740)

MARIA THERESA
From a painting by J. Moller

This was Frederick's opportunity. He desired above all else military glory, and he had at his back the finest army in Europe and a well-filled treasure chest. "It is only a matter of carrying out plans," he wrote, "which I have long had in my head." Without a declaration of war, and in the dead of winter (1740), he threw his army into the Austrian province of Silesia (sĭ-lē′shĭ-a), to which he advanced some shadowy claims. It was sheer brigandage. The Austrians were taken unprepared, and were easily defeated. The efficiency of the Prussian army was proved, and Europe recognized that a new power had arisen.

At once Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, and Saxony set up claims of various sorts to parts of the Hapsburg dominions. There followed the general War of the Austrian Succession



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(1741–1748). Great Britain (whose king as elector of Hanover had important interests in Germany) took up arms on the side of Austria. For four years the position of Emperor, so long held by a Hapsburg, was filled by the elector of Bavaria; but upon his death (in 1745) Maria Theresa secured the election of her husband, the amiable Francis I. The Hungarians and Austrians rallied nobly to the support of their young queen. She, for her part, showed unexpected courage, eloquence, and governing ability. Her subjects were ready to die for her; even her enemies respected and admired her.

527. War of the Austrian Succession (1741–1748)

After having once made — and broken — a treaty, Frederick II again made peace in 1745. Having got what he wanted, he agreed to retire from the war. In return Maria Theresa agreed that he should keep his conquered province of Silesia.

Meanwhile the area of the war was widening. "From the banks of the Oder, the war spread successively to the banks of the Danube, the Elbe, the Po, then to the Scheldt and the Meuse, and beyond the seas." French and English colonists in North America engaged in the conflict, as in the days of Louis XIV, in furtherance of their rival interests. In India, also, French and English traders fought each other to determine which should control the commerce of that rich and populous country.[1] But for the settlement of these wider interests the time was not yet ripe. All parties grew tired of the war, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, a general peace was signed. Its terms were as follows:—

528. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

1. Maria Theresa was recognized as ruler of the Hapsburg lands, except Silesia.
2. Silesia was again confirmed to Prussia.
3. All other conquests were mutually restored.

[1] The historian Macaulay, in his essay on Frederick the Great, says: "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel [India], and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America." This view fails to take account of the real conflict of interests between English and French, which caused the extension of the war to India and to America. Their rivalries would have led to war in America and in the Far East even if Frederick had never seized Silesia.

529. The diplomatic revolution (1756)

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was far from proving a permanent settlement. Maria Theresa bitterly resented the provision which left Silesia in the hands of Frederick the Great. France, moreover, felt that her prestige was lowered by the rapid rise of Prussia, and that her interests in India and North America were threatened by the growth of English trade and colonization. Nevertheless, renewal of war was postponed for eight years. During this time a change in alliances took place which amounted to a diplomatic revolution. Austria and France laid aside their enmity of the past two hundred years and formed an alliance which continued till the French Revolution. At the same time a coolness arose between England and Austria, for neither state was much interested in the objects of the other. The British king, to safeguard his German territory (Hanover), then entered into a treaty of alliance with Frederick II of Prussia. Both England and France thus changed sides in the alignment of European Powers. But because of the vital conflict of their interests, they were still in opposite camps.

530. The Seven Years' War begun (1756)

Even before this change in alliances was completed, conflicts had broken out between the French and English in India (1751) and in North America (1754). These conflicts proved the prelude to a new war, on a more gigantic scale than any hitherto seen. In European history this is called the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The war in Europe opened with a sudden invasion of Saxony by Frederick the Great. He had learned that Austria, Russia, and Saxony were secretly planning to attack him and divide his territories; and he rightly judged that his best chance of safety lay in striking first. In this new struggle Frederick displayed his highest powers of generalship. His army was the best drilled and the best equipped in Europe, and it was enthusiastically loyal. He was served by able generals, who were animated by his own spirit and trained under his own eye. The French armies, on the contrary, had lost their earlier efficiency. The controlling influence at the French court was now the king's favorite, Madame de Pompadour, who caused ministers and generals to be

appointed and dismissed at her caprice. Further to complicate matters, Louis XV corresponded secretly with his ambassadors, often giving them instructions which were directly opposed to those received from the French foreign office.

Woman's Dress in Court of Louis XV

The forces of Maria Theresa, however, had learned from Frederick the art of making war. A series of administrative reforms, inspired by those of Prussia, also enabled Austria more effectually to utilize its resources. Before Frederick's alliance with Great Britain began to show its good effects, he likened himself to a stag attacked by "a pack of kings and princes." In the course of the war his fortunes sank to their lowest ebb, but disaster only inspired him to more desperate exertions.

531. The war in Europe (1756–1763)

In 1756 Frederick won brilliant victories at Rossbach (rōs′bäĸ; in Saxony) and Leuthen (loi′ten; in Silesia). Of the last-named battle Napoleon Bonaparte once said, "It was a masterpiece in the way of evolutions, maneuvers, and determination, and would alone have sufficed to make Frederick immortal, and to rank him among the greatest generals." But in the period from 1758 to 1760, Frederick suffered serious reverses. The Russians overran East Prussia and Brandenburg; and with the aid of the Austrians they overwhelmingly defeated Frederick at Kunersdorf (1759). "The consequences of this battle," Frederick wrote, "will be worse than the battle itself. I have no more resources and, not to hide the truth, I consider that all is lost." His enemies, however, disagreed and failed to follow up their victory. In spite of the surprise and burning of Berlin (1760), Frederick succeeded in recovering the advantage.

From 1761 to 1763 Prussia was almost exhausted. Year by

year the war drained Frederick's resources, until it was only by the greatest efforts that his army could be kept in the field. To add to his difficulties, George III, who succeeded to the British throne in 1760, broke off the Prussian alliance, and stopped the payment of the money subsidies which had greatly aided Frederick in carrying on the war. The greatest crisis in Frederick's affairs was at hand. At this juncture, however, a Tsar came to the Russian throne who was an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, and he at once made peace. "Heaven still stands by us," wrote Frederick, "and everything will turn out well." The result justified his belief; but the remainder of the war on the Continent was "like a race between spent horses."

532. Peace of Hubertsburg (1763)

Even Maria Theresa at last recognized the hopelessness of continuing the struggle. To the demand that at least some grant of territory should be made to her, and that Saxony should be compensated for its sufferings in the war, Frederick contemptuously replied: "Not a foot of land, and no compensation to Saxony — not a village, not a penny." These were the terms embodied in the peace of Hubertsburg (1763), on which the Seven Years' War in Europe was concluded. Austria's only gain lay in a secret agreement by which Frederick undertook to aid the election of Maria Theresa's son (Joseph II) as Emperor when his father, Francis I, should die.

533. Frederick the Great in time of peace

The peace of Hubertsburg ended Prussia's participation in these wars. During the remaining twenty-three years of Frederick's reign, he was occupied in repairing the damages caused by war, and in building up his kingdom. By the energy and ability which he showed in this work, even more than by his brilliant warfare, he gained his surname "the Great." Prussia, indeed, was sadly in need of his fostering care. More than 180,000 men had fallen in Frederick's wars; and the desolation which reigned throughout the Prussian kingdom can only be compared to that in which all Germany lay at the close of the Thirty Years' War.

To increase Prussia's population, Frederick sought emigrants from Holland and from every German state. Those who an-

swered his call received money to help pay their traveling expenses, together with horses from the cavalry for their plowing and seed grain from the army stocks. In addition, Prussian nobles were ordered to rebuild the thousands of ruined farmhouses on their estates, and to install peasants in them. In spite of bitter resistance, and even riots, he encouraged the cultivation of the potato as a cheaper article of food.[1] By building levees and draining swamps Frederick reclaimed vast areas of good farming land. On a single tract 43 villages were established with 1200 families. "I have conquered a province in the midst of peace, and without need of soldiers," cried Frederick, joyously, on beholding these results. By the end of the century almost a third of the population of Prussia was composed of colonists or the sons of colonists who had been brought in by Frederick or by his immediate predecessors.

534. Immigration and agriculture

Commerce and manufactures profited equally by Frederick's attention. Banks were founded, roads built, and canals constructed. One of the latter connected a tributary of the Oder with the Vistula River (the next great stream to the east), and so extended, almost to the eastern limits of Prussia, the system of internal waterways begun by the Great Elector. To aid manufactures, Frederick imported workmen to teach new processes. He built up the manufacture of woolen cloth, founded the first porcelain factory in Berlin, began the cultivation of the silkworm and silk manufactures, and intro-

535. Commerce and manufactures

[1] It is a question whether the potato was first introduced from America to Europe, in the sixteenth century, by the Spaniards or the English. Its cultivation was soon undertaken in Italy and in southern France; and in certain parts of Germany its adoption as an article of food checked the famines caused by the Thirty Years' War (§ 436). In Ireland the potato had become the staple food of the peasantry by the year 1688, but its cultivation in England made little progress until a hundred years later. Everywhere the introduction of this new food encountered prejudice and misrepresentation, for it was ignorantly said to be a cause of leprosy and many sorts of fevers. A learned Frenchman named Parmentier (born 1737) played the chief part in dispelling these prejudices through a series of books and pamphlets in which he urged its cultivation and use. The French King Louis XVI popularized the movement by wearing the flowers of the plant in the buttonhole of his coat. It was probably Parmentier's writings that led Frederick the Great to champion the cause of the potato in Prussia.

duced or improved the printing of calicoes, manufacture of paper, refining of sugar, glass blowing, and iron founding.

536. Frederick's habits and government

To the end of his days "the old Fritz," as his subjects lovingly called him, was one of the hardest working persons in his kingdom. He arose at four o'clock in summer (five o'clock in winter), and spent the day in reading and answering correspondence, in reviewing troops, and in the multitude of details connected with the government of his lands. Some part of each day was set aside for reading, and for literary or musical composition; and the evenings were given up to concerts (in which Frederick played skillfully on the flute), and to conversations with artists and literary men. In the midst of the cares of war and government, he never lost his earlier tastes for literature and music.

The idea of government on which Frederick acted is expressed in his saying, "The people are not here for the sake of the rulers, but the rulers for the sake of the people." But Frederick was far from believing in government "*of* the people and *by* the people." In everything he not merely planned the whole, but oversaw the execution of the minutest details.[1] His ministers were mere clerks. Even in the administration of justice, Frederick directly interfered, going so far at times as literally to *kick* judges whom he suspected of favoring the rich against the poor. The bad effects of his system were seen when his master hand was withdrawn by death. The Prussian administrative system then fell into speedy decay. In a despotically ruled state all depends upon the character of the head; and a succession of able and benevolent rulers can never be assured.[2]

537. Rise of modern German literature

The reign of Frederick the Great saw the beginning of a great development of modern German literature. The first name of importance is that of the critic and dramatist Lessing (1729–1781), whose *Nathan the Wise* enshrines "all

[1] See Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, I, 205–208, for some interesting comments by Frederick on petitions presented to him.

[2] Frederick's methods of government place him in the list of the benevolent despots, who will be discussed more fully in a later chapter (§§ 566–567).

that was noblest in the struggles and aspirations of his age, and connects the thought of the eighteenth with that of the nineteenth century." Goethe (gû'tẽ; 1749–1832), author of *Faust* (foust) and a universal genius, holds the same place in German literature that Shakespeare does in English and Dante in Italian. Schiller (1759–1805) is best known by his poetical drama, *William Tell*. Kant (1724–1804), author of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, made philosophy the absorbing subject of study at the German universities. But to all this Frederick himself was blind. To him the French language and French literature appeared vastly superior to German. "In order to convince yourself of the bad taste that reigns in Germany," he wrote in 1780, "you have only to frequent the theater. There you will see presented the abominable plays of Shakespeare translated into our language, and the whole audience transported with delight by these absurd farces, fit only for the savages of Canada." He further speaks of one of Goethe's early works as "a detestable imitation of those wretched English plays." In spite of his ability and enlightenment, Frederick belonged to an age that was passing away.

Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 327

B. The Founding of the British Empire

We must now consider more in detail the struggles of England and France in this period, amid which was founded the British Empire.

Louis XIV of France outlived both his son (the dauphin) and the latter's eldest son (see genealogy, p. 392). Consequently when this monarch died, in 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV, a sickly child of five years. For some years the government was in the hands of the young king's uncle, who for reasons of his own kept peace with England.[1] When Louis XV took the government into his own hands,

538. France under Louis XV (1715–1774)

[1] To the period of the regency belongs the craze for speculation which is called the "Mississippi Bubble." A Scotchman named John Law had won a reputation by founding the first bank in France to issue bank notes and by straightening out the finances of the government. He thereupon formed a joint-stock company

he showed an utter disregard of everything save his own pleasures. For the misfortunes and misgovernment of his reign, this king felt no sense of responsibility. If retribution came upon his successors, that was no concern of his. "Things will out last our time," said he; and his favorite, Madame de Pompadour, added recklessly, "After us, the deluge!" The one territorial gain made by Louis XV was the acquisition, through marriage and treaty, of the duchy of Lorraine. This province joined Alsace more closely to France, and rounded out the conquests of two centuries (map, p. 388). Against this gain must be set the loss of the possessions of France in North America, and of French ascendancy in India.

First Spain, and then Holland, had held and lost the supremacy of the seas and colonial empire. With both of these countries England had engaged in war, largely because of conflicting trade and colonizing interests. France had now succeeded Spain and Holland as England's chief rival in these respects. An eminent English historian sums up the history of the eighteenth century by saying: "The whole period stands out as an age of gigantic rivalry between England and France, a kind of second Hundred Years' War. The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century." After mentioning the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, and the War of American Independence, he continues: "In these three wars, between 1740 and 1783, the struggle as between England and France is entirely for the New World [and India]. In the first

539. English and French rivalry

Seeley, *Expansion of England*, 24, 28, 31

(known as the "Mississippi Scheme"), which secured a monopoly of French commerce in the vast Louisiana territory and Canada, as well as in Senegal (Africa) and the French East Indies. For a time his enterprises prospered and a mania for speculation sent the shares up to fabulous prices. "Everybody was mad about Mississippi stock," wrote a nobleman of that time. "Immense fortunes were made almost in a breath. People could not change their lands and their houses into paper fast enough." — (St. Simon, *Memoirs*, IV, 158.) The inevitable result of the overissue of stock and bank notes was that the "Mississippi Bubble" burst in 1720, and Law and his followers were overwhelmed in ruin. The English, at about the same time, were caught in a similar "South Sea Bubble."

of them, the issue is fairly joined; in the second, France suffers her fatal fall; in the third, she takes her signal revenge."

The English colonists in America had good reasons of their own for fighting the French.[1] To antipathies of race, government, and religion there were added conflicting interests in the Ohio valley. The French were trying to connect Canada and lower Louisiana by a chain of forts, and thus impose a barrier to the westward expansion of the English colonists. The issue was to decide whether North America should be governed by a Latin or by a Teutonic race; whether it should be self-governed or despotically ruled.

540. French and English in America

The Seven Years' War, as we have seen, broke out in America before the beginning of hostilities in Europe. In 1754 young George Washington fought the French at Great Meadows; and in 1755 (still a year before Frederick's invasion of Saxony) came the defeat of Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne (du-kān'). On the seas the British navy seized three hundred French merchant vessels and two frigates before the formal declaration of war, in 1756.

541. Seven Years' War in America

In 1757 the administration in Great Britain passed, for the first time in some years, into the hands of a really able man. This was William Pitt the elder (called "the Great Commoner"), who was later made earl of Chat'ham. He found the war going badly, the natural result of favoritism, corruption, and incompetence. "I am sure that I can save the country," Pitt boasted with proud confidence, "and that no one else can." King George II was obliged to accept Pitt as his chief minister, and until 1761 the direction of the government was in Pitt's hands.

Pitt vigorously prosecuted the war in America and on the seas, without however neglecting the interests of Frederick the

[1] After the accession of William III, every war between these two countries was extended to North America. The war which closed with the peace of Ryswick (1697) was known as King William's War; the War of the Spanish Succession was known as Queen Anne's War; and the War of the Austrian Succession as King George's War. The Seven Years' War was called the French and Indian War by the English colonists in America.

Great, with whom England was allied. In 1758 the British took Louisburg (in Nova Scotia) and Fort Duquesne — thenceforth called Fort Pitt, or Pittsburgh. In 1759 Quebec, "the Gibraltar of America," fell as a result of an attack by General Wolfe. In spite of the entrance of Spain into the war as a French ally, Martinique (mar-te-nēk′), Grena′da, St. Vincent, and other French islands in the West Indies passed into British hands. Great Britain's maritime power was established beyond dispute. France's colonial empire in America came practically to an end. The British colonies thenceforth could freely develop their heritage of political and religious liberty.

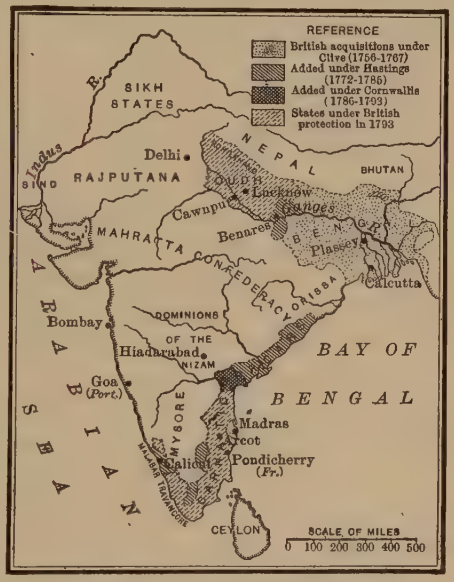
542. French and English in India (1600–1751)

In the East Indies, from 1500 to 1600, as the result of Vasco da Gama's famous voyage (§ 313), the Portuguese enjoyed a trade monopoly; but after 1600 they lost ground to the Dutch, English, and French. The English East India Company, chartered in 1600, represented English interests in India; and in the eighteenth century it possessed trading stations at Madras′, Bombay′, and Calcutta. The French also had several stations in India, of which the chief, Pondicherry, was not far from Madras. Unlike America, India was a tropical country, thickly populated, ruled by established governments, and possessed of a civilization older and in some respects more advanced than that of Europe. Colonization was thus out of the question. The European settlements were at first mere trading stations (called "factories"), which did not attempt political control of the land.

Dupleix (dü-plā′), the French governor of Pondicherry, was the first to see the possibilities of conquest in India and to devise the means of effecting it. The natives of India, when properly drilled and officered, made excellent soldiers (called Sepoys); and their lack of all sentiment of nationality rendered possible a conquest of India by its own natives, for the benefit of Europe. The British, in self-defense, organized troops similar to those established by Dupleix. In 1751, on the occasion of a dispute between two rival "nabobs" (rulers) of Arcot′, the French and British took opposite sides.

Thus began the struggle for the mastery in India (1751–1761), which merged into the Seven Years' War of Europe. On the British side the hero of the war was Robert Clive, a clerk of the East India Company, who laid down the pen to take up the sword. In his defense of Arcot he showed not only his own genius for war, but also the loyalty and stanchness of his Sepoy troops. Dupleix, whose worth and work were little appreciated in France, was recalled in disgrace in 1754. In 1756, the nabob of Bengal quarreled with the British and imprisoned over a hundred of them in a small, close dungeon (the "Black Hole" of Calcutta), where five sixths died before morning. The horror of this deed and the difficulty of dealing with its author forced upon the British the conquest of Bengal, which was accomplished by the battle of Plassey (June 23, 1757). The French, meanwhile, steadily lost ground through mismanagement, incompetence, and lack of support at home. In 1760 came the final defeat of the French and the overthrow of their influence in India. In the language of an English historian, this conquest of India was "the most striking and remarkable incident in the modern part of the history of England." [1]

543. British supremacy in India



GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

Seeley, *Expansion of England*, 186

[1] After the close of the Seven Years' War, the English East India Company was practically without a rival. Its efforts were still devoted chiefly to trade, and only

Pitt, however, was not content with these great gains. He wished to use the opportunity, offered by Spain's aid to France, to secure parts of Spain's colonial possessions also. But George III had just come to the British throne (1760), and he wished for peace in order to free himself from the control of the Whig party. Pitt was therefore forced out of office, and England and France signed the Peace of Paris (1763). Its chief provisions were as follows: —

544. Peace of Paris (1763)

1. France ceded to England the whole of Canada, together with various islands in the West Indies.
2. The French stations in India were restored, but were not to be fortified.
3. Spain ceded Florida to England, which retained it until 1783. To compensate Spain for this loss, France ceded to her Louisiana, — a vast region west of the Mississippi River.
4. Manila, in the Philippines, which had been conquered by England while the negotiations were in progress, together with Havana (in Cuba), were restored to Spain.

545. Results of the Seven Years' War

Great Britain was the only state which profited by the bloody and costly Seven Years' War. "It is singular," says a French minister of that time, "that all the courts have missed their goal in this war. The king of Prussia has gained much glory in dominating the courts of Europe, but he will leave to his heir a power lacking in solidity. He has ruined his people, exhausted his treasury, depopulated his states. The Empress Maria Theresa has increased her reputation for courage, power, and the efficiency of her troops, but she has not accomplished one of the objects she set before herself. Russia has shown to Europe the most invincible soldiery, but the worst led. The Swedes have played uselessly an obscure and subor-

gradually did functions of government pass into its hands. Under Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of India, the full administration of Bengal was undertaken, and in various ways control was exercised over regions in which native princes continued to rule. The anomaly of a commercial company governing so great an empire led the British Parliament, in 1784, to establish a governmental Board of Control in England, to supervise the political side of the company's action; but it was not until 1858 that the company's government came entirely to an end (§ 817).

dinate rôle. Our own part has been extravagant and shameful." Great Britain had profited because Pitt had concentrated his efforts on advancing England's real interests, instead of wasting his country's energies, as France did, on the European struggle. It has well been said that in this war "the kingdom of Great Britain became the British Empire."

546. Growth of England's sea power

Sea power was both an object and the principal weapon of England in all her wars with France from 1688 to 1815. According to the leading writer on this subject, sea power rests upon "(1) *production*, with the necessity of exchanging products; (2) *shipping*, whereby the exchange is carried on; and (3) *colonies*, which facilitate and enlarge the operation of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety." England was marked out for sea power by its geographical situation, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century popular sentiment and governmental policy were directed to this end. Holland's maritime power was weakened by the English Navigation Act (1651), crippled by the English wars which followed that act (§ 450), and ruined by the attacks of Louis XIV which forced her into submissive alliance with England. France's sea power had rested upon action by the government rather than by the people; and when Louis XIV began his territorial conquests, he sacrificed to his land wars France's colonies, shipping, and everything save actual fighting vessels. By 1756 France had but 45 battleships, to Great Britain's 130, and her whole navy was demoralized. In the course of the Seven Years' War her small naval squadrons were destroyed by the superior force of her antagonist, her mercantile shipping was swept from the seas, and her colonies were conquered by British troops. The damage once done could not be repaired. The outcome of this struggle has influenced the whole course of subsequent history. With a land narrow in extent and relatively poor in natural resources, England has grown rich largely through the possession of sea power. Her riches in turn enabled her to grant large subsidies of money to her continental allies; and her wealth and

Mahan, *Sea Power (1660-1783)*, 28

navy together have given her, at critical times, the foremost rôle in European affairs.

547. Internal history of England

The domestic history of Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century centers largely in a series of inventions and changes in manufacturing which we call the Industrial Revolution. These are of supreme importance, but we shall not attempt to describe them until a later chapter, when the movement can be dealt with as a whole. Other matters of note in the later eighteenth century are (1) the political struggles which arose out of George III's attempt to impose his personal will on the nation, and (2) the loss through revolt of the thirteen American colonies.

In order to break down the rule of the great Whig families, George III sought, through the use of bribes and crown patronage, to build up in Parliament a party controlled by himself and called "the king's friends." George III was a good man and was attentive to business, but he had very little understanding. "He inflicted more permanent and enduring injuries upon his country," says the English historian Lecky, "than any other modern English king. He spent a long life in obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to have been good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to have been bad." His support enabled the Tories to regain control of the government, after nearly fifty years' exclusion from power (since 1714). For twelve years (1770–1782) the amiable Lord North was nominally prime minister, though he disapproved of many of the measures which his royal master insisted on carrying out. During his administration occurred the war with the American colonies, a contest with which Lord North's name is always associated, but of which he did not wholly approve.

The details of the revolt of the American colonies lie outside the scope of this volume. Its causes are to be found rather in the character of the colonists and in the nature of their situation, than in any special oppressive acts of the British government. Accustomed as Englishmen were to

548. Revolt of colonies in America

liberty and self-government, it was inevitable that they should resent any attempt at control which they thought injurious to their interests. This was especially true when the government which exercised the control was located three thousand miles across the Atlantic. So long as there was danger to the colonists from the near neighborhood of the French in Canada, this tendency remained undeveloped. But when, after the overthrow of the French power, the British government sought to exercise rights of taxation and the like (which in theory the colonists hitherto had recognized) the revolt came. The aid which France gave to the colonies, after 1778, perhaps had motives among the upper classes other than those of selfish policy. By French statesmen generally, however, the war was regarded mainly as an opportunity for revenge upon England. Spain entered into the war (1779) in a vain attempt to recover Gibraltar. Holland was forced into it (1780) by questions of trade. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria formed (in 1780) the "Armed Neutrality of the North," which asserted the doctrine, against Great Britain's practice, that "free ships make free goods," and sought in general to secure protection for neutral commerce. The disaster to the British arms at Yorktown (1781), and the menacing aspect of European affairs, finally forced George III to grant the independence of the colonies. A general peace was made at Paris in 1782–1783. Spain recovered Florida, and France received a few islands from Great Britain. But to France the war brought financial bankruptcy, while the example of the American revolt aided the growth of revolutionary ideas among her own citizens.

Great Britain came out of the American war with diminished prestige and curtailed empire. It was generally believed that her decay had begun. That this proved not to be the case was due mainly to two causes: (1) To the ever increasing flood of wealth and strength which she drew from the Industrial Revolution. (2) To the beginning of a new colonial dominion, in Australia and New Zealand, which compensated for the loss of the thirteen colonies.

549. Colonization of Australia (1788)

Australia was the last of the continents to be discovered and colonized. Although visited by Dutch and English vessels in the seventeenth century, it was not until the famous English navigator Captain Cook explored its shores (in 1769, 1772, and 1776) that it was opened to European enterprise. The first British settlement was founded at Botany Bay, in New South Wales (1788), as a convict settlement. From this small beginning the British occupation grew until the whole continent, together with the neighboring islands of New Zealand, was brought into the British Empire. At the time, the acquisition of these distant and unpromising lands seemed a matter of very slight consequence. By their later growth they have become one of the most prosperous and important parts of the British colonies, and a distinct source of strength to that British Empire "on which the sun never sets."

C. The Partitions of Poland

From the treaties of Hubertsburg and Paris, in 1763, to the outbreak of the wars of the French Revolution, there was no general European conflict. But at no time has self-interest so unscrupulously been made the rule of action of European states, and at no time have the weaker states been more exposed to attacks from their more powerful neighbors. The destruction of Poland, through successive partitions, was the greatest of such national crimes.

550. Anarchy and weakness of Poland

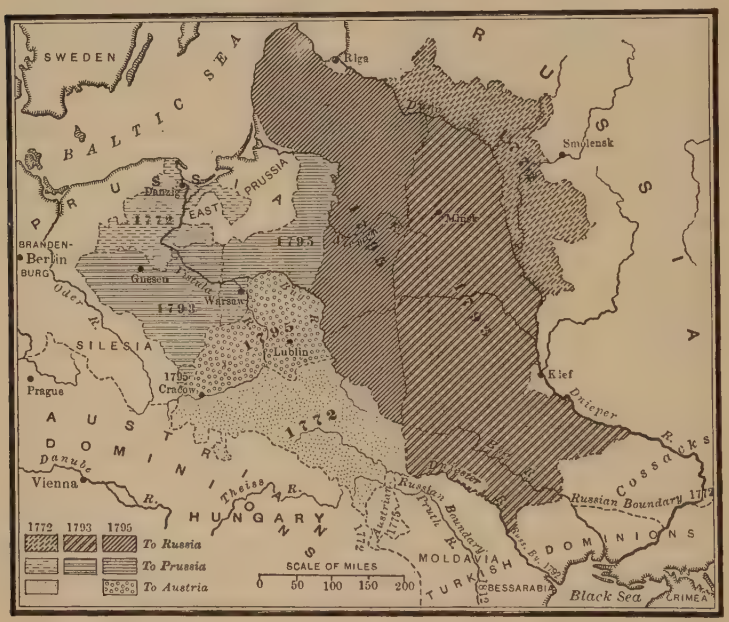
Next to Russia, Poland was the most extensive country of Europe. Its monarchy was elective, and at each successive election the power of the crown was diminished, until the king was practically powerless. In the eighteenth century Poland "had no ambassadors at foreign courts, the land had no fortresses, no navy, no roads, no arsenals, no treasury, no fixed revenue." The ministers of the crown and the governors of the provinces held office for life, and were irremovable. Peace and war, the making of laws, and the levying of taxes, were in the hands of the Diet, which was composed exclusively of rep-

resentatives of the nobles. Absolute unanimity, moreover, was necessary in the proceedings of this body, owing to the existence of a peculiar institution called the *liberum veto*. If any deputy believed that a measure already approved by the rest of the Diet was injurious to his constituency, he had the right to arise and exclaim, "I disapprove"; and the measure in question was at once dropped. In addition to political anarchy, there was also racial and religious disunion. The population consisted of Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Germans, and Jews. Alongside of the established Roman Catholic Church were the persecuted sects of Greek Catholics and Protestants. In some of the towns the Jews made up more than half of the population, and what little trade existed was mainly in their hands. Practically the Third Estate did not exist in Poland. The population consisted of something over one million nobles and thirteen million serfs. The nobles owed their power to their sole right to bear arms and to own land. The estates of some nobles were very small. It was said jokingly that often when a noble's dog lay down in the middle of the family estate, his tail extended into the domain of his master's neighbor. The peasants were still attached to the soil as in medieval times (§ 188), and the whole product of their labor belonged to their masters. The nobles still held their manorial courts and exercised the power of life and death over their serfs. The Polish peasants, in short, were "the poorest, most oppressed, and most miserable in the world."

551. Its extinction (1772–1795)

Naturally the weakness, disorder, and disunion of this great land excited the greed of its unscrupulous neighbors. Catherine II of Russia determined to seize a portion of Poland, and Frederick the Great persuaded Austria to join him in forcing Catherine to share with them the booty. Thus began the "vast national crime" by which, in three successive partitions, Poland was annexed by the three powers. (1) In the first partition, in 1772, Prussia took the district of West Prussia, which she coveted, thus filling in the gap separating East Prussia from Brandenburg. Russia and Austria

each took districts (shown on the map) which bordered on their territories. (2) Sweeping reforms were now carried out by the Poles, and a new constitution adopted (1791) which made the monarchy hereditary and abolished the *liberum veto*. But discontented nobles plotted with Russia and Prussia for the overthrow of the new government, and the price of their aid was



PARTITIONS OF POLAND

a second and more extensive partition (1793). Austria was at the time engaged in war with revolutionary France, and her claims to a share in the spoil were disregarded. (3) Two years later (1795) an attempted revolution by the Polish patriot Kosciusko was made the excuse for a third and final partition, in which all three powers shared.

By these successive partitions the great kingdom of Poland was entirely wiped off the map. Its extinction was made

possible by the selfish policy of the nobles, and by an easily understood lack of any feeling of national patriotism on the part of the crushed and downtrodden peasantry. But since the loss of their independence, a new sentiment of nationality has arisen among the Poles, manifesting itself in revolts and in still unquenched hatred for their foreign masters.

IMPORTANT DATES

1740. Accession of Frederick the Great.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ends war of the Austrian Succession.
1756. The Seven Years' War in Europe begun.
1757. Clive wins the battle of Plassey.
1759. Quebec taken by General Wolfe.
1760. Accession of George III.
1763. Peace of Hubertsburg; Peace of Paris.
1772. First Partition of Poland.
1775–1783. The American Revolution.
1786. Death of Frederick the Great.
1788. British colonization of Australia begun.
1793. Second Partition of Poland.
1795. Third Partition of Poland.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Were the European wars of the middle of the eighteenth century more or less important than the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why? (2) Was the treatment of young Frederick the Great by his father wise or unwise? Why? (3) Was Frederick's attack on Austria worse than that of Peter the Great on Sweden? (4) What qualities of greatness did Maria Theresa show? (5) Was Frederick justified in his attack on Saxony in 1756? (6) What qualities of greatness does Frederick show as a general? In the administration of his kingdom? (7) Which is most important in the history of the world, the battles of Rossbach and Leuthen, the battle of Plassey, or the capture of Quebec? Why? (8) Why was France so unsuccessful in these wars? (9) To whom belongs the chief credit for England's success? (10) Of what value was the acquisition of supremacy in India to Great Britain? (11) Which was more important to her, the loss of the American colonies or the acquisition of Australia? (12) With whom should the chief blame for the loss of Poland's independence be placed? (13) What restrains the Great Powers of Europe to-day from partitioning weaker countries?

Search Topics. — (1) Youth of Frederick the Great. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 29–38; Lavisse, *Youth of Frederick the Great;* Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 65–66. — (2) Maria Theresa. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 129–130; Bright, *Maria Theresa*, chs. i, ix. — (3) Frederick the Great as Enlightened Despot. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 194–204; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 205–208. — (4) The Mississippi Bubble. Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, 237–240. — (5) The Taking of Quebec. Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, 452–465; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe;* Kendall, *Source Book*, 345–349. — (6) Rise of British Dominion in India. Beard, *Introduction*, 443–451; Seeley, *Expansion of England*, Series II, lect. 3; Green, *Short History*, 745–746, 753–754; Lyall, *Rise of British Dominion in India.* — (7) Character and Services of William Pitt the Elder. Green, *Short History*, 749–753; Macaulay, *Essays* ("William Pitt, Earl of Chatham"). — (8) Personal Government of George III. Beard, *Introduction*, 492–504; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 167–183. — (9) English Colonial Policy. Seeley, *Expansion of England*, lect. 4; Egerton, *Origin and Growth of the English Colonies*, chs. iii, iv. — (10) France in the American War of Independence. Guizot, *Concise History of France*, 540–551; Robinson, *Readings*, II, 370–373. — (11) The Partitions of Poland. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 205–208; Hassall, *Balance of Power*, 303–318; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XXI, 916–920.

General Reading. — Longman's *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War*, Johnson's *Age of the Enlightened Despot*, and Hassall's *Balance of Power* are the best short books. Lavisse, *The Youth of Frederick the Great*, is as interesting as a historical novel. Tuttle's *History of Prussia* (4 vols.) and Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* (many editions) are standard works. Seeley's brilliant *Expansion of England* shows England's interest in the wars of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A. The Old Régime in Europe

The eighteenth century closed with an upheaval of the French people which overturned the existing system of Europe. It again raised France from a position of weakness to one of power, and it spread abroad ideas which have shaped all subsequent history. The English Revolution of 1688, and the American Revolution of 1775, both brought to logical completion institutions of long and steady growth. The French Revolution, on the other hand, broke sharply with the past, and changed the direction of national development. It is the purpose of the present chapter to examine the facts in the general situation which made this revolution possible, and to sketch the new ideas which guided its progress.

552. Character of the impending revolution

Throughout Europe, even before the eighteenth century, the medieval system in church and state had broken down. Its overthrow was the result of movements which have been described in earlier chapters, —the growth of commerce and of the towns, the rise of national states, the Renaissance, and the Reformation. Nevertheless, in every country of Europe there still survived many relics of the old system, now become serious abuses. It is to this condition of half-overthrown medievalism that the name of Old Régime is given.

553. Meaning of Old Régime

Though serfdom was extinct in England, and nearly so in France, it still prevailed in central, southern, and eastern Europe. In those lands the peasant was little better off than the negro slave in America. He was still bound to the soil and compelled to work for his lord. He used the same crude tools as his ancestors, and lived in the same sort

554. Survivals of serfdom

of wretched hovel as in the Middle Ages. Conditions were probably blackest in Russia, Poland, Austria, and Hungary, where even to-day the lot of the peasant is exceedingly hard.

In the towns the guilds, which had once done good service to the cause of liberty, had become burdensome and oppressive.

555. Oppressive guild regulations

In many places the master workmen alone were members of the guilds, and their chief object was to maintain a monopoly in the products of their manufacture. To this end the number of masters who might open shops, the number of apprentices whom each might train, the length of apprenticeship and the methods of manufacture, were minutely regulated; and these regulations were enforced by the authority of the state. A workman had to confine himself to the limits laid down for his craft. A barber was not permitted to curl hair, nor a baker to roast meat in his oven for a customer; for such acts infringed the monopolies of other guilds. If a journeyman attempted to set up a shop for himself, without being admitted to the master's guild of that trade, he was liable to fine, imprisonment, and confiscation of his tools and materials. The jealous and exclusive policy of the guilds developed bitter antagonism between the artisans and the well-to-do class of master workmen and traders, whom we call *bourgeois* (boor-zhwä′). The strictness of guild regulations also greatly hampered progress. In Paris, for example, a hat-maker's stock was destroyed because he had improved the quality of his hats (and so increased his business) by mixing silk in their manufacture where the guild regulations called for the use of pure wool. Nor was this an isolated case. "Each week for a number of years," said an inspector of manufactures, "I have seen burned at Rouen eighty to one hundred pieces of goods, because some regulation concerning the weaving or dyeing had not been observed at every point."

Similar medieval survivals may be traced in the special privileges enjoyed by the two upper classes of society. The nobles of the eighteenth century were no longer the lawless robber knights of the Middle Ages. They were great landed proprietors, without any of the military duties which

556. Position of the nobles

were the excuse for their noble rank in the feudal days. They retained, however, many class privileges and exemptions, which will be discussed later in connection with France.[1]

The other great privileged order was the clergy. In Catholic countries churchmen still retained much of the power which they had exercised throughout the Middle Ages. The upper clergy, drawn largely from the nobles, enjoyed enormous incomes from the church estates and from the tithes which the laity were still forced to pay. Many judicial causes were tried in church courts; and the clergy alone registered births and deaths, and solemnized marriages. This made it impossible for Protestants in Catholic countries to marry legally and have legitimate children, or to inherit or to will property. Schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions were all in the control of the church. Persecution for nonconformity continued, though executions had become less frequent.[2] Strong efforts were made to suppress freedom of thought by means of a censorship of the press. The suppression of the books condemned by the church was usually enforced by the state, and such copies as could be seized were burned, and their authors and publishers (so far as discoverable) were imprisoned. The censorship, however, was not very effective. The spirit of reform was in the air, and there was an eager demand for books attacking the evils of church and state. Printers and authors were able to meet this demand by publishing their books and pamphlets secretly, or by printing them in England, Holland, and Geneva, where the press was more free.

557. Power of the clergy

In England, where personal and political liberty was most advanced, and religious toleration was granted to Protestant dissenters, great intolerance was long shown to Roman Catholics.

[1] In Germany several hundred of the feudal nobles, because of their impregnable castles and other advantages, had been able to maintain their independence of the great princely states. They were under the authority of the Emperor alone, and are reckoned among the sovereign princes of Europe, though some of them ruled only a few square miles of territory.

[2] In Spain, however, one thousand heretics are said to have been burned between 1700 and 1746. — *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XX, 714.

B. The Spirit of Reform

In the sixteenth century men applied the test of *reasonableness*, instead of tradition or authority, to matters of scholarship and religion. In the eighteenth century this test was extended to everyday life and to government, and whatever was found unreasonable was relentlessly attacked.

In part this wider application of reason to human affairs was due to the advance of science, which had gone on steadily since the Renaissance. Newton in the seventeenth century had shown that the whole universe is bound together by the unseen force of gravitation. The invention of the telescope had proved that the planets are worlds like our own. The microscope had revealed a hitherto unsuspected realm of minute organic life all about us. The old Greek philosophers had taught that everything is reducible to four "elements" — earth, air, fire, and water; but Lavoisier (là-vwà-zyā′), the founder of modern chemistry (died 1794), disproved this by decomposing air and water into the elements we know as gases, and showing that fire is really oxidation, a process in which the oxygen of the atmosphere rapidly combines with the substance burned.

558. The advance of science

Such discoveries as these inevitably broadened men's conceptions of the universe and of God. They became less ready to accept the teachings of authority and tradition, since experience showed in so many instances that the old ideas were mistaken. Scholars now tended to rely in all matters on the knowledge gained through the application of reason to the facts of everyday life, as ascertained by observation and experiment. The ends sought by eighteenth-century philosophy were chiefly these: (1) greater knowledge of the material universe, and (2) various practical reforms, such as religious toleration, political liberty, economic and social equality, and natural education.

The revolt against tradition and authority originated in England, where there was more freedom of thought, of speech, and of action than elsewhere. English scientists and philosophers, of whom John Locke (1632–1704) was chief,

559. English influence on France

then became the teachers of a group of brilliant Frenchmen, who spread the new teachings throughout Europe. Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau were foremost in this work.

560. Voltaire (1694–1778)

Voltaire (vol-târ′) was unsurpassed in his mocking wit and biting satire, his keen thought and vigorous style. He sprang from the middle class, and early felt the tyranny of the crown by being imprisoned for libel on a *lettre de cachet*. He was taught the insolence of the nobility by a beating at the hands of hired ruffians employed by an arrogant and dissolute nobleman of Paris. He "learned to think" during three years of exile in England. After his return to France, he made untiring assaults upon superstition, fanaticism, intolerance, and injustice. He was relentless in his attacks upon the church, which he believed to be an obstacle to human progress because it suppressed freedom of thought. In religion he was a deist,—that is, he believed in God and in the immortality of the soul, but he refused to believe that God had revealed Himself to the Jewish people alone. Voltaire put Christianity on the same plane with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism. He relied upon man's reason for the discovery of God's laws. He attacked religious intolerance especially, and perhaps did more than any other man to free the

VOLTAIRE

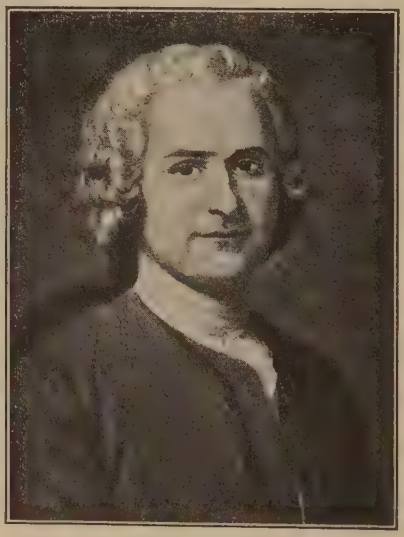
world of that curse. He exercised a tremendous influence on the thought of his time. A French historian says that "he filled the eighteenth century."

Voltaire, however, did not attack the political forms of the Old Régime. His famous contemporary, Montesquieu (mŏn-tĕs-kū′), extended the application of reason and experience to this field also. In an epoch-making work, entitled *The Spirit of Laws*, Montesquieu drew the attention of his countrymen to the abuses in their government. He contrasted these with English political liberty and parliamentary government. But, — faithful to his model, the English constitution, — Montesquieu abhorred the idea of democracy as much as that opposite extreme, absolute government.

561. Montesquieu (1689–1755)

Rousseau (roo-sō′) was the apostle of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, — the new gospel whose golden dream inspired men to hope for the immediate attainment of the social millennium. Rousseau looked upon civilization, — especially the stilted, artificial civilization of the eighteenth century, — as the cause of all the evils which mankind suffered. He sought, therefore, to turn men "back to nature." He believed that in the "state of nature," before governments arose, all men were good and all men were equal. This belief led him to inquire into the origin and nature of governments. In his most celebrated work, *The Social Contract*, he begins as follows: "Man is born free, and yet is now

562. Rousseau (1712–1778)



ROUSSEAU

everywhere in chains." The state, he taught, is the outcome of a *compact*, freely entered into, by which each man surrendered his individual liberty to the general will. The whole people, therefore, constitute the sovereign power. Though they may allow a single person, such as a king, to manage the government for them, the people always retain the right to depose their rulers and to change the constitution of their government. The teachings of Rousseau became immensely popular with all classes, for he voiced eloquently and passionately their discontent. The enthusiasts of the French Revolution drew their inspiration most of all from Rousseau. His *Social Contract* has been called "the gospel of modern democracy."

Similar ideas of freedom were stirring in the field of economics also. Against the minute regulation of industry and commerce, exercised by the guilds and by the government, was raised the doctrine of freedom of manufacture and freedom of transportation. This doctrine was embodied in the words, *Laissez faire, laissez passer* (lĕ-sā fâr′, lĕ-sā pȧ-sā′). The new ideas originated with a group of French writers, who may be said to have founded political economy as a science. Upon the basis which they laid, Adam Smith (a Scotchman) developed his great work, *The Wealth of Nations* (published 1776), which became the chief treatise of the new science. Its author maintained that it was unwise for governments to attempt to interfere with natural economic laws. He advocated especially a policy of "free trade," — that is, the abolition of practically all import and export tariff duties — a policy which Great Britain adopted two generations later, and still continues to follow.

563. Rise of political economy

In every department of thought — religion, morals, government, science — there was new activity. The old systems were vigorously assailed from countless points of view. To gather up and popularize the results of the new studies — to advance knowledge, and to arouse enthusiasm for reform — a great French *Encyclopedia* was projected. This work was written by a group of scholars, of whom the chief was Diderot (dēd-rō′). It was completed in thirty-seven volumes (in

564. Diderot and the Encyclopedia

1771), after much governmental interference. "The *Encyclopedia* was like a general rising, a battle array, of all the men of the new era, against all the powers of the past. It was the great effort of the eighteenth century."

565. The new ideas become the fashion

Men of the Third Estate led in these intellectual movements, but the new ideas were taken up by nobles, priests, and kings as well. Voltaire resided for several years as a guest at the court of Frederick the Great in Prussia; and Catherine II of Russia subscribed for the *Encyclopedia* and tried to bring its leading writers to her court. In France disgust with the court and ministers rendered a great part of the nobles "almost democrats." The spread of the liberal movement there was helped by the fact that many French nobles had served in the American War of Independence, and came back imbued with the spirit of liberty and admiration for republican ideas.

C. Reforms of the "Enlightened Despots"

566. The "enlightened despots"

It was natural that the first attempts at the practical application of the new reform ideas should come from the sovereigns who were influenced by the movement. They recognized that governments existed for the good of their subjects, though they rejected the ideas of the sovereignty of the people, of nationality as a necessary basis for the state, and of inviolable safeguards to individual liberty. The removal of the medieval survivals in industry, in religion, and in the state would promote prosperity among their peoples without (as they thought) limiting their own absolute power. Consequently, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine II of Russia, and other enlightened rulers undertook many sweeping reforms in their territories. It is to such rulers of the eighteenth century that the name "enlightened despots" is applied. It is curious that some of the most striking attempts in this line came from the sovereigns who were engaged in the crime of partitioning Poland. This fact shows the admixture in their policies of the ideas of the Old Régime along with those of the dawning new era.

The reform attempts of the Emperor Joseph II illustrate both the good and the evil sides of enlightened despotism. His scheme of domestic policy for the motley Hapsburg states (maps, pp. 482 and 602) was "no less than to consolidate all his dominions into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations, and substitute for them a mere administrative division of his whole empire; to merge all nationalities and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway." These sweeping changes he tried to carry out within the short space of five years. He began by abolishing serfdom in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary. He took away the privileges of the local Diets and imperial towns, and consolidated his dominions into a single state of thirteen districts, each division and subdivision of which was under his own officials. He sought to make German the official language for all districts. In 1781 he issued an edict of religious toleration, and undertook a radical reform of the Roman Catholic Church in his territories. He forbade money being sent to Rome; and he abolished over six hundred monasteries, using their revenues to establish schools and charitable institutions. He conferred a lasting benefit on Austria by his new code of law, in which torture was abolished and the death penalty reserved for cases of rebellion alone. He was active in stimulating manufactures and commerce; and he equalized taxation by depriving the nobles and clergy of their exemptions.

567. Reforms of Emperor Joseph II (1765–1790)

Merivale, *Historical Studies*, 12

It is evident that each of these reforms, however desirable it was, affected the interests or prejudices of some powerful class or nation, and would arouse bitter opposition. The weakness of the whole scheme lay in the fact that no account was taken of such obstacles, and that everything was attempted at once. Most of the Emperor's reforms, therefore, were overturned in his own lifetime, and he died (in 1790) sadly disappointed at his failure.

D. France on the Eve of the Revolution

568. Why the revolution began in France

To understand why France rather than any other European country took the lead in the revolution which overthrew the Old Régime, we must bear in mind that the existence of evils and oppression does not always produce revolt. To produce this effect there must be enough liberty and enlightenment among the people to make them discontented with their condition, and to furnish them with leaders. As has been pointed out, the mass of the people in eastern and southern Europe were far more wretched than in France. Says a recent historian: "It was because the French peasant was more independent, more wealthy, and better educated than the German serf that he resented the political and social privileges of his landlord, and the payment of rent, more than the serf objected to his bondage. It was because France possessed an enlightened middle class that the peasants and workmen found leaders. It was because Frenchmen had been in the possession of a great measure of personal freedom that they were ready to strike a blow for political liberty, and eventually promulgated the idea of social equality."

Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 8

569. Class inequalities

There were in France, however, grievances of a real and serious character. Society and government were founded upon a system of caste, in which the clergy, nobles, and Third Estate were widely separated in privileges and burdens. The first two Estates constituted the "privileged orders." They numbered less than two per cent in a population of about twenty-five millions. The higher nobles, who resided at the king's court, differed in manner of life and interests from the lesser ones, who resided on their estates. In like manner the nobly born higher clergy had little in common with the hard-working and underpaid parish priests (*curés*), who sprang from the people. Class inequalities, indeed, were increasing. By 1789 four generations of noble descent were necessary to secure a commission in the army, and to enter the charmed circle of the court it was necessary to prove nobility on the father's side

back to the year 1400. The offices of the church — bishoprics, abbacies, priories — were regarded as a provision for the younger sons of noble families. In taxation the privileged orders had many exemptions, in which the wealthier citizens were able to share by purchasing offices from the crown. While the wealthy townsmen were thus raised above the mass of the Third Estate, there remained a great social gulf between them and the old nobility. Pride of class led the nobles to refrain from all labor; and extravagance, gambling, and the decline of their estates made them greedy seekers after pensions and corrupt gains.

570. Misgovernment under Louis XV

Under Louis XV the government was more oppressive and less efficient than formerly. Abroad, French prestige was seriously impaired; at home, vexations increased. Letters passing through the post were systematically opened, and each morning Louis XV enjoyed the choice bits of scandal and family secrets gained in this way. A censorship of the press was enforced, so far as the government was able. Torture, mutilations, and an absence of safeguards to personal liberty (such as England possessed in its trial by jury and the writ of *habeas corpus*) characterized the administration of justice. One hundred and fifty thousand *lettres de cachet* are calculated to have been issued in this reign, many of which were sold for money to private individuals, who used them to be revenged upon personal enemies.

571. Diversity of administration

Perhaps the greatest cause of misgovernment was the confusion and diversity in all departments of government, due to the fact that France was a mere patchwork of territories, added piece by piece from the time of Hugh Capet to Louis XVI. Instead of a single code of law for the whole country, there were in force nearly three hundred different sets of local "customs." Internal commerce was harassed by tolls and tariff duties on goods passing from province to province. A vessel descending the Saône and Rhone rivers had to stop and pay charges thirty times, the whole amounting to from twenty-five to thirty per cent of the value of the cargo.

Still worse were the inequalities in the levying of taxes. There

was not only monstrous inequality between the privileged and unprivileged classes, but also between the various districts of France. The amount of the direct taxes was arbitrarily assessed upon the different communities by the central government. Within each community the tax collector had the same arbitrary power in apportioning the burden among his neighbors. What one person did not or could not pay had to be made up by the rest. If a community or an individual showed evidence of prosperity, the usual result was an increase in the taxes. The burden of the indirect taxes likewise was very unequally distributed. Most of these taxes were "farmed out" to speculators (§ 447), which increased the burden upon the people.

572. Condition of the peasants

The condition of the peasant, though better than in Germany, Poland, and Russia, was still grievous. Perhaps one fourth of the soil of France was in the hands of peasant owners, but it was still burdened with many vexatious relics of feudal dues. If a peasant sold his land, part of the price usually had to be paid to the neighboring lord. In some places the peasant had to pay a toll to cross the bridge or ferry on his way to work or to drive his flock past the lord's mansion. The obligation to use the lord's mill and oven for grinding grain and baking bread (§ 188) was hateful because of the delays, fraud, and poor service to which it gave rise. Wild game of all sorts was protected for the lord's hunting, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, and the galleys. For broken fences and hedges, and crops trampled in the chase, the peasant had no redress. Enormous dovecots were maintained by the nobles; and the damage done to crops by the pigeons kept therein found a prominent place in the complaints of most country districts.

573. Forced labor and the salt tax

These annoyances, however, were slight compared to the burdens imposed by the state. The exemptions enjoyed by the wealthier classes threw almost the whole weight of taxation on the peasantry, the class least able to bear it. Innumerable taxes and forced labor on the roads crushed the peasant. The sale of salt was a government monopoly, and every household was obliged to buy each year a fixed

quantity of that article. The surplus from the household supply could not be used for curing meats; a separate supply had to be purchased for that purpose. The price varied enormously, in some provinces the government charging thirty times what it did in other near-by districts. Over seventeen hundred persons were usually in prison, and three hundred in the galleys, for violation of the salt laws.

574. Improved agriculture discouraged

The number and uncertainty of the taxes discouraged all efforts at improved methods of cultivation. An Englishman named Arthur Young, who traveled extensively in France in 1787–1789, found agriculture there worse practiced, and the tillers of the soil much worse off, than they were in England. A crop failure in one province frequently caused a local famine. The bad roads, tolls, and absurd governmental regulations prevented grain being sent in from other provinces where it was abundant. Even where the peasant was best off, he concealed his prosperity for fear of new taxes. "I should be lost," said one such, "if it were suspected that I am not dying of hunger." It has been estimated that the average peasant could count on less than one fifth of the produce of his labor for the support of himself and his family. The other four fifths went in taxes, tithe, and feudal dues.

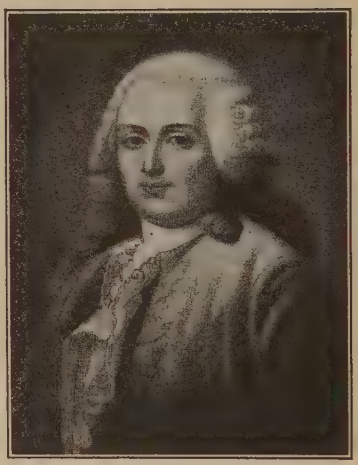
575. Accession of Louis XVI (1774)

When Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV, came to the throne (in 1774), he found the finances in a serious condition. The young king was amiable and just, but lacked decision of character and ability to rule. His queen, Marie Antoinette (ăN-twȧ-nĕt′), — the young, sprightly, frivolous, imperious daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, — indulged in lavish expenditures and shortsighted intrigues in support of personal favorites. His own and his predecessor's costly wars piled up an enormous debt, which was increased by the extravagance and corruption of the court.

Louis began his reign well by appointing Turgot (tür-gō′), an able and enlightened political economist, as minister of finance. Turgot's policy was stated in these words, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no loans." His edict establishing free

trade in grain was hailed by Voltaire as "the beginning of a new heaven and a new earth." Industry was freed from restrictions, the guilds dissolved, and forced labor on the roads abolished. These measures naturally aroused violent opposition from those who profited by the old abuses. The Parlement of Paris made itself the center of resistance, and Marie Antoinette joined the attack. The weak king thereupon dismissed Turgot (1776) and recalled the reform edicts. With this step the last chance to save the old monarchy passed away.

576. Turgot attempts reforms (1774–1776)



TURGOT

Turgot's successor as finance minister was Necker, a Swiss banker of slight ability. He sought to promote honesty and economy in the administration, and he carried out many small reforms. The American war, however, forced up the debt by leaps and bounds. Necker appealed to public opinion (now becoming an important force) by publishing an account of the finances. This revealed the enormous amount spent on "pensions" to the courtiers.[1] The outcry produced at court by this act ended Necker's first ministry (1781).

577. Necker reveals the amount of pensions (1781)

A rapid increase of financial difficulties followed, and in 1786 the government was unable to pay the interest on its loans. The

[1] The "pensions" amounted to $5,600,000 in 1780 and $6,400,000 a little later. "I doubt," wrote Necker, "if all the sovereigns of Europe together pay in pensions more than half this sum." The amount paid from the treasury for the expenses of the royal family was $8,000,000, the three elderly sisters of the king receiving an allowance of $120,000 a year for their food alone! It must be remembered that, owing to the rise of prices, these sums had a purchasing power fully three times that of to-day.

state was practically bankrupt. In 1787 an Assembly of Notables (mainly members of the privileged orders) was held. But the selfish interests of its members, and the opposition of the Parlement of Paris, prevented any effective reforms.

The Parlement of Paris opposed the levying of any new taxes. It was really defending the selfish privileges of the upper classes, but cloaked its dislike for reform under the assertion that "*only the nation assembled in the Estates-General can give the consent necessary to the establishing of a permanent tax.*" For more than a hundred and seventy years (since 1614) no Estates-General had been held in France; indeed that body had met only fifteen times since it was first called together in 1302. Among those who now raised their voices in behalf of its revival was the marquis of Lafayette, who had so nobly aided the American colonists to secure their independence. "What, Monsieur," cried the king's brother, on hearing Lafayette make this demand, "do you ask the convocation of the Estates-General?" "Yes, my lord," was the answer, "and even more than that." The cry for a meeting of the Estates-General now arose from all sides. The utter helplessness of the French government made long resistance impossible. The king was forced to dismiss his unpopular ministers and to recall Necker to office. But it was too late for halfway measures. After a brief struggle, the vacillating king then agreed that the Estates-General should meet early in 1789.

578. Revival of Estates-General demanded

The Old Régime throughout Europe was about to be summoned to the bar, to give place to a new order. It was France which "held, and was about to sound, the trumpet of judgment."

IMPORTANT DATES

1774. Accession of Louis XVI of France.
1776. Publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."
Turgot dismissed from the French ministry.
1781. Necker reveals the amount of French "pensions."
1787. The Assembly of Notables fails to find a remedy for the bankruptcy of France.

EUROPE IN 1789
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Prussian Territories.
Austrian Hapsburg Territories.
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire.
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
London
English Channel
Camperdown
Waterloo
Boulogne
Amiens
Rouen
Sedan
Brest
Versailles
Paris
Valmy
Varennes
Lunéville
Fontainebleau
Brienne
Nantes
Loire R.
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
VENDEE
BAY OF BISCAY
Rochefort
Bordeaux
GIRONDE
Basel
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Lyons
Saône R.
Rhone R.
SAVOY
Turin
Genoa
Marseilles
Nice
Toulon
Vittoria
Pyrenees
Adour R.
Ebro R.
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
Barcelona
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
C. St. Vincent
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
CORSICA (Fr.)
SARDINIA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
55
50
45
40
35
20 15 10 5 0 5
10 Longitude 5 West 0 Longitude 5 East 10

15
20
25
30
35
40
45
Gulf of Bothnia
SWEDEN
FINLAND
L. Ladoga
St. Petersburg
G. of Finland
Volga R.
Novgorod
Stockholm
BALTIC SEA
Moscow
Borodino
55
Riga
Smolensk
RUSSIA
Tilsit
Memel
Memel R.
Boristhenes
Dnieper R.
Eylau
EAST PRUSSIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Frankfort-on-the-Oder
Warsaw
Vistula R.
Boundary in 1815
Prussian
Austrian
Boundary in 1795
50
SILESIA
Dniester R.
Sea of Azof
MORAVIA
Austerlitz
Wagram
Pressburg
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Theiss R.
Danube R.
Leoben
HUNGARY
45
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
CYPRUS
CRETE
40
35
15
from
20
Greenwich
25
30
35
L. L. POATES, ENGRG CO, N.Y.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What was the obstacle to the complete removal of the feudal abuses which oppressed the peasants? (2) Why were the oppressive guild regulations not repealed? (3) From what two sources would objections come to the removal of the censorship of the press? (4) State in your own words the connection between the advance of natural science and the French Revolution. (5) In what ways did England contribute to produce the Revolution in France? (6) Is there any similarity of ideas between Rousseau's *Social Contract* and the American Declaration of Independence? If so, how do you account for it? (7) Why did not the reforms of the "enlightened despots" do away with the necessity for a revolution? (8) How did the aid which France gave the American colonies contribute to bring about the French Revolution? (9) Could a strong king in France have averted the Revolution? How? (10) What was the chief obstacle to a reform of the government in France?

Search Topics. — (1) English Influence on France. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, chs. ix–x; Dabney, *Causes of the French Revolution*, 134–143. — (2) Influence of Voltaire. Morley, *Voltaire*, ch. v; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (cabinet ed.), VI, 183–206. — (3) Diderot and the Encyclopedia. Lowell, ch. xvi. — (4) Rousseau. Dabney, ch. xxxv; Lecky, VI, 239–270. — (5) Life of the French Court. Dabney, ch. xii; Lowell, ch. xi. — (6) Nobles of France and England Compared. Taine, *Ancient Régime*, 43–55. — (7) Ranks and Classes in France. Mathews, *French Revolution*, 12–16, 42–47. — (8) Condition of the People. Lowell, ch. xiii; Dabney, 86–92; Robinson, *Readings*, II, 373–380. — (9) Taxation in France. Dabney, chs. xv–xvii; Lowell, pp. 207–242; *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, 66–78. — (10) Turgot's Attempt at Reform. Hassall, *Balance of Power*, 237–239; Say, *Turgot*, chs. v–vii; Robinson, *Readings*, II, 386–390. — (11) The Parlements and Reform. Mathews, *French Revolution*, 74–83, 93, 108–110; Lecky, VI, 207–238, 293, 317–320.

General Reading. — Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution* is the best single book. Dabney's *Causes of the French Revolution* is graphic but uncritical. The first volume of Stephens's *French Revolution*, the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VIII, and MacLehose's *Last Days of the French Monarchy*, are valuable. For more advanced study De Tocqueville's *France before the Revolution*, Taine's *The Ancient Régime*, and Arthur Young's *Travels in France*, should be consulted.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1795)

A. The Estates-General of 1789

The decision to call together the Estates-General was followed by a flood of discussion as to how it should be constituted and what it should do. In previous sessions each of the three orders had an equal number of representatives, and each order voted by itself. This made it a legislature of three houses, in which the privileged orders — the nobles and clergy — always had two votes to one possessed by the Third Estate. Because of the great numbers and importance of the Third Estate, it was generally recognized that this arrangement was no longer possible. In a famous pamphlet, Sieyès (syā-yĕs′), a political writer, asked: "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it hitherto been in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something."

579. Arrangements for the Estates-General

Two demands especially were made in its behalf: (1) That it should be allowed double the number of representatives given to the nobles and to the clergy, — that is, as many as the other two orders combined. (2) That the members of the Estates should vote "by head" and not as orders, — in other words, that the three orders should sit together in a single assembly, in which the members voted as individuals. In the directions for electing representatives, the request for double representation was granted. Nothing, however, was said about the second point, and without the "vote by head" the double representation of the Third Estate would be of little value.

Famine was abroad in the land, due to a failure of harvests in 1788, and an unusually severe winter; and the prevailing distress intensified the discontent. In due course, the elections

were held. The nobles and the clergy met in district assemblies and chose their representatives direct. For the Third Estate a more complicated plan was provided. Delegates were elected by the taxpayers in each village and town, and these delegates, assembled in district conventions, chose the representatives of the Third Estate in the Estates-General. In all the election meetings, lists of grievances, called *cahiers* (kä-yā′), were drawn up. Altogether some fifty thousand of these lists were prepared, some of them extending to hundreds of pages. They give us an enormous mass of information concerning the abuses of the Old Régime and the reforms desired. A moderate spirit pervaded them all. Those of the Third Estate usually demanded the abolition of the vexatious remnants of feudalism which were described in the preceding chapter. All three orders alike, almost without exception, wished to put an end to absolute government, and to give France a constitution. The *cahiers* asked especially for the regular calling of the Estates-General, with power to vote taxes and to participate in the making of laws. They also asked that *lettres de cachet* and the censorship of the press should be abolished. The demand for *Liberty* was the keynote of the *cahiers*. They show little evidence, on the other hand, of a demand for *Equality*, — that is, for the total abolition of the rights of the privileged classes and the reduction of all persons to a common level before the law.

580. Elections and the cahiers

The first session of the Estates-General was held on May 5, 1789. It met at Versailles, the king's favorite residence. More than half the representatives of the Third Estate were lawyers. A few were liberal nobles. Not more than ten belonged to the lower classes. Fully two thirds of the representatives of the clergy were underpaid parish priests, who sprang from the people and sympathized with them far more than with the higher clergy. "As a whole the Estates-General represented the well-to-do classes. It was not in the least an uncultured rabble, but was made up of the best blood of France."

581. Opening the Estates-General

Mathews, *French Revolution*, 116

The speeches with which the king and his ministers opened

the session made no mention of the proposal to give France a constitution, although the king had previously sanctioned it. It was evidently the intention to secure from the Estates the financial aid that was needed, and then dismiss that body. To avoid this outcome the deputies of the Third Estate insisted upon the mode of voting which should give them full advantage of their increased numbers. They refused to organize themselves as an order, and demanded that the nobles

582. The National Assembly

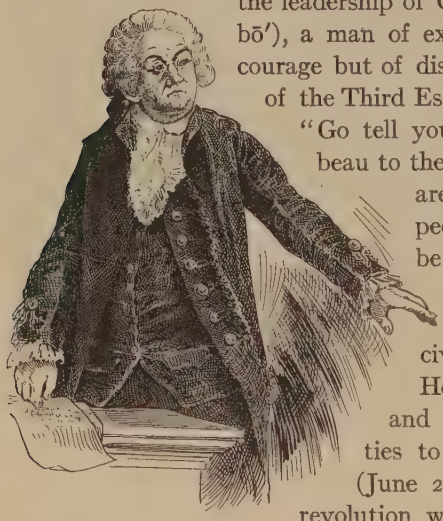
OATH OF THE TENNIS COURT
From the contemporary picture by David

and clergy should join them in a single body. This the two privileged orders declined to do. After the deadlock had continued for six weeks, the members of the Third Estate took the daring step of declaring themselves the *National Assembly*. They claimed the right to grant all taxes and to give France the desired constitution. The fact that the Third Estate comprised practically ninety-eight per cent of the population of the kingdom was their warrant for this step. When they were excluded from their usual place of meeting, the deputies of the Third Estate took the famous "Oath of the Tennis Court" (June 20,

1789), pledging themselves not to separate until "the constitution of the realm was established and fixed upon solid foundations." By this act, says an English historian, "they practically became rebels, and the French Revolution really commenced."

The resolute stand of the Third Estate brought to their side more than half the deputies of the clergy, and some of the liberal nobles. Next day, at the close of a joint session over which Louis XVI presided in person, he commanded that each of the three orders should retire to its separate place, and that the vote be taken as formerly, by orders. Under the leadership of Count Mirabeau (me-rà-bō′), a man of extraordinary ability and courage but of dissolute life, the deputies of the Third Estate resolved to disobey. "Go tell your master," cried Mirabeau to the king's officer, "that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will be removed only at the point of the bayonet." The weak king dreaded civil war above all else. He therefore gave way, and ordered the other deputies to join the Third Estate (June 27). The success of the revolution was thus assured.

583. Work of Mirabeau



MIRABEAU

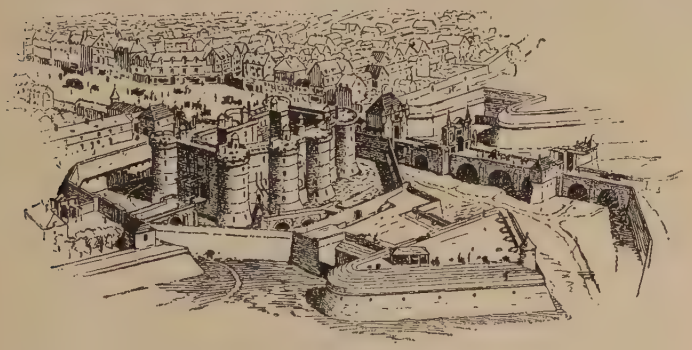
Much of the credit for this success belongs to Mirabeau. He was a nobleman of Provence (born 1749, died 1791), who had quarreled with his hot-headed father, and was forced to earn his living by writing political pamphlets. He was three times imprisoned on *lettres de cachet* for his escapades. When the nobles of his district refused to elect him to the Estates-General, he procured an election from the Third Estate. His eloquence, his wide

knowledge of history and government, and his great energy and decision of character easily made him the foremost leader of that body. He wished to set up in France a strong but limited monarchy, modeled on that of England, which he had studied at first hand during a short residence there. Unfortunately, Mirabeau was imprudent in many things which he said and did; and his influence in the National Assembly was never as great as it deserved to be.

B. The National Assembly (1789–1791)

The queen and the court party sympathized thoroughly with the partisans of the Old Régime, and were unwilling to accept defeat. Most unwisely they persuaded Louis to attempt to coerce the Assembly by gathering his German and Swiss troops about Paris and Versailles. This threat to the freedom of the Assembly called into action a new and fearful

584. Fall of the Bastille (July 14, 1789)



The Bastille (restored)
Erected 1371–1383, and afterward used as a state prison

force, the Paris mob. "It is the signal for a St. Bartholomew of patriots!" cried a popular orator of the multitude. Rioting began, starving crowds broke into bakeshops to procure food, and gunshops were sacked. To get more arms with which to defend the Assembly, the mob, on July 14, 1789, proceeded to the Bastille (bȧs-tēl′). This had long been the chief arsenal

and royal prison of Paris, and was hated both because it embodied the abuses of the Old Régime and because its cannon threatened the city. Several hundred unarmed men succeeded in entering the outer court of the Bastille, but the drawbridge was raised behind them and they were shot down in cold blood. This act roused the mob to fury. Old soldiers who had joined the mob directed their efforts in a formal attack.[1] After five hours' fighting the garrison surrendered. The victory was stained by the massacre of the commander of the Bastille and a few of the Swiss guard. The prisoners whom it contained, numbering a half dozen, were set free. The walls of the Bastille were subsequently torn down, and only some rows of white stones now show where the frowning fortress once stood. When the king, at Versailles, was informed of what had occurred at Paris, he exclaimed, "Why, this is a revolt." "No, sire," was the reply, "it is a revolution." The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille is still celebrated as the birthday of French liberty.

585. Spread of the revolt

The uprising of the people did not stop with the overthrow of the Bastille. The government of Paris now passed into the hands of a revolutionary committee of middle-class citizens, called the Commune. A national guard composed mainly of citizens was organized and placed under the command of General Lafayette. In the face of these movements, the king again gave way. The Swiss and German troops were removed from the neighborhood of Paris; and Louis himself put on the tricolored cockade, the emblem of the revolution. The reactionaries of the court, however, were still irreconcilable. Some of them, the so-called *Émigrés* (ā-mē-grā′; "emigrants"), already began to flee beyond the borders of the kingdom, to stir up foreign intervention and civil war.

In the provinces the news of the revolt of Paris led everywhere to the setting up of revolutionary governments. In many places the peasants rose and burned the castles of their lords, in order to destroy the rolls which contained the evidences of their lords'

[1] Read the graphic account of the fall of the Bastille in Carlyle's *French Revolution*, Bk. V, chs. v-vii.

manorial rights. News of these disorders in the provinces reacted in turn upon the National Assembly at Versailles.

On the night of August 4, some liberal nobles in the Assembly set the example of renouncing their feudal rights, and the contagion spread. Noble after noble arose to propose the surrender of this or that exclusive privilege. Game laws, dovecots, favoritism in taxation, the sole right of the nobles to military offices, were all surrendered. Finally, amid the wildest enthusiasm, a decree was passed, declaring in detail that "the National Assembly hereby completely abolishes the feudal system." A subsequent decree (1790) went so far as to declare hereditary nobility, with its titles of duke, marquis, count, etc., "abolished forever," in France.

586. Abolition of "privileges," (Aug. 4, 1789)

Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 11

In October, 1789, a disorderly mob of women and men marched to Versailles to bring the royal family to Paris. The action of the court could better be watched in the capital, and the Assembly more easily protected by the national guard. The palace of the Tuileries (twēl-rē′) in Paris was henceforth the royal residence, and near it the National Assembly was now established. Aside from this incident, the revolution proceeded quietly for the next year and a half. In this period the Assembly was busied with framing — slowly, and bit by bit — the written constitution which it had promised in the Tennis Court Oath. Not until 1791 was the constitution ready in its final form.

587. King and Assembly in Paris (Oct. 1789)

Following precedents established in some American state constitutions, the Assembly prefixed to its constitution a Declaration of the Rights of Man. This document has exercised great influence on the opinions of mankind, so its principal provisions must be noted. It declared: —

588. Declaration of the Rights of Man

1. Men are born free and remain free and equal in their rights.
2. The source of all sovereignty is in the nation.
3. All citizens have the right to take part, personally or through their representatives, in making the laws, and all citizens are equal in the eyes of the law.

Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 60–95

4. No one shall be arrested or imprisoned except in cases provided by law, and according to its forms.
5. Every man shall be presumed innocent until he is adjudged guilty.
6. No one shall be molested on account of his religious or other opinions, unless their manifestation disturbs public order.
7. Every person may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, subject to such responsibility for the abuse of this freedom as shall be defined by law.
8. Taxes shall be equally apportioned among all citizens according to their means.

589. Constitution of 1791

The constitution which accompanied the Declaration of Rights provided for a limited monarchy. Very few persons of consequence in France at that time believed in the practicability of a republic. The following are the chief features of the new constitution:—

Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 60–95

1. The king's power was strictly limited, and he was given only a "suspensive veto" over laws, — that is, measures passed by three successive legislatures became law even without his assent.
2. The legislature consisted of a single house, elected for two years, and might not be dissolved by the king.
3. The right to vote was given all men who paid direct taxes amounting to the value of three days' labor a year.
4. The old division of the kingdom into provinces was abolished, and eighty-three departments substituted therefor, — a step which greatly contributed to the unity of France.

Some laws passed while the constitution was being framed made almost equally important changes in the social and political organization. All guilds and similar exclusive corporations were abolished. The local government was placed in the hands of elected municipal bodies. A uniform system of law was projected, and sweeping judicial reforms were made.

590. Civil constitution of the clergy

Especially important were the laws which dealt with the church. Tithes were abolished, monasteries were dissolved, and freedom of worship was established for all religions. To meet the pressing financial needs of the government, the property of the church was confiscated, and the state-

thenceforth undertook the support of the clergy. At the same time a "civil constitution" for the clergy was adopted, by which all, from bishops to parish priests, were to be *elected by the people*. The number of bishoprics was reduced more than one third, so that there should be only one for each department. By these arrangements the bishops were made practically officers of the state. All clergymen who refused to take an oath to support this constitution were dismissed from their offices. Only four of the old bishops, and about one third of the parish priests, took the prescribed oath. Many glaring abuses in the church were remedied by this reorganization. Nevertheless, the measure proved a great mistake, since it shocked religious sensibilities and alienated from the revolution many thousand persons who hitherto had supported it.

591. Assignats, and their depreciation

The use which was made of the confiscated church lands was also unwise. Along with crown lands and the confiscated estates of *Émigrés*, the church lands — (aside from those immediately attached to cathedrals and other churches, which remain to this day the property of the nation) — were ordered to be sold. Pending their sale, *assignats* (ȧ-sēn'yȧ), a form of legal-tender paper currency, were issued on the credit of these lands. The overissue of these *assignats*, however, caused their value to decline until they passed only at a hundred for one in silver. Ultimately they were repudiated.

592. Death of Mirabeau (1791)

Louis XVI accepted the above laws and solemnly swore to abide by the new order of things. Had he been allowed by those about him to keep this oath, the revolution might have been stopped at this point, and all would have been well. But the king was weak and vacillating. He was easily swayed by his frivolous and unreasoning queen, Marie Antoinette, and by members of the court who resented the loss of their privileges. Mirabeau was the one real statesman that France possessed at that time. He sought to induce the king to abide loyally by the promises he had made, but to retire to some city in the interior of the country on the ground that he was not free at Paris, and there "throw himself into the arms of

his people." Thus the growth of radicalism and mob control, which Mirabeau foresaw, would be checked. The one thing that Mirabeau urged the king *not* to do was to retire to the frontier, where the *Émigrés* were gathering armed forces and stirring up foreign intervention.[1] Unfortunately Mirabeau had compromised his influence by living dissolutely in his youth, and by accepting a secret pension from the king to relieve him from his burden of debts. His advice went unheeded. If Lafayette had been willing to join his influence to that of Mirabeau, the views of the latter might have prevailed and the monarchy been saved. In April, 1791, Mirabeau died, worn out with dissipation, hard work, and disappointments. His death removed the only counselor in these troublous times who could have guided the ship of state to a safe haven.

593. Growth of a republican party (1791)

In June, 1791, Louis resolved to do the very thing which Mirabeau had urged him not to do. After secretly drawing up a declaration in which he disavowed the measures of the Assembly, Louis and the royal family fled by night from Paris. They directed their course toward the frontier of the Netherlands (Belgium), where a force of *Émigrés* and Austrians awaited them. Within a few hours' ride of the frontier, the royal carriage was stopped and turned back to Paris. France realized with a shock that Louis XVI participated unwillingly in the work of reform, and would use foreign aid to overthrow it. A few weeks later a disorderly crowd gathered at Paris to sign a petition for his dethronement. In dispersing the mob the national guard under Lafayette fired and killed several persons. These events completed a separation which had long been growing among the supporters of the revolution. From this time its supporters may be divided into *constitutional royalists* and *democratic republicans*.

In September, 1791, the National Assembly completed its labors. Louis formally ratified the constitution, and the Assembly was dissolved. So far the revolution was under the

[1] See Mirabeau's secret memoir drawn up for the king in October, 1789. — Robinson, *Readings in European History*, II, 412–417.

control of the upper middle classes. In spite of some threatening outbreaks of mob violence, liberal men in other countries applauded its results. But from three sources the stability of the new constitution was threatened: (1) From the emigrant nobles, who stirred up foreign intervention. (2) From the democratic party, who wished a more radical reform. (3) From the continued weakness and indecision of the king.

594. The National Assembly ends its labors (1791)

C. A Republic Established (1791–1793)

An unwise law passed by the National Assembly excluded its members from the Legislative Assembly which was provided for in the newly adopted constitution. The latter body, when it met in October, 1791, was thus without experienced guides. It proved more radical than the former Assembly. The constitutional royalists at first controlled the government. But gradually the power passed to a group of theoretical republicans who were called "Girond'ists," from the region whence came their principal orators. A still more radical party, called the "Mountain" from its elevated seats in the assembly hall, developed when foreign danger and internal disorders arose.

595. The Legislative Assembly

The power which the "Mountain" possessed in the Legislative Assembly was due to the organized support which it received outside that body. From the beginning of the revolution the people of France had followed the proceedings at Paris with great eagerness. Many newspapers had sprung up as a result of the new liberty of printing, and these represented the widest variety of opinions. The freedom of discussion also led to the formation of a number of political clubs of various sorts. The most important of these was the society of the "Jac'obins." It was formed by some provincial members of the Third Estate, who hired a hall in the disused monastery of the Jacobin monks, from which the club received its name. Leading men of Paris, who were not members of the Legislative Assembly, were taken into the society; and finally

596. The Jacobin club

its meetings became public and any one could attend. The policy of the Jacobins at first was merely to preserve and defend the work of the revolution against the attacks of the "aristocrats" who sought to overthrow it. To assist in this work it organized a chain of daughter societies in the provinces. Through their aid it did much to form and organize public opinion, — a much needed work in a land so new to political life and so long oppressed by despotism. Gradually, however, the views of the club grew more radical, and the name Jacobin became a synonym for extreme democratic views and mob violence. The leaders of the "Mountain" belonged to this club, and were able to bring to the support of their views in the Assembly the organized popular support which that club offered them.

THE JACOBIN CLUB (exterior). From an old print

The fact that the queen was related to the Austrian royal family, and the intrigues of the *Émigrés*, made foreign intervention certain. Early in 1792 the Assembly declared war upon Austria, and this involved war with Prussia also, which was allied

with Austria. The war opened badly for France, because the zeal for liberty had disorganized and weakened the whole administration, and had destroyed the discipline of the army.

THE JACOBIN CLUB (interior). From an old print

After the first reverses, a cry of "Treachery!" was raised. Because the king had begun to show open hostility to the revolution, the Jacobin leaders now began to plot his overthrow. On August 10, a Parisian mob — aided by some volunteers from Marseilles (mar-sālz′), who raised enthusiasm to a white heat with the new revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise* (mar-sĕ-yâz′) — stormed the royal palace of the Tuileries. They massacred the Swiss guards of the king, and Louis and his family were forced to seek refuge in the hall of the Legislative Assembly.

597. The Tuileries stormed (August 10)

This whole movement was organized and carried out in practical independence of the Assembly. Nevertheless that body, when the insurrection was accomplished, accepted its results. It decreed the suspension of the king from his office, and ordered him and his family into confinement.

598. The National Convention called

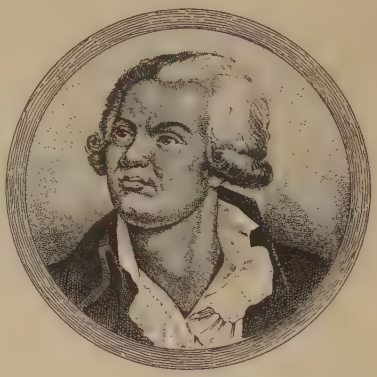
At the same time steps were taken to call a National Convention, which was to decide the question whether the monarchy should continue or France be declared a republic.[1]

Before the new body met, Lafayette had abandoned the revolution. He was now in harmony with neither the radicals nor the royalists. He attempted to win over his army to the cause of the imprisoned king. Failing in this, he himself deserted to the Austrians, and was by them imprisoned for five years.

The executive government meanwhile was put in the hands of a provisional ministry, of which the able and patriotic Danton was the heart and soul.

599. Invasion of France repulsed

He was the second great leader of the revolution to arise. He combined the eloquence and ability of Mirabeau with a purer life and more radical political views. But his face was pitted by smallpox, and his personal appearance was repulsive. Under his direction great energy was shown in organizing the defense of France against its foreign invaders.[2] The fruits of this were soon seen in a French victory at Valmy (vȧl-mē′; September 20, 1792). Influenced partly by jealousy of Austria, the Prussians then retreated. The



DANTON

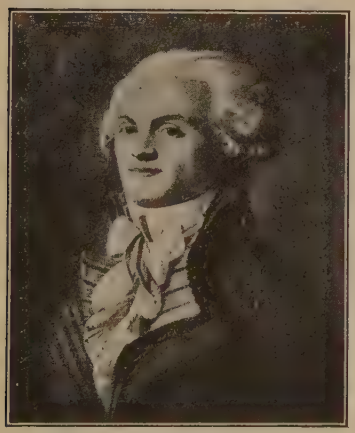
[1] The demand for a republic came originally from the Parisian club of the Cordeliers, which in the beginning was more radical than the Jacobins. Its chief member was DANTON (1759–1794), a lawyer of Paris who possessed great eloquence, energy, and practical ability. The calling of the National Convention to end the monarchy came when the Girondists and Jacobins joined the Cordeliers in demanding a republic.

[2] The continued advance of the Prussians produced a frenzy of rage and fear at Paris. In September, bands of assassins entered the prisons and systematically massacred hundreds of royalists who had been arrested after the king's suspension (the "September Massacres"). The Commune looked on approvingly; the Legislative Assembly disapproved but was helpless.

National Convention was thus enabled to deal with the question of the monarchy without the menacing presence of a foreign army on French soil.

In the National Convention, which met September 21, 1792, most of the members were men who had gained experience through sitting in one of the two preceding Assemblies. The Convention was more radical than the Legislative Assembly, just as that body had been more radical than the National Assembly. Almost its first act (in which all members united) was to decree that "royalty is abolished in France," and to proclaim a republic.

600. The monarchy abolished (Sept. 21, 1792)



ROBESPIERRE
From a painting in the *Musée Carnavalet*, Paris

Violent disputes arose, however, over further proceedings. The Girondists, who at first controlled the Convention, feared the dictation of Parisian mobs. They wished to reduce the influence of the capital until it should be no greater than that of any other "department." They also wished to carry on the government in as orderly a way as if France were at peace. They were eloquent and patriotic men, but they did not understand the nature of the crisis which confronted France. They were "too full of vanity and exclusive party spirit, and too fastidious to strike hands with the vigorous and stormy Danton." On the other side stood the party of the Mountain, chief of whom were Danton, Ro'bespierre, and Marat (mä-rä').[1] They saw the need of a strong centralized

601. Parties in the Convention

[1] ROBESPIERRE (1758–1794) was a visionary provincial lawyer, who had sat in the Estates-General of 1789. He believed fanatically in the doctrines of Rousseau, and won many followers among the people by his sincerity and boasted honesty. He

government for national defense, and were willing to override the law to secure this. They accepted the dictation of Paris as long as the crisis lasted, and were ready to employ violent means to keep the royalists in subjection. The majority of the members of the Convention, however, adhered steadfastly to neither of these groups.

602. Revolutionary conquests

The battle of Valmy was followed by a tide of French successes. French armies now carried the war into the lands of their enemies. Savoy was occupied, the principalities of the middle Rhine were overrun, and the Belgians were assisted in their efforts to expel the Austrian rulers. These successes intoxicated the Convention, and its members believed their armies to be invincible. A decree of November 19, 1792, promised "fraternity and assistance to all peoples who desire their liberty." "All governments are our enemies," cried an orator of the Convention, "all peoples are our friends. We shall be destroyed, or they shall be free." When democracy of the French sort proved unacceptable, it was forced upon the liberated peoples. Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands), Nice, and Savoy were annexed to France.

Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, VIII, 243, 244

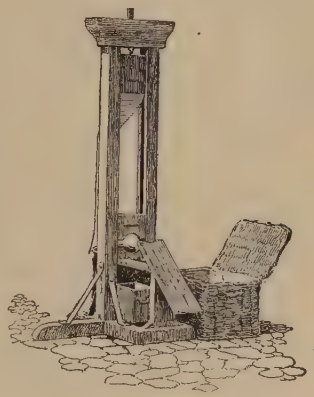
To complete the destructive work of the revolution, the

became a member of the Jacobin club, and was converted with that club to republicanism. The measure by which the members of the National Assembly excluded themselves from the Legislative Assembly was chiefly his work. His weak points were the impractical character of his views, and his extreme vanity.

MARAT (1743–1793) was a noted physician and writer, who in 1789 began to publish a paper in Paris called *The Friend of the People*. He was moved by sincere pity for the sufferings of the common people, but was half crazed by jealousy and suspicion of the "aristocrats." For a time he was forced to hide in cellars and sewers, where he contracted a loathsome and painful disease of the skin. Before Lafayette's desertion he wrote that "could he but rally at his call two thousand determined men to save the country, he would proceed at their head to tear out the heart of the infernal Lafayette in the midst of his battalions of slaves. He would burn the monarch and his minions in his palace; and impale on their seats the infamous legislators who negotiated with him and bury them in the burning ruins of their lair." Marat preached assassination of the people's enemies, and was the chief agent in arousing the Parisian mob to action. He was stabbed to death in 1793 by a girl named Charlotte Corday, because of his part in overthrowing the Girondists. His memory was worshiped by the lower classes of Paris, and execrated by the upper classes.

Convention ordered that Louis XVI should be brought to trial. The charge was that he had intrigued with foreign courts for the invasion of France. By an almost unanimous vote the Convention declared "Louis Capet" guilty, and by a small majority it passed sentence of death. Some of the Girondists wished to submit the judgment to the vote of the people. But the leaders of the Mountain taunted their opponents with being concealed royalists, and caused this motion to be rejected. The next day Louis XVI was executed by means of the "guillotine." This was an instrument for beheading, named from a physician (Doctor Guillotin) whose recommendation brought it into use. The king met his fate with steadfast courage. But when he sought to address a few words to the crowd, his voice was drowned by the roll of drums.

603. Execution of Louis XVI (Jan. 21, 1793)



THE GUILLOTINE

Opinion in England even among the Whigs, who favored liberty, had early showed signs of division over the events in France. Upon the fall of the Bastille, Charles James Fox, the most liberal of English Whig leaders, wrote, "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world! and how much the best!" On the other hand, Edmund Burke, one of the greatest of British orators and political philosophers, in a widely read pamphlet (1790) characterized the French Revolution as a "strange chaos of levity and ferocity, and of all sorts of crimes jumbled together with all sorts of follies." Its probable end, he thought, would be a military despotism under some popular general. The British government was now carried on by William Pitt (a younger son of the Great Commoner), who was prime minister almost continuously from 1783 until his death in 1806. He

604. England and the French Revolution

Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 11

agreed with Burke rather than with Fox, but wished sincerely to maintain peace. Several factors, however, forced him into war with France. Among these were the French annexation of Belgium, the threatened conquest of Holland (England's ally), and the horror excited in England by the execution of the French king.

605. War between England and France (1793)

The actual declaration of war came in 1793 from France, whose leaders misunderstood British politics, and expected a democratic rising in their aid. Holland, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and many smaller states, at about the same time, took up arms against the republic. Until the final downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte, Great Britain was thenceforth the head of the resistance to France, and the paymaster of the coalitions formed against her. The British fleet guarded the seas, and British subsidies enabled Prussia, Austria, and other countries to maintain the war by land. The contest, in one aspect, was the last stage of the war between France and England for colonial and maritime empire. In another aspect it was the struggle of two systems of political liberty, — the orderly, conservative, practical system of England, against the tumultuous, democratic, theoretical system of revolutionary France.

606. Failure of the Girondist government

The tide of success which followed the battle of Valmy was of short duration. By March, 1793, invasions of France had begun from the north, south, and east. The shock of these events rudely awakened the enthusiasts of the Convention. A call for 300,000 troops, to be raised if necessary by conscription, led to an insurrection in the district called La Vendée (väN-dā′) in western France. This was directed at first against conscription, but was soon turned into a priestly and royalist reaction. In the Convention the quarrels between the Girondists and the Mountain grew ever more bitter. Paris suffered from constant scarcity of food and high prices; and the Girondists were loath to enact the stringent laws for governmental regulation which their opponents demanded. The populace of Paris, in patriotic frenzy, at last took the government of the city and the command of the civic troops entirely

into its own hands. The stage was thus set for the next act in the drama of the French Revolution, — the overthrow of the incompetent Girondists, and the establishing of the Reign of Terror.

D. The Reign of Terror

The crisis in the quarrel between the Mountain and the Girondists came on June 2, 1793. On that day, the Parisian mob, supported by the national guard, invaded the hall of the Convention and demanded the arrest of the Girondist leaders. The demand was perforce complied with, and the Girondists as a political party ceased to exist. Their fall was due to the conviction that they were impractical visionaries, and that their rule in the Convention was the chief obstacle to unity and efficiency in the government.[1] The Convention, now entirely under the control of the Mountain, drew up a republican constitution and submitted it to the people for ratification. This constitution was adopted, but it never came into force. The military situation at the time was too critical for the Convention to lay down its power, and when the crisis was past new ideas of government prevailed.[2]

607. Fall of the Girondists (June, 1793)

[1] Sixty-nine out of the eighty-three "departments" of France protested against the violence done to the Convention by the mob of Paris. The Girondists attempted to raise revolt in the west, the south, and the center of France, but were soon overpowered. "One thing strikes us in these poor Girondins — their fatal shortness of vision; nay, fatal poorness of character, for that is the root of it. They are as strangers to the People they would govern; to the thing they have come to work in. Formulas, Philosophies, Respectabilities, what has been written in Books, and admitted by the Cultivated Classes: *this* inadequate *Scheme* of Nature's working is all that Nature, let her work as she will, can reveal to these men. So they perorate and speculate; and call on the Friends of Law, when the question is not Law or No-Law, but Life or No-Life. Their Formalism is great; great also is their Egotism. A Republic founded on what they call the Virtues; on what we call the Decencies and Respectabilities: this they will have, and nothing but this. . . . The men were men of parts, of Philosophic culture, decent behavior; not condemnable in that they were but Pedants, and had not better parts; not condemnable, but most unfortunate. They wanted a Republic of the Virtues, wherein themselves should be the head; and they could only get a Republic of the Strengths, wherein others than they were head." — Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Part III, Bk. III, chs. iv and ix.

[2] The constitution of 1793 is of interest as showing the ideas of the men of the Mountain on the subject of a permanent government. It provided: (1) that France

608. Government by Committee of Public Safety

As a result of the overthrow of the constitution of 1791, and the suspension of the one framed to take its place, the whole government was left in the hands of the Convention.[1] To use this power there was created a new executive body, in the form of a secret Committee of Public Safety. The formation of this committee marks the beginning of a reaction to secure greater unity and strength in the government, which had been weakened in the earlier stages of the revolution. It was composed of twelve members of the Convention, who at first were to hold office for only a month at a time. Soon, however, they were continued from month to month. The creation of this body was largely the work of Danton, though he did not long continue a member. His work was chiefly in the Convention, whose members he aroused to energetic action. "We must *dare*," he cried, "and *dare again*, and *ever dare*, — and France is saved!" Robespierre was the Committee's most conspicuous member, because of his reputation for incorruptibility and his popularity in the Jacobin club. Its real work, however, was performed by others. Of these, the most notable person was Carnot (car-nō′), who by his efficiency gained the enviable name of "Organizer of Victory."

From September, 1793, to July, 1794, the Committee of Public Safety ruled France almost despotically. Practically all power

should be a republic, "one and indivisible"; (2) that all Frenchmen should have the right to vote, without regard to paying taxes; (3) that the legislature should consist of a single chamber, elected for one year; (4) that all laws passed by the legislature should be submitted to a *referendum* of the people; (5) that the executive power should be placed in the hands of a council chosen by the legislature. — Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, pp. 170–182.

[1] In order to break completely with the past, the Convention adopted an entirely new calendar. The date of the establishment of the republic (September 22, 1792) was taken as the beginning of the new era. Twelve months of thirty days each were instituted, with five or six supplementary days at the end of the year; and the months were divided into three "decades" each, instead of weeks. For the old names of the months the following were substituted: *Vendémiaire* (Vintage month), *Brumaire* (Fog month), and *Frimaire* (Frost month) for autumn; *Nivôse* (Snow month), *Pluviôse* (Rain month), and *Ventôse* (Wind month) for winter; *Germinal* (Budding month), *Floréal* (Flower month), and *Prairial* (Meadow month) for spring; and *Messidor* (Harvest month), *Thermidor* (Heat month), and *Fructidor* (Fruit month) for summer. This calendar was used by France until January 1, 1806.

passed into its hands, and the Convention became little more than its mouthpiece. The Committee organized and fed the armies, directed the military operations, and put down internal disaffection with a stern hand. Representatives of the Committee (called "Deputies on mission") accompanied the armies to watch over the generals, thus guarding against disloyalty and infusing greater zeal into their efforts. By the same means the elected local governments throughout France were practically suspended, everything being managed by these agents of the Committee. During the time that the Committee of Public Safety was in full power, it put fourteen armies in the field, and expelled from France its foreign invaders.[1]

609. Reign of Terror (1793-1794)

The chief means used to break resistance at home was the Reign of Terror. The menace of the guillotine fell upon all who incurred the popular wrath, or whom policy or ambition found in the way. Two laws, passed in September, 1793, constituted the basis of the system. By the Law of the

[1] Carlyle admirably portrays the spirit infused into the armies by the Committee of Public Safety. "These soldiers have shoes of wood and pasteboard, or go booted in hay-ropes, in dead of winter. What then? 'With steel and bread,' says the Convention representative, 'one may go to China.' The generals go fast to the guillotine, justly and unjustly. Ill-success is death; in victory alone is life! To conquer or die is a practical truth and necessity. All Girondism, Halfness, Compromise is swept away. Forward, ye soldiers of the Republic, captain and man! Dash, with your Gallic impetuosity, on Austria, England, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, Pitt, Cobourg, York, and the Devil and the World! Behind us is but the Guillotine; before us is Victory, and Millennium without end! See accordingly on all frontiers, how the 'Sons of Night,' astonished after short triumph, do recoil; — the Sons of the Republic flying at them with the temper of cat-o'-mountain, or demon incarnate; which no Son of Night can stand! Spain, which came bursting through the Pyrenees, and went conquering here and there for a season, falters at such cat-o'-mountain welcome; draws itself in again; too happy now were the Pyrenees impassable. General Dugommier invades Spain by the Eastern Pyrenees; General Müller shall invade it by the Western. '*Shall*,' that is the word. Committee of Public Safety has said it; Representative Cavaignac, on mission there, must see it done. 'Impossible!' cries Müller; 'Infallible!' answers Cavaignac. Difficulty, impossibility, is to no purpose. 'The Committee is deaf on that side of its head,' answers Cavaignac. 'How many wantest thou, of men, of horses, of cannon? Thou shalt have them. Conquerors, conquered, or hanged, *Forward* we must.' Which things also, even as the Representative spake them, were *done*." — Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Part III, Bk V, ch. vi (condensed).

Suspects all persons might be accused who, "by their conduct, by their relations, or by their conversation or writings, have shown themselves partisans of tyranny or *federalism* (*i.e.* of the Girondists) and enemies of liberty." The only safety for former nobles or royalists, and their families, lay in attachment to the revolution. The Law of the Maximum, in defiance of the teachings of political economy, fixed the prices in paper money at which provisions, clothing, firewood, tobacco, etc., must be sold. The possibility of prosecution under this law extended the Terror to the petty tradesmen. To judge persons accused under these acts, as well as those accused of other political offenses, a Revolutionary Tribunal was set up, whose almost invariable sentence was death. Through the "Deputies on mission" the Terror was extended into every part of France. In some places (as at Nantes, where prisoners were drowned wholesale) the deputies abused their powers. But revolt was suppressed, and internal peace restored.

610. Victims of the Terror

At Paris the number of executions by the Revolutionary Tribunal increased rapidly. It became the established custom to send batches of prisoners to the guillotine each day. At first the average was only three victims a week. Then it rose to thirty-two. In June and July, 1794, the number of victims reached one hundred and ninety-six a week. Among the early victims of the Terror were the queen (Marie Antoinette), together with twenty-one of the fallen Girondist leaders. The total number who perished by the guillotine at Paris was over 2500. To these must be added about 12,000 who perished, with or without the semblance of a trial, in the provinces.

Two points concerning the Terror should be noted. (1) It was in no sense the work of a mob, but was a government policy gradually adopted. Designed at first to crush the enemies of the republic, it was perverted to party and personal ends. (2) Outside of the Vendée, rural France suffered very little. Even at Paris the great majority of the people were unaffected, and went about their occupations and amusements as usual.

At the height of the Terror, there were twenty-three theaters open nightly, and some sixty places for dancing.

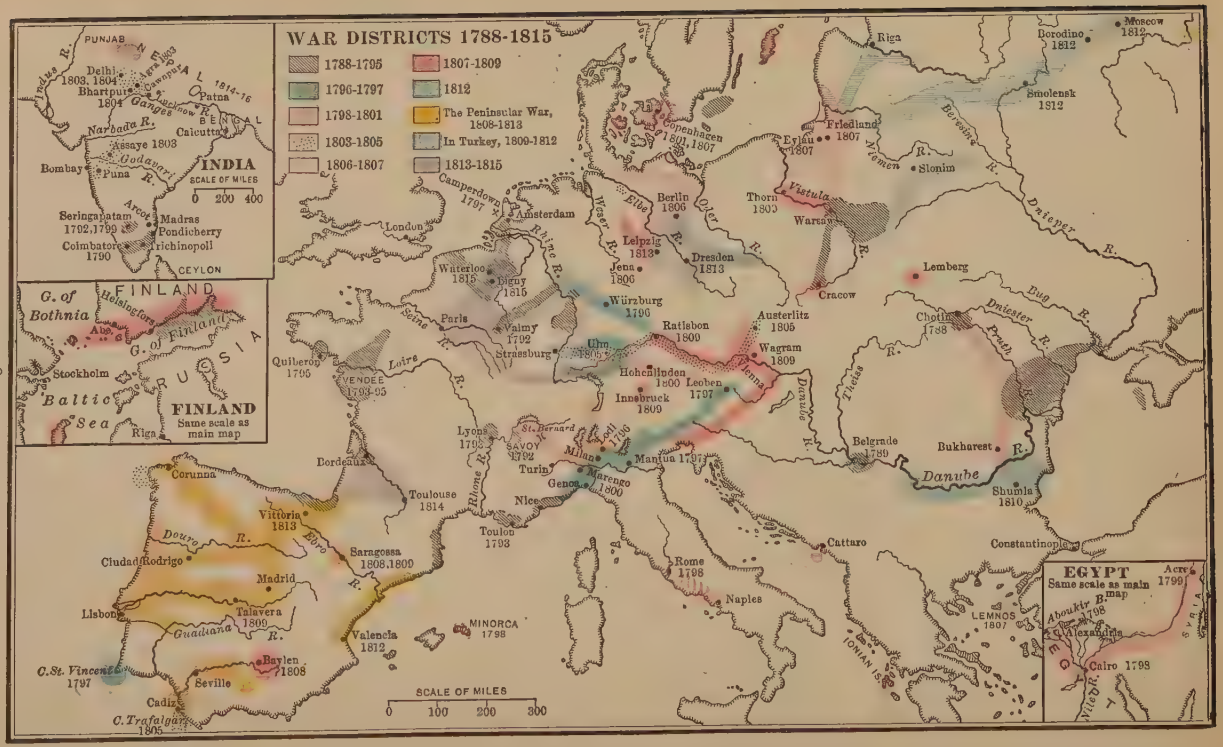
From two quarters in the Mountain itself the Committee of Public Safety met with opposition. (1) The extreme radicals of the Commune of Paris under the leadership of Hébert (ā-bâr′), the editor of a coarse and violent journal, clamored for more bloodshed. They attacked the rich as the enemies of the people, closed the churches, and set up with wild orgies the worship of "the goddess Reason." These excesses led Robespierre (who was a deist) to denounce the Hébertists as atheists. When they attempted an insurrection of the city, they were seized, condemned, and guillotined (March, 1794). (2) Danton, on the other hand, soon opposed the Committee because he believed the Terror had accomplished its work, had gone too far, and now (thanks to French victories) was no longer needed. Robespierre seized this opportunity to strike down his rival in popularity. The Committee as a whole aided him, because it wished to insure its power by extending the Terror over the Convention itself. Danton and his chief adherents were therefore arrested, accused of conspiracy, and after the mockery of a trial were hurried to execution (April, 1794).[1]

611. Fall of Danton (1794)

Freed from competitors for public favor, Robespierre proposed to set up a Reign of Virtue, founded upon the teachings of Rousseau. In this new system he himself was to be the principal figure. In order to check atheism, the worship of "the Supreme Being" was established, and Robespierre

612. Fall of Robespierre (1794)

[1] Danton was warned of his danger, but declined to use force or to flee. "Better to be guillotined than to guillotine," he said; and also: "Where should I go that I shall not be thought guilty? If France, when she is at last free, casts me from her bosom, what country will give me an asylum?" Probably he was overconfident of his ability to outmatch Robespierre, whom he despised. At his trial he cried out: "Let the cowards who calumniate me confront me. My life! I am weary of it; I long to be quit of it. Men of my stamp have no price. On their foreheads are stamped in ineffaceable characters the seal of liberty, the genius of republicanism." At his execution he said, thinking of his newly wedded wife: "My darling, shall I no more behold thee?" Then he added: "Come, Danton, no weakness." And to the executioner he said: "Show my head to the people. It is worth while; they do not see the like every day." — Beesly, *Life of Danton*, ch. xxix.


WAR DISTRICTS 1788-1815
1788-1795
1796-1797
1798-1801
1803-1805
1806-1807
1807-1809
1812
The Peninsular War, 1808-1813
In Turkey, 1809-1812
1813-1815
INDIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400
PUNJAB
Delhi 1803. 1804
Bhartpur 1804
Patna
Calcutta
Assaye 1803
Bombay
Poona
Seringapatam 1792. 1799
Madras
Pondicherry
Coimbatore 1790
Trichinopoli
CEYLON
FINLAND
Helsingfors
Abo
Stockholm
RUSSIA
Baltic Sea
Riga
FINLAND
Same scale as main map
London
Amsterdam
Waterloo 1815
Brussels
Paris
Quiberon 1795
VENDEE 1793-95
Lyons 1795
Bordeaux
Corunna
Vittoria 1813
Ciudad Rodrigo
Madrid
Lisbon
Talavera 1809
Saragossa 1808. 1809
Valencia 1812
Baylen 1808
Seville
Cadiz
C. St. Vincent 1797
C. Trafalgar 1805
Toulouse 1814
Toulon 1793
Nice
Genoa
Marengo 1800
Turin
Milan
SAVOY 1792
St. Bernard Pass 1800
Mantua 1797
Berlin 1806
Leipzig 1813
Jena 1806
Dresden 1813
Würzburg 1796
Ulm 1805
Ratisbon 1809
Austerlitz 1805
Wagram 1809
Hohenlinden 1800
Innsbruck 1809
Leoben 1797
Copenhagen 1801. 1807
Friedland 1807
Eylau 1807
Thorn 1803
Warsaw
Riga
Borodino 1812
Moscow 1812
Smolensk 1812
Slonim
Cracow
Lemberg
Chotim 1788
Belgrade 1789
Bukharest
Shumla 1810
Constantinople
Cattaro
Rome 1798
Naples
MINORCA 1798
LEMNOS 1807
IONIAN ISLES
EGYPT
Same scale as main map
Acre 1799
Aboukir Bay 1798
Alexandria
Cairo 1798
SYRIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300

presided at a great festival of the new cult. He was now at the height of his power, but a reaction was preparing. "Robespierre will follow me: I drag down Robespierre," Danton had predicted. So it was to prove. Robespierre's colleagues had little sympathy with his fine-spun ideas, and they felt themselves menaced by his ascendancy. On July 27, 1794 (9th Thermidor), his opponents, after a stormy scene, arrested him on the floor of the Convention. He was rescued by the Jacobin club; but his enemies, now rendered desperate, recaptured him. The next day he and his adherents met the fate which they had inflicted upon the Hébertists and the Dantonists. "Not only his enemies but his colleagues threw upon him the responsibility for all the atrocities included under the name of the Terror." But the blame, as well as the credit, for its rule belongs chiefly to men of obscurer name.

Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 147

With the fall of Robespierre the Terror came to an end. New members were gradually added to the Committee of Public Safety, and the moderate policy for which Danton had pleaded was adopted. The club of the Jacobins was closed, the Law of the Maximum was repealed, and imprisoned deputies were restored to their seats. The four living persons who were chiefly responsible for the Terror were ordered to be deported to French Guiana (April, 1795). In May occurred a revolt, in which the famished Parisian mob broke into the Convention, crying, "Bread, and the Constitution of 1793." Victory over these rioters was followed by new condemnations of Terrorists, and the Mountain as a party was broken up. The middle classes, enriched by the spoils of the revolution, now came to the front; and concealed royalists emerged from their hiding places to take vengeance on their enemies.

613. The Terror ended (1794–1795)

While order was restored at home, the number of France's enemies abroad was reduced. The visionary attempt to establish democracies everywhere was given up, and this broke the league of her foes. In 1795, Prussia and Spain made peace with France at Basel, and recognized the republic. Holland, conquered in 1794–1795, was organized as the Bata-

614. Peace with Prussia and Spain

vian Republic, and brought into close alliance. With Great Britain and Austria, however, the war still continued.

E. The Directory Established

615. "Constitution of the year III" (1795)

Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 212–254

The leaders of the Convention saw the continued necessity of a permanent executive power possessed of sufficient force and unity to cope with disorder. To secure this they prepared the "Constitution of the Year III" (1795). This was the third constitution to be adopted, and was the second to go into force. Its chief provisions were: —

1. The executive power was intrusted to a Directory of five members, chosen by the legislature.
2. The legislature was to consist of two houses, the members of which were elected for three years.
3. Only those citizens who paid direct taxes and had a fixed residence were allowed to vote.

Aulard, *French Revolution*, III, 312

The new constitution sought to guard at the same time against mob rule and against the despotism of an individual. "There should never be another Robespierre, almost every line of the Constitution emits that cry."

616. Rising of 13th Vendémiaire (1795)

To guard themselves against proscription, and to check royalist intrigues, the Convention decreed that two thirds of the first members of the legislature must be elected from among their own ranks. This provision provoked what was practically the last of the revolutionary revolts of Paris, — the rising of October 5, 1795 (13th Vendémiaire). It was an insurrection of the middle classes and royalist sympathizers. The defense of the Convention was placed in the hands of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had lately been dismissed from employment because of his refusal to accept an unsatisfactory appointment. Bonaparte's cannon did terrible execution on the advancing columns of the mob, and the revolt was put down. This "whiff of grapeshot" taught Paris that the day of riot and mob rule was a thing of the past.

The Convention then made the necessary arrangements for the new government, and quietly disbanded. Its last act was an amnesty for political offenses committed since the beginning of the republic. The new government was entirely in the hands of men of moderate opinions. The Directors chosen had all been members of the Convention, and had voted for the execution of the king. Only one of them (Carnot) had been a member of the Committee of Public Safety.

617. The Directory established (1795)

Within seven years France had experienced almost every form of government. The absolutism of the Old Régime had given way to a weak constitutional monarchy; this in turn had been followed by a republic in which practically all power was vested in an unwieldy Assembly (1792–1793); and following this came the executive despotism of the Committee of Public Safety, and the Reign of Terror (1793–1794). Leaders representing all shades of political liberty — Mirabeau, the Girondists, Danton, Robespierre — had succeeded one another. The excess of freedom had wrought its cure. France was now prepared to try a government which promised strength of executive, with reasonable liberty, fraternity, and equality. The mistakes and atrocities of the revolution — the mob violence, the Terror, the revolutionary propaganda, the theatrical worship of Reason and of the Supreme Being — were in part due to the emotional, volatile temperament of the French. In part also they were due to the lack of opportunity, under the Old Régime, to acquire experience in managing their own affairs.

618. Review of the revolution

It remained for the future to show whether the new government would be strong enough to maintain order at home and secure peace abroad; or whether, upon the ruins of its policies, there should arise a new monarchy based on military power, successful intrigue, and the will of the people.

IMPORTANT DATES

1789. Estates-General meets and is transformed into the National Assembly.

1791. First constitution completed and accepted by the king.

1792. War with Austria and Prussia begun; growth of republican ideas. The National Convention abolishes the kingship.

1793. Jan. 21. Louis XVI executed; England joins the war against France.

June. Fall of the Girondists.

September. Reign of Terror begun.

1794. July. Execution of Robespierre ends the Reign of Terror.

1795. Peace with Prussia and Spain signed. Government of the Directory established; end of violent phase of the Revolution.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Was the transformation of the Estates-General into the National Assembly necessary for the reform of the abuses under which France suffered? Why? (2) What was the significance of the fall of the Bastille? (3) How did the organization of the national guard contribute to the success of the Revolution? (4) Do the nobles deserve much credit for their surrender of their feudal rights on August 4? Why? (5) To what extent are the principles of the Rights of Man now in force in the United States? Were any of them in force in France before the Revolution? (6) Was the Constitution of 1791 more or less radical than the constitution in Great Britain at that time? What was the chief difference in their constitutions? (7) What good did the Jacobin club do? What ill? (8) Sum up the things which contributed to the growth of a republican party in France. (9) How long was the Constitution of 1791 in force? (10) How did the wars contribute to its overthrow? (11) Was the execution of the king justifiable? Was it expedient? (12) Was Fox or Burke nearer right in his estimate of the French Revolution? (13) Why was the addition of Great Britain to the ranks of the enemies of France so important? (14) Was the overthrow of the Girondists deserved? Why? (15) What arguments might be used for and against the Reign of Terror? (16) What is your opinion of Robespierre? (17) In what ways does the establishing of the Directory mark a step in advance? In what ways was it a backward step? (18) Was the Revolution up to 1795 a success or a failure? Give your reasons.

Search Topics. — (1) THE CAHIERS. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. xxi; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 248–251; University of Pennsylvania, *Translations*, IV, No. 5, 24–36. — (2) MEETING OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL. Stephens, *French Revolution*, I, 55–67; Mathews, *French Revolution*, ch. ix; MacLehose, *From the Monarchy to the Republic*, chs. iv–vi. — (3) EARLY LIFE OF MIRABEAU. Von Hoist, *French Revolution*, I, lect. v. — (4) MIRABEAU AND THE REVOLUTION. Johnston, *French Revolution*, ch. vii; Gardiner, *French Revolution*, 35–37, 56–58, 82–

85; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 73–76; Von Holst, II, Lectures vii, xi; Stephens, *French Revolution*, I, ch. xiv. — (5) FALL OF THE BASTILLE. Mathews, 125–137; Stephens, *French Revolution*, I, 128–145; MacLehose, ch. viii; Carlyle, *French Revolution*, Bk. V, chs. v–vi. — (6) THE MOB AT VERSAILLES. MacLehose, chs. xi–xii; Stephens, *French Revolution*, I, 219–228; Carlyle, Bk. VII, chs. iv–viii. — (7) FLIGHT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY. Johnston, ch. viii; Gardiner, 86–91; Stephens, *French Revolution*, I, ch. xv. — (8) WHY THE FRENCH PEOPLE HATED MARIE ANTOINETTE. Lecky, VI, 545–550; McCarthy, *French Revolution*, chs. xii–xiv. — (9) THE JACOBIN CLUB. Johnston, 94–95; Farmer, *Essays in French History* ("The Club of the Jacobins"); Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 285–287. — (10) THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES. Mathews, 195–206; Stephens, *French Revolution*, II, ch. iv. — (11) TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI. Johnston, ch. xi; Carlyle, II, Bk. IV, chs. vi–viii. — (12) THE REIGN OF TERROR. Stephens, *French Revolution*, II, ch. x; Mathews, 224–233; Gardiner, 163–187. — (13) ROBESPIERRE AND HIS OVERTHROW. Mathews, ch. xxviii; Ten Brink, *Robespierre*, 129–140, 378–405 (favorable).

General Reading. — The histories of the French Revolution by Johnston, Mathews, Mrs. Gardiner, and Belloc are all brief and good. Rose's *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era* and Stephens's *Revolutionary Europe* are brief general histories of Europe in this period. Stephens's *History of the French Revolution* (2 vols.) is the best account in English to the point at which it stops (1795). Aulard's *Political History of the French Revolution* (4 vols.) is the work of a master in this field, but is too advanced for high school use. Carlyle's *French Revolution* is antiquated, but should still be read for its brilliant pictures of Revolutionary scenes. The *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VIII, is valuable for advanced students.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1795–1804)

A. Early Life and the Italian Campaign

The time was approaching when (as Burke prophesied) the government of France was to pass into a military despotism under a popular general, — Napoleon Bonaparte. This great soldier was born of a good Italian family, in Corsica, in 1769, — the year following the annexation of that island to France. He embodied "the typical Corsican temperament, moody and exacting, but withal keen, brave, and constant." At the age of nine young Bonaparte was admitted to a government military school in northeastern France. At sixteen he began his service in the French army as junior lieutenant of artillery. His proud, imperious nature, his poverty, and his foreign birth and speech cut him off from his fellows. He directed his early thoughts and ambitions chiefly toward schemes for the independence of Corsica. Only gradually did the French Revolution "blur his insular sentiments," and cause him to lay aside his local patriotism.

619. Early life of Bonaparte (1769–1789)

For a time Bonaparte was much in the company of Jacobins. But the sight of a Parisian mob invading the Tuileries and insulting the royal family, in 1791, called forth the significant exclamation: "Why don't they sweep off four or five hundred of that rabble with cannon? The rest would then run away fast enough!" Trained officers were scarce under the revolution, so his promotion was rapid, in spite of repeated acts of insubordination. In 1793, at Toulon (too-lôn′), he first gave evidence of his energy and genius in directing the artillery in the siege of that rebellious city. In 1795 he was

620. Bonaparte and the revolution (1789–1795)

back in Paris, deprived of his command, without money or friends, and suspected because of his Jacobin connections. His defense of the Convention against the mob in October, 1795, proved a turning point in his career. "From the first," says an eyewitness, "his activity was astonishing. He seemed to be everywhere at once. He surprised people by his laconic, clear, and prompt orders. Everybody was struck by the vigor of his arrangements, and passed from admiration to confidence, from confidence to enthusiasm." In reward for his services he was appointed by the Directory to his first important command, that of the French army operating against the Austrians and their allies in Italy.

Thiébault, *Memoires*

BONAPARTE IN 1795

From a drawing by Guerin

Bonaparte was now but twenty-seven years old. He was below the middle height in stature, excessively thin, and very pale. Some of the ablest generals of the revolutionary army served under him. All yielded to the indomitable will revealed in his flashing eye, to the brilliancy of his plans, and to the clearness and decision of his orders. The rank and file were thrilled by the burning words of his first proclamation: "Soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience and courage do you honor, but procure you neither glory nor profit. I am about to lead you into the most fertile plains of the world. There you will find great cities and

621. The Italian campaign (1796–1797)

Correspondance de Napoléon, I, 107

rich provinces. There you will win honor, glory, and riches. Soldiers of the Army of Italy, will you lack courage?"

The Italian campaign which followed was one of the most brilliant in history, and well illustrates Bonaparte's military genius. His quick mind seized upon every geographical detail which might help or hinder his operations. He was prompt to guess the plans of his enemies, while he bewildered them by the rapidity and daring of his own well-calculated maneuvers. His favorite device was to meet the detachments of the enemy separately, rapidly concentrating upon each the whole of his effective force. In this campaign his first step was to separate the troops of Sardinia-Piedmont from the Austrians. Then he defeated the Piedmontese five times in eleven days, menaced their capital (Turin), and forced their king to sign a treaty of peace. He next skillfully turned the flank of the Austrian army, and compelled it to fall back. He forced the passage of the bridge of Lo'di in the face of a galling fire (an exploit which won from his admiring soldiers his lifelong nickname of "the Little Corporal"), and occupied Milan. A part of the Austrian army took refuge in the strong fortress of Man'tua, and was there besieged by Napoleon. Four times the Austrian government poured its armies across the Alps to relieve the beleaguered fortress; but in February, 1797, Mantua fell. The results of the year of fighting were summed up by Bonaparte in a proclamation to his army (here somewhat shortened): —

"The capture of Mantua has put an end to a campaign which has given you lasting claims to the gratitude of the Fatherland. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and in seventy combats. You have taken more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred fieldpieces, two thousand heavy cannon, and four pontoon trains. The contributions laid upon the lands you have conquered have fed, maintained, and paid the army during all the campaign. Besides this, you have sent thirty million francs to the Minister of Finance for the relief of the public treasury. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with three hundred

622. Napoleon's summary of results

Correspondance de Napoléon, II, 372–373

masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it has required thirty centuries to produce. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the duke of Parma have abandoned the coalition of our enemies and sought our friendship. You have expelled the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. Of all the enemies who combined to stifle the Republic at its birth, only the Emperor remains before us. There is no hope for peace save in seeking it in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria."

The invasion of Austria, announced in this proclamation, presented few difficulties. By April, 1797, Bonaparte had advanced to within eighty miles of Vienna. Preliminaries of peace were then signed, which in October were converted into the treaty of Campo For'mio. In the interval between the preliminaries and the final treaty, Bonaparte found pretexts for treacherously conquering the once glorious republic of Venice; and the treaty provided, among other things, for its partition. By this treaty —

623. Peace of Campo Formio (1797)

1. The Emperor granted Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands) to France.
2. He accepted the Rhine as the eastern frontier of the republic.
3. He gave up Milan, to which were joined lands taken from the Pope and Venice to form the Cisalpine Republic.
4. In return Austria received most of the Venetian territories.

In his diplomatic negotiations, as in his military operations, Bonaparte acted as though he were practically independent. His services were too important, however, to permit the Directors to take offense. With the French people his popularity was increased as much by the treaties which he dictated as by his victories in the field. Upon his return to Paris he was given a triumphal reception such as was accorded to no other French general. Already the way was opening for him to seize political power.

With England alone — called by one of the Directors the "giant corsair that infests the seas" — the war still continued.

In 1796 a French expedition to Ireland failed because of storms. The next year a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships was defeated and practically destroyed by the British in a battle off Cape St. Vincent. The Dutch fleet, which put to sea in obedience to orders of the Directors, was crushed in the battle of Camperdown in the same year. With the British in complete control of the Channel, an invasion of England or Ireland became hopeless.

624. War continued with England

B. The Expedition to Egypt (1798–1799)

Bonaparte now urged upon the Directors an expedition to Egypt, which was a province of the Turkish Empire. His object was partly to prepare the way for an attack on Great Britain's power in India. His purpose was also to maintain his own prestige in France. "The people of Paris do not remember anything," said Bonaparte. "Were I to remain here long, doing nothing, I should be lost. In this great Babylon everything wears out. My glory has already disappeared. This little Europe does not supply enough of it for me. I must seek it in the East. All great fame comes from that quarter." The Directors were not sorry to be rid for a time of their most ambitious general, and gave their consent to his plan. In May, 1798, the Egyptian expedition set out. It included veterans of the army of Italy, together with Bonaparte's favorite generals. He took with him also a corps of scholars to study the monuments of the East. "The true conquests," said Bonaparte at one time, "the only conquests which cost no regrets, are those achieved over ignorance."

625. Expedition to Egypt (1798)

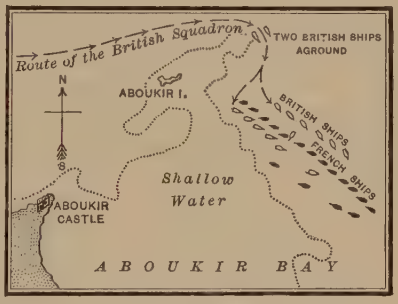
Rose, *Life of Napoleon* I, 160

On the way to Egypt the French seized the island of Malta, which had been under the rule of the Knights of St. John since the sixteenth century. Escaping a British squadron cruising in the Mediterranean, Bonaparte landed safely in Egypt. Near Cairo the French were forced to fight the "battle of the Pyramids" (July, 1798), in which French infantry squares, defended

by bayonets, muskets, and grapeshot, successfully resisted, with a loss of but forty men, the charges of the Egyptian cavalry. This battle practically completed the conquest of lower Egypt.

A few days later Admiral Nelson, in command of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, came upon the French fleet in Aboukir (ȧ-boo-kēr′) Bay, and fought the "battle of the Nile" (August, 1798). The French, who slightly outnumbered the British in guns and men, swung at anchor just outside shoal water. "Where there is room for a French ship to ride at anchor," said Nelson, "there is room for an English ship to sail." He thrust part of the British fleet between the French and the shore and stationed the remainder on the other side. The ships of the French line were thus subjected to a deadly cross fire. The battle lasted far into the night. The French flagship took fire and exploded, and nearly all the French ships were captured or burned. Nelson's victory cut off the French in Egypt from support, and foredoomed the expedition to failure. It also deprived France of communication with its best troops and ablest general at a time of great need.

626. Failure in Egypt (1798–1799)



BATTLE OF THE NILE

Encouraged by Nelson's victory, the Sultan of Turkey, as suzerain of Egypt, prepared a vast army to attack the French. Bonaparte anticipated the attack by marching into Syria, where he defeated the Turks. His schemes of further conquest failed, however, and he was forced to retire to Egypt.

In July, 1799, Bonaparte received from the British naval commander, under flag of truce, copies of European newspapers which gave alarming news. The government of the Directory was in great difficulties. The radical republicans regarded it as "only a disguised royalty, composed of five

627. Situation in France (1798–1799)

tyrants"; while a reactionary party hoped for a restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. The Directors had not hesitated to arrest illegally their leading opponents, and to force out colleagues (including Carnot) who disapproved of these proceedings. To arbitrary rule at home the Directory had added folly and unscrupulous dealings abroad. At Rome and at Naples republics of the French type had been set up. The Swiss Confederation had been remodeled in the interests of France.[1] Even the United States, by the insulting demands of the French authorities for money, through three agents called X, Y, and Z, had been goaded for a brief period into a naval war (1798–1799). Resentment at these acts, and the prestige of Nelson's victory, had enabled Great Britain, in 1799, to form the Second Coalition, in which Austria, Russia, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey joined. By the middle of 1799 Italy was lost, the French had suffered defeats on the Rhine, and France was full of divisions and despair.

News of these events determined Bonaparte to abandon the army in Egypt, to brave the dangers of capture on the way, and to return secretly and with but a small following to France.[2]

C. Bonaparte as First Consul (1799–1804)

628. Return of Bonaparte from Egypt (1799)

Landing on the Mediterranean coast, Bonaparte found the republic already saved from invasion by its own exertions. His reception was enthusiastic in the highest degree. Even before the expedition to Egypt, his soaring ambition was aroused. "Do you suppose," he is reported to have said, "that I have gained my victories in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory? Do you think either that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion!

[1] Switzerland was organized as the Helvetic Republic, under a constitution similar to that of the Directorate in France. It was bound in close alliance with France, and its Directors were practically named from Paris. The number of the cantons was increased from thirteen to nineteen, by the inclusion of new territory.

[2] The troops which Bonaparte left in Egypt surrendered to the British in 1801.

A republic of thirty millions of people, with our morals and vices! How could that ever be? It is a chimera with which the French are infatuated, but which will pass away in time like all the others. What they want is glory and the satisfaction of their vanity. As for liberty, of that they have no conception. The nation must have a head which is rendered illustrious by glory."

Memoirs of Mio de Melito, in University of Pennsylvania *Translations*, II, No. 2

With these views, Bonaparte joined some discontented politicians in a successful plot to overthrow the government of the Directors. The people acquiesced in the change, and a new constitution (that of the Consulate) was prepared practically at the dictation of Bonaparte. His resolute ambition overrode the plans of his colleagues, and made the new government an almost unlimited dictatorship.

629. The Consulate formed (1799)

1. The executive power, nominally confided to a board of three Consuls chosen for ten years, really rested in Bonaparte alone, with the title of First Consul.
2. The legislative power was vested in two houses (the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Chamber*) entirely subordinate to the executive. New laws were to be "proposed by the government, communicated to the Tribunate and decreed by the Legislative Chamber." There was also a *Senate*, appointed for life, with little to do.
3. Manhood suffrage was nominally restored, but the voters had little real control over the government.

This new constitution, when submitted to the people, was accepted by a vote of 3,000,000 against 1500. The vote shows that, so far as the constitution was really understood, the masses of the people preferred order under a military dictator to the inefficiency and corruption of the Directory.

After setting up the new government, Bonaparte's first care was the war against the Second Coalition. To surprise the Austrians, he led an army over the Alps into Italy by the difficult route of the Great St. Bernard Pass (1800). At Maren'go he crushingly defeated the enemy in a hard-fought battle. In Germany, also, the French were victorious. In February, 1801, the Emperor Francis II concluded

630. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens (1801–1802)

a peace at Lunéville (lü-nā-vēl′), which confirmed the cessions made at Campo Formio. The extension of France to the Rhine was again recognized, and her power in Italy restored.

Great Britain was thus left a second time to continue the war alone. Seeing that the Jacobin democracy was now curbed, the British ministry also signed a treaty, — the peace of Amiens (March, 1802). By its terms all British conquests made since the beginning of the war (with the exception of the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon) were restored to their former owners. Malta, which had been taken from the French in 1800, was to be given back to the Knights of St. John.

In the interval of peace which followed, Bonaparte showed that he could be as great an administrator as he was a general.

631. Bonaparte's reconstruction of France

He mastered the details of business with almost superhuman energy and intelligence. A sound currency was established, the Bank of France created, roads and canals improved, agriculture and industry fostered. His legislation and the return of order did wonders in restoring prosperity to France. Four of his measures deserve particular notice: —

(1) Local government under the revolution (except for a brief interval) was despotically administered from Paris, as it had been under the Old Régime. Bonaparte simplified and strengthened the machinery for this purpose by a system (still in use) of departmental *prefects* and *subprefects*, appointed by the central authority.

(2) Although personally without religious convictions, Bonaparte saw advantages in a reëstablishment of the Catholic Church, and an alliance with the papacy. A Concordat was accordingly entered into between France and the papacy in 1801. By its terms Bonaparte restored the Catholic religion, though he retained the nomination of bishops and archbishops by the government. The Pope on his part abandoned all claims to the confiscated church estates, on condition that the clergy should be paid by the state (§ 590). The Concordat did not abolish religious toleration, and provision was soon made by

which the state paid Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis also. This Concordat remained in force until 1905.

(3) All titles of nobility had been swept away in 1790. Bonaparte said of the French: "They are what the Gauls were, fierce and fickle. They have one feeling — honor. We must nourish that feeling; they must have distinctions." Hence, in 1802, he formed the Legion of Honor, to be composed of soldiers and civilians who had greatly served the state.[1]

CROSS OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

(4) Most important of all were his measures for the reform of the law. The "inextricable labyrinth of laws and customs, mainly Roman and Frankish in origin, hopelessly tangled by feudal customs, provincial privileges, ecclesiastical rights, and the later undergrowth of royal decrees," which formed the law of the Old Régime, had been swept away by the revolution. Bonaparte, with the aid of a committee of learned jurists, now completed the construction of a system of rational law to take its place. "In matters of inheritance, in the rules which govern the family relations, and in the law of marriage, the Customs of France find their place. In the law of contract, the law of property, the rules of judicial trial, and all questions of the legal burdens which may be placed upon land, Roman law has had a chief place of influence." This Code Napoléon was issued in 1804, and was soon adopted by Italy and Holland. It exerted great influence also on the legislation of Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and the South American states. Nowhere does Bonaparte appear to better advantage than in the part that he played in

632. Code Napoléon (1804)

Rose, *Napoleon*, I, 265

Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, 191

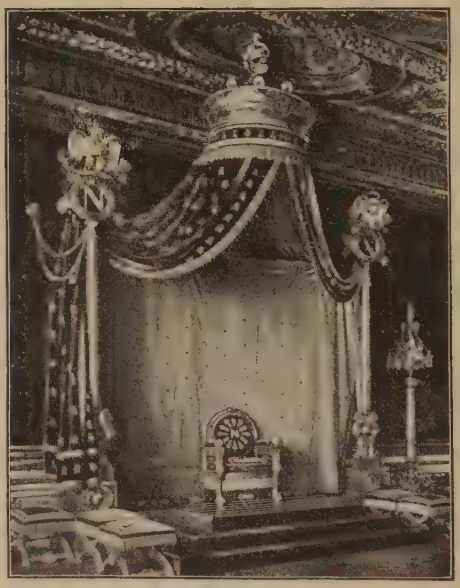
[1] When he became Emperor, Napoleon also created a new nobility composed of the officers of the court and the generals of his army.

directing and shaping the proceedings of the committee which formed this code. "My true glory," said he after his downfall, "is not that I have gained forty battles. Waterloo will efface the memory of those victories. But that which nothing can efface, which will live forever, is my civil code."

D. The Empire Established (1804)

633. Steps to founding the empire

Not content with the large powers given him under the Consulate, Bonaparte skillfully set about making his rule permanent and hereditary. A plot against his life, in 1800, gave him the opportunity to crush the extreme republicans. In 1802 he was made Consul for life. Thenceforth he signed himself "Napoleon," using his first name only, like other sovereigns. In 1804, when war again broke out, a royalist plot was made the excuse for seizing (on neutral soil and by Napoleon's express orders) a young Bourbon prince, the duke of Enghien (äN-găN′). He was tried by court-martial, without any real evidence of guilt, and was shot. This deed, which excited the horror of moderate men, won the remnant of the Jacobins to Napoleon. It made it impossible for him ever to come to terms with the Bourbons.



Throne of Napoleon
Throne room, Fontainebleau

With the press gagged, the legislators corrupted, the generals bound to him by grants of honors and rewards, and the people inflamed against England, it was easy to obtain, in 1804, the title of Emperor of the French, with hereditary succession. The change was sanctioned by a popular vote of 3,500,000 to 2500. The coronation was carried out with imposing ceremonies, the Pope giving to it the sanction of religion by coming from Rome to anoint the new Emperor with oil. Napoleon would not, however, allow the Pope to *crown* him. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hands, thus guarding against any claim that he received it from a superior power. Hitherto the imperial title, which since the fall of Constantinople had been limited to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, had possessed a peculiar significance. "There was and could be but one Emperor; he was always mentioned with a certain reverence; his name called up a host of thoughts and associations which moderns do not comprehend or sympathize with." Napoleon's assumption of the name Emperor brought about a cheapening of that title, until now it has little special signification beyond that of king.

634. The empire founded (1804)

Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire* (revised), 538

With amazing rapidity Bonaparte had risen to the proudest position in Europe. It remained to be seen whether this would satisfy him, or whether through rash ambition he would hazard all in an effort to secure universal dominion.

IMPORTANT DATES

1796. First Italian Campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte.
1798. Expedition to Egypt.
1799. The Consulate formed.
1802. Peace of Amiens with Great Britain.
1804. Napoleon Bonaparte becomes Emperor.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) To what qualities did Bonaparte owe his advancement? (2) To what was due the success of his first Italian campaign? (3) What exactions mentioned in his proclamation of 1797 should we

regard as unjustifiable? (4) Was Bonaparte's conduct toward Venice justifiable or not? (5) What did France gain by the Peace of Campo Formio? (6) Why were the British so successful at sea in the time of the French Revolution? (7) Was Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt wise or unwise? (8) Was the overthrow of the Directors justifiable? Why? (9) Was the government during the Consulate a republic or a monarchy? (10) Of what value was the right to vote when the powers of the elected legislators were so restricted? (11) Why did Napoleon assume the title of Emperor? (12) Show on a map the annexations of territory to France made between 1789 and 1802. (13) What qualities made Bonaparte a great ruler in peace? (14) Why were the Consulate and Empire accepted by such large popular majorities?

Search Topics. — (1) BONAPARTE'S EARLY LIFE. Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. i; Fournier, *Napoleon*, chs. i–ii; Sloane, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, I, chs. iii, v; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 309–312. — (2) BONAPARTE AT TOULON. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 14–16; Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. iii. — (3) HIS SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT OF 1795. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 17–19; Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. iv. — (4) METHODS OF WARFARE DURING THE REVOLUTION. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 20–25. — (5) BONAPARTE'S FIRST ITALIAN CAMPAIGN. Johnston, *Napoleon*, ch. iii; Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, 12–28; Fournier, *Napoleon*, ch. iv; Sloane, I, chs. xxv–xxvi. — (6) REASONS FOR THE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 47–50; Rose, *Napoleon*, I, 159–167; Sloane, II, ch. v. — (7) OVERTHROW OF THE DIRECTORY. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 59–78; Fyffe, *Modern Europe* (Popular ed.), 135–144; Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. x; Sloane, II, chs. x–xi. — (8) BONAPARTE'S WORK AS LEGISLATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 88–101; Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. xii; *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 148–164. — (9) JOSEPHINE. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XV, 516; Sloane, *Napoleon Bonaparte* (revised ed.), I, 452–455; II, 342–346; III, 179–181, 245–247. — (10) HOW THE UNITED STATES SECURED LOUISIANA. Channing, *Student's History of the United States*, 337–340; Turner, in *Atlantic Monthly*, May–June, 1904; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, ch. xiv; Henry Adams, *United States under Jefferson and Madison*, II, ch. ii. — (11) NAPOLEON BECOMES EMPEROR. Rose, *Napoleon*, I, ch. xx; Fournier, *Napoleon*, I, ch. ix (last part). — (12) HIS BEHAVIOR IN SOCIETY. Madame de Rémusat, *Memoirs*, 77, 171, 210, 223, 493, 549.

General Reading. — The lives of Napoleon Bonaparte by Seeley and Johnston are the best short accounts. Those by Rose and Fournier are next in length and are of great excellence. Sloane's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (4 vols.) is issued both in a magnificently illustrated edition and in a cheaper reprint; it is a standard work. J. S. C. Abbot's *Life of Napoleon* is so uncritical as to be valueless.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE (1804–1815)

A. Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena (1803–1807)

Peace with Great Britain lasted less than fourteen months. Its rupture was due to Napoleon's growing impatience of opposition and to his great ambition. In the time that the peace lasted, he became president of the Italian (formerly Cisalpine) Republic; intervened in Switzerland; annexed Piedmont, Parma, and the isle of Elba to France; planned a partition of Turkey; and projected a colonial empire which should embrace America (where he had just acquired the province of Louisiana from Spain), Egypt, India, and the new island continent of Australia. "The safety of our East Indian possessions was actually at stake," says a recent English writer, "and yet Europe was asked to believe that the question was whether England would or would not evacuate Malta." The United States gained Louisiana through the renewal of hostilities; for Napoleon, rightly judging that the defense of that province was impossible for France, sold the whole vast territory to the envoys of President Jefferson (April 30, 1803).

635. Causes of war (1803)

Rose, *Napoleon*, I, 388

To invade England, Napoleon established a naval camp at Boulogne (boo-lōn′), and made ready to take advantage of any event which should give him even momentary control of the Channel. "Eight hours of favoring darkness," said he, "would decide the fate of the universe." But the British power at sea could not be shaken. The last possibility of invasion disappeared in October, 1805, with the destruction of the combined French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar. This was Nelson's greatest victory, but it was won at the cost

636. Battle of Trafalgar (1805)

of his life. His last signal was: "England expects every man to do his duty."

Battle of Trafalgar

In 1805 the Third Coalition was formed, in which Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined Great Britain against France. The

637. The Austerlitz campaign (1805)

reëntrance of Austria into the war led Napoleon to break up his camp at Boulogne and march to the upper Danube. By rapid and skillful maneuvers he took Ulm, together with an Austrian army of 30,000 men (October, 1805). "Our Emperor," said the French, "has found a new way of making war. He no longer makes it with our arms, but with our legs."

The road was now open to Vienna, and for the first time in modern history the Austrian capital fell into the hands of an enemy. In the face of a superior force, in the midst of a hostile population, and with his line of communications threatened by the vacillating king of Prussia, Napoleon's position was for a time dangerous. But in the battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805) the Austrians and Russians were entrapped and completely defeated. The treaty of Pressburg was then signed by Francis II. Its chief provision was the return to Napoleon of the Venetian territories which Austria had received in 1797.

Against Russia and Great Britain the war continued. Prussia, which since the treaty of Basel (1795) had maintained

638. Conquest of Prussia (1806–1807)

an inglorious neutrality, was forced by Napoleon's double-dealing to declare war. But the weak and vacillating Prussian king (Frederick William III) had few of the qualities of Frederick the Great. In the neighborhood of Jena (yā′na) Napoleon crushed the Prussians (October 14, 1806). Berlin was speedily taken, and the Prussian king was forced to flee eastward.

Napoleon followed after, — amid snow and rain, frosts and thaws, over roads where men sank to their knees, horses to their bodies, and carriages beyond the axles. In February, 1807, the Russians tried to surprise the French in their winter quarters. The result, at Eylau (ī'lou), was the bloodiest and most desperate battle of a century, without decisive results. In June the Russians were thoroughly defeated at Friedland (frēt'länt). After this reverse the Tsar (Alexander I) decided to make peace.

VENDÔME COLUMN (AT PARIS)

The bronze bas-reliefs (from melted Russian and Austrian cannon) illustrate the campaign of 1805.

The outlines of the treaty were sketched at an interview which took place between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit (July 7, 1807) on a raft moored in the river Niemen, midway between the two armies. Alexander abandoned the British alliance, and by a secret article agreed to join France in war against Great Britain in case that country refused to make peace. More crushing terms were exacted of Prussia. Her recent annexations were taken from her, as well as her territories west of the Elbe. Her Polish provinces (together with those of Austria) were formed into a duchy of Warsaw, under Napoleon's ally the king of Saxony.

639. Peace of Tilsit (1807)

B. Reconstruction of Europe by Napoleon

640. Reconstruction of Europe (1805–1807)

The peace of Tilsit recognized other changes which constituted a reconstruction of Europe. For some time Napoleon had been building up about France a circle of vassal kingdoms in the hands of his relatives and dependents. Thus, in 1805, he exchanged his presidency of the Italian Republic — enlarged by the addition of Venice (taken from Austria) — for the title of king of Italy. His stepson, Eugene, was made viceroy of the new kingdom. In 1806 Napoleon overturned the Batavian Republic, and established his brother, Louis Bonaparte, as king of Holland. Later in the same year Napoleon drove the Bourbon king of Naples[1] from the peninsula, and gave the crown to his brother, Joseph Bonaparte. A new kingdom of Westphalia was formed east of the Rhine, and conferred upon Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome (1807). In addition to these Bonapartist kingdoms, Napoleon raised his dependents, the dukes of Bavaria and Württemberg, to the rank of king.

Napoleon as Emperor
From the painting by Delaroche

[1] In 1738 Austria had ceded Naples and Sicily to a younger branch of the Spanish Bourbon house, receiving in exchange certain territories in northern Italy

641. Reorganization of Germany

In this period, also, there was carried out a territorial consolidation of Germany, which is one of the most important political results of the Napoleonic era. Since the Thirty Years' War, Germany had been a horde of separate states, large and small, lay and ecclesiastical. (1) In the front rank stood the two great states, Austria and Prussia. Neither of these was purely German, for more than half the territory of each was inhabited by non-German (Slavic or Magyar) peoples. (2) The second rank was composed of about thirty middling states, including Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and Baden (bä'den). (3) In the third rank were about two hundred and fifty petty states, many of them ruled by a bishop or abbot. Here we may place also the fifty "free cities" of the empire. At least one third of the states in this group were less than twelve square miles in area. (4) Below these were about fifteen hundred "knights of the empire," whose territories averaged less than three square miles each. Most of these states, great and small, were absolute monarchies. Each made its own laws, had its own court, its own army, and often its own coinage.

Napoleon had begun his reorganization of Germany in the peace of Campo Formio (§ 623), when he first advanced the boundary of France to the river Rhine. A large number of German rulers *west* of the Rhine were by this treaty dispossessed of the whole or part of their territories. It was subsequently agreed that the hereditary rulers (but not the ecclesiastical princes) should be compensated for their losses by cessions of lands in other parts of Germany. One hundred and twelve sovereign and independent states to the *east* of the Rhine were thus wiped out, by being annexed to the larger hereditary states such as Prussia, Bavaria, etc.[1] At the same time the larger states were encouraged to absorb the territories of the knights, towns, and petty principalities within their borders. *In this way the eighteen hundred or more German states were re-*

[1] Incidentally the suppression of the ecclesiastical states gave a Protestant majority in the German Diet, when it was restored in 1815, and so strengthened German Protestantism.

duced to about fifty. This consolidation survived Napoleon's downfall, and helped enormously to produce the later union of Germany into the present German Empire (§ 777).

642. Holy Roman Empire dissolved (1806)

Practically all of Germany, except Austria and Prussia, was at the same time (1806) organized into a "Confederation of the Rhine," with Napoleon as its officially recognized "Protector." These sweeping changes extinguished the last spark of vitality in the old German Empire. To meet the new situation, Francis II proclaimed himself hereditary Emperor of Austria under the name of Francis I. Then, in 1806, he abdicated the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, and dissolved that empire, which had existed since the days of Charlemagne and Otto I (§§ 28, 104).

643. The Continental System (1806)

Great Britain, protected by the sea and her victorious navy, still defied Napoleon. To reach that country, Napoleon established a tariff policy, which is called the "Continental System." Its object was to close Europe to England's commerce, and thereby force that "nation of shopkeepers," as he contemptuously called it, to sue for peace. The foundation of the "Continental System" was laid in the famous "Berlin decree," issued from the Prussian capital soon after the battle of Jena. Though Napoleon had scarcely a war vessel at sea, the whole of the British Isles was declared in a state of blockade. Commerce and correspondence with the British were forbidden; and British subjects and British products, when found in lands under French influence, were to be seized. The decree was nominally in retaliation for a British blockade of the continental coast from Brest to the Elbe River. Its effect was to call forth from the British yet more stringent measures. These, in turn, were answered by Napoleon's "Milan decree" of December, 1807, which declared that all neutral vessels obeying the British orders were liable to seizure as prizes. "The imperial soldiers were turned into coast-guardsmen to shut out Great Britain from continental markets; the British ships became revenue cutters to prohibit the trade of France." Neutral commerce, then chiefly carried on in

Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution*, II, 289

American vessels, suffered severely from this double system of unjust restrictions.

644. Forcible extension of the Continental System

The chief features of Napoleon's policy now became the extension and maintenance of his "Continental System." Prussia was forced to close her ports to Great Britain. Russia adopted the system along with the French alliance. To prevent the seizure of the neutral Danish fleet by Napoleon, the British bombarded Copenhagen and themselves seized the fleet (September, 1807); whereupon Denmark went over to France. Portugal was ordered by Napoleon, on penalty of war, to close her ports against ships of Great Britain. The demand was refused. Upon the approach of a French army, the royal family of Portugal fled on board ship, and sailed to the Portuguese province of Brazil (1807).

Napoleon's next step was to seize the kingdom of Spain. Taking advantage of a quarrel between the Spanish king and the crown prince, Napoleon forced both to abdicate. He then transferred his brother Joseph from the Neapolitan to the Spanish throne. Naples was given to Napoleon's most daring cavalry general, Murat (mü-rä′), who had married Napoleon's sister (1808). Tuscany was annexed to France. Then Rome was seized, and the Pope imprisoned, because he refused to join the French alliance and exclude English merchandise (1809). Sweden, after being robbed of Finland by Russia, for a time entered the "Continental System"; and in 1810 the Swedes chose as crown prince and heir to the throne one of Napoleon's ablest marshals, Bernadotte (bĕr-nȧ-dŏt′). At one time or another every state of Continental Europe, excepting Turkey, was forced into Napoleon's commercial system.

645. Evasion of the Continental System

Even thus Napoleon found it impossible to exclude English goods from the Continent. The French government itself set the example of violating the "Continental System." The coffee, sugar, and tea for Napoleon's table came from English sources; and when fifty thousand overcoats were ordered for the army in 1807, they could be obtained only from the hated British. Smuggling was widespread, and the com-

merce of Great Britain actually prospered in this period. The "Continental System" was foredoomed to failure; and the tenacity with which Napoleon clung to it, and the tyranny with which he enforced it, were the chief causes of his downfall.

C. The Peninsular War and the Russian Campaign

The rising of Europe against Napoleon's tyranny began in Spain, in 1808; and the British government sent troops to aid in this "Peninsular War" (1808–1814). Napoleon in person restored his brother to Madrid; but a new war with Austria (1809) soon called him away. The French in Spain were operating in a hostile country, and their generals in Napoleon's absence failed to support one another. "In war, *men* are nothing; it is *a man* who is everything," said Napoleon, in stinging rebuke of their ill success. The British were fortunate in having in command Sir Arthur Wellesley, later created duke of Wellington. By 1811 the French were driven from Portugal; in 1812, the south of Spain was recovered; in 1813–1814, the north was freed. The French were driven across the Pyrenees, and the British followed after them.

646. The Peninsular War (1808–1812)

These successes in Spain would have been impossible, save for troubles caused by the "Continental System" elsewhere. In 1809 Austria took heart, from the difficulties in which Napoleon was involved in Spain, to declare war once more. The contest, however, was brief and decisive. Vienna was again taken; Napoleon won the bloody battle of Wagram (vä′gram; July, 1809); and Austria again made peace.[1]

647. New war with Austria (1809)

The fervor of the Tsar's admiration for Napoleon, after the interview at Tilsit, had gradually cooled. The "Continental System" weighed heavily upon Russia, which depended mainly upon England for a market. Napoleon's friendly attitude toward the Poles also caused anxiety to Alexander. Personal affronts, moreover, were not lacking. To secure a son

648. Alexander and Napoleon (1807–1812)

[1] Treaties follow one another so rapidly and are of such short duration in the Napoleonic period that the terms of only the most important can be given.

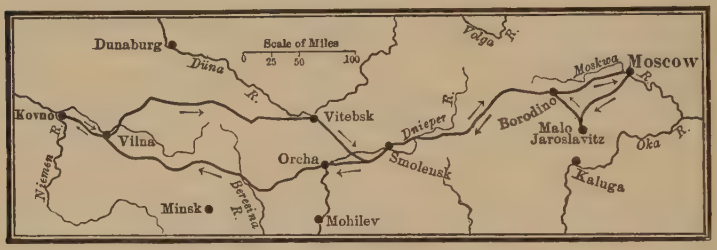
to whom his crown might descend, Napoleon (in December, 1809) divorced his wife Josephine, and requested a bride from the Russian royal family. But before the answer (which was a refusal) could be received, Napoleon arranged to marry Maria Louisa, the eighteen-year-old daughter of the Austrian Emperor.

EUROPE AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER (1812)

On both sides the irritation grew, until it resulted, in 1812, in open war. On the one side was Napoleon, master of France and lord of seven vassal kingdoms and thirty dependent principalities. On the other was the Tsar Alexander, allied with Sweden and Great Britain. To invade Russia, Napoleon mustered an army of nearly half a million men, drawn from "twenty nations," — the French constituting about one third of the whole. The passage across the river Niemen, with which the invasion began (in June, 1812), took three days. The Russians systematically refused battle and retreated. They thus drew the French farther and farther into the heart of a hostile country, where transportation and supply were increas-

649. Invasion of Russia (1812)

ingly difficult. At Smolensk′ (about two thirds of the way to Moscow) the Russians made a stand. After desperate fighting the French were successful, but they were unable to prevent the continuance of the Russian retreat. At Borodino (bo-ro-dē′no), seventy-five miles from Moscow, the Russians again



NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

fought a determined battle. Though they were defeated, the Russians were not crushed, and retreated in good order.

One week later (September 14) the French entered Moscow,— with its "forty times forty churches," — only to find it practically deserted. The next day fire broke out, probably kindled by the Russians. For three days the flames raged, and were stayed only when nine tenths of the city was in ashes. The situation in which Napoleon found himself was grave in the extreme. To winter in the ruined city was impossible; yet for five weeks he lingered, hoping that Alexander might yet come to terms and the campaign be saved from failure. But it was in vain. "I have learned to know him now," said the Tsar. "Napoleon or I; I or Napoleon: we cannot reign side by side."

650. Retreat from Moscow (1812)

Napoleon at last began his retreat from Moscow (October 19, 1812). A southerly route, which he attempted, was blocked and his troops were obliged to retreat by the devastated route of their advance. The Russians wisely refrained from the hazard of a pitched battle. Instead they hung upon the rear and flanks of the retreating forces, and cut off stragglers. Marshal Ney (nā), who covered the French retreat, here won his title "the bravest of the brave."

Zero weather came on, and at every camp the morning showed stark and lifeless forms about the scanty fires. Horses died by hundreds; guns and wagons had to be abandoned, and provisions ran short; discipline was almost destroyed. At a little river (the Beresina) the passage was blocked by a sudden thaw. Heroic French engineers worked for hours in the icy waters, and constructed at the cost of their own lives rude trestle bridges which saved the army from utter destruction. A few days later Napoleon left the troops and hurried on to Paris. In the middle of December the shattered remnant of the main army, less than 20,000 in number, staggered across the Russian frontier. Of the mighty force that had set out in June, 130,000 were left in Russian prisons, 50,000 had deserted, 250,000 had perished, — of cold, hunger, disease, and the casualties of war.

D. Downfall of Napoleon

The overwhelming disaster of the Russian campaign, together with the steady progress of the British in the Peninsular War, encouraged the oppressed states of Germany to rise against Napoleon's tyranny. In this movement Prussia took the lead. Able and patriotic men — of whom the chief was Baron Stein — had labored to adapt to Prussian needs the social reforms of the French Revolution and Napoleon's military system. Serfdom had been abolished, the privileges of the nobility done away with, and a system of election to municipal offices introduced. Universal liability to military service took the place of hired service, so that within a few years a large proportion of the Prussian youth received military training. Prussia, in place of Austria, now came to be regarded as the natural head of Germany. Poets and philosophers did valuable service in fanning the flame of German patriotism.

651. Revival of Prussia (1807–1813)

The Prussian general Yorck now, on his own responsibility, abandoned the French forces and made terms with the invading Russians (1813). "The army wants war with France," he wrote, "the people want it, and so does the king. But the king's

will is not free. The army must make his will free." Borne along by the national enthusiasm, Frederick William declared war, and issued a stirring call to his people. "It is the last decisive fight," said he, "which we must make for our existence, our independence, our well-being. There is no other issue except to an honorable peace or a glorious downfall."

652. Rising of Germany (1813)

Napoleon showed astonishing energy in raising and equipping a new army from exhausted France. By the end of April, 1813, he was back in Germany, and Saxony became the battlefield of the contending forces. In the first half of this campaign the French Emperor displayed his usual superiority. But in August Austria joined the allies, and the tide turned. At Dresden, Napoleon again won a great victory. On the other hand, his lieutenants in other parts of the field lost five battles within a fortnight. Amid autumn rains and fogs, the struggle shifted to Leipzig. There, in a great three days' battle, the French were outnumbered, outgeneraled, and outfought, — and were overwhelmingly defeated (October, 1813).

653. Battle of Leipzig (1813)

The battle of Leipzig marks the end of French rule in Germany. All central Europe, forgetful of the benefits of French administration, rose in revolt. With the British and Spaniards about to cross the Pyrenees, and the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians massing their forces for the passage of the Rhine, it was no longer a question of Napoleon's advancing to world empire. Thenceforth it was a question of saving the Rhine frontier won by the revolutionary wars, and even of maintaining Napoleon's hold on France itself.

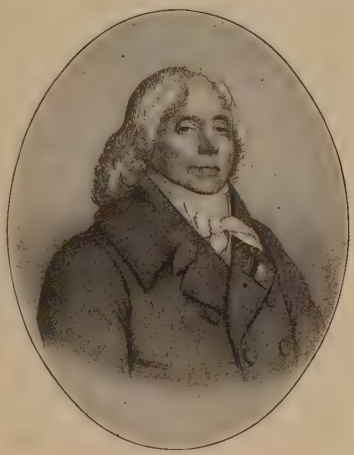
Even after the invasion of France had begun, the allies would gladly have signed a peace which should leave to Napoleon the throne and the French frontiers of 1792, provided that he renounced all claims to interfere in the affairs of Europe outside those limits. But the spirit of the gambler was strong in Napoleon. He would have all or nothing, and these terms were refused.

654. Abdication of Napoleon (1814)

In the campaign of 1814, Napoleon in vain displayed his old

genius and audacity. Slowly but surely the allies closed in upon Paris. The populace of the capital showed ominous signs of discontent with Napoleon's rule, and partisans of the exiled Bourbons raised their heads. On the last day of March, 1814, the allies entered the city. Napoleon wished still to continue the conflict, but his generals refused to obey. Baffled at every turn, he was forced (on April 11) to sign an unconditional abdication. He was allowed to retain the title of Emperor and was assigned in full sovereignty the little island of Elba, with an annual subsidy of two million francs.

The wily French diplomat Talleyrand induced the French Senate (the most important political body under the empire) and the allies to favor the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. The dauphin Louis, son of Louis XVI, had died in prison in 1795, as the result of shocking ill-treatment. Louis XVI's brother was therefore the heir, and was proclaimed king as Louis XVIII. The Pope now returned to Rome, and the dispossessed Bourbon king of Spain to his capital. To settle further territorial questions — particularly in Germany and Poland, concerning which there was much dispute — a congress of European powers met at Vienna, in the late fall of 1814.



TALLEYRAND
From a painting in Versailles

For Napoleon to remain quietly in Elba, however, was impossible. Eluding the guardships placed about the island, he landed in southern France on March 1, 1815, with a force of eleven hundred men. "I shall reach Paris," he predicted, "without firing a shot." Avoiding the Rhone valley, where the royalists were in control, he passed through the

655. Napoleon's return from Elba (1815)

mountains of Dauphiné to Lyons. The troops sent against him deserted to his standard. Marshal Ney, who left Paris boasting that he would bring back his former master "in an iron cage," himself declared for Napoleon. The peasants and poorer classes hailed Napoleon's arrival with joy; but the wealthy townsmen dreaded a restoration which meant renewed war. Within three weeks after Napoleon's landing, Louis XVIII was again an exile. The French Emperor was restored to his capital, and there began the "Hundred Days" of his second reign.

The news of Napoleon's return ended for a time the dissensions which had broken out among the allies at Vienna. Declaring him "an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," they prepared to take the field anew. Napoleon found himself far stronger than in 1814, through the return of prisoners of war and of troops formerly on garrison duty in Germany. Following his favorite practice, he resolved to strike before his enemies were ready. On June 14, he crossed the northern frontier.

In Belgium there was a British army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher (blü′ĸer). Napoleon's rapid movements practically surprised these veteran commanders. By defeating Blücher at Ligny (lēn-yē′), on June 16, Napoleon broke their connection and rendered possible, as he hoped, the separate overthrow of Wellington. But Blücher, instead of retreating eastward, turned northward, so as again to come in touch with the British forces.

656. Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815).

MOVEMENTS LEADING TO WATERLOO

Relying on Blücher's assistance, Wellington turned at bay on the ridge of

Waterloo'. There he was attacked by the French on the morning of June 18. For ten hours the battle raged, Napoleon repeatedly hurling his columns of cavalry against the bayonet-wielding squares of the stubborn British infantry. Never did Wellington better deserve the name of "the Iron Duke" than while anxiously scanning the horizon for signs of the promised Prussian aid. The roads were soft and bad from torrents of rain, and it was not until late in the afternoon that Blücher arrived. The French, attacked on the right flank and in front, were gradually overborne, and about nine in the evening their defeat became a rout. Seven times their flying forces halted for the night, but each time they were driven onward. An eyewitness reports that at Waterloo, the next morning, "the whole field, from right to left, was a mass of dead bodies."

Napoleon's defeat was decisive. It was due to his too great confidence, to the decline of his powers from ill health, to the slackness of some of his generals, and to the steadiness and courage with which the British and Prussians performed their allotted tasks. Had Napoleon shown the brilliancy of his earlier generalship, he might have won the battle; but it would only have been to meet his downfall on some other field.

After Waterloo, Paris fell a second time into the hands of the allies. Napoleon, failing to secure their permission to withdraw to America, voluntarily sought refuge on board a British man-of-war and was carried to England. Had he fallen into the hands of Blücher, it is possible that he might have been executed as an outlaw, under the Vienna proclamation. As it was, he was transported to the British isle of St. Helena, in the south Atlantic. There he fretted out the remainder of his life in quarrels with his English jailers, and died in 1821.

657. Fate of Napoleon (1815–1821)

Napoleon was a man of titanic force, with a remarkable genius for war and for government. The opportunity offered to his talents by the chaotic state of Europe, and by the upheaval of the French Revolution, was unequaled in history. His success was largely due to the remarkable

658. Character of Napoleon

combination in his nature of the dreamer and of the practical man of affairs. He had prodigious energy and capacity for work, and a marvelous grasp of multitudinous details. He often worked eighteen hours a day, wearing out relays of secretaries. He could go without sleep for long periods; then, when opportunity offered, he could sleep anywhere, at any time, even in the saddle while on the march. In his earlier campaigns he pored over the muster rolls of his regiments until he knew hundreds of his soldiers by name. This accounts in part for his tremendous popularity with the rank and file of his armies. His mastery of geographical detail was amazing. He carried the map of Europe in his mind; but before entering upon a campaign he familiarized himself with every hill and valley, every road, stream, and mountain pass of the region he was about to invade. His personal character, as described by Madame de Rémusat (rā-mü-ẓä′), a lady in waiting to Empress Josephine, was a mixture of attractive and repulsive traits. He could fascinate men and women when he chose. But his real nature, especially in later life, was marked by monstrous selfishness, cynical unscrupulousness, and a blind trust in the infallibility of his powers.

E. The Congress of Vienna

Europe meanwhile was reconstituted by the decrees of the Congress of Vienna. In general, the "legitimate" rulers were restored and barriers erected against democratic movements and liberal ideas. The wishes of the people, and national aspirations, were ignored. But disputes over the disposal of Polish territory and of Saxony almost brought the allies to war among themselves. The Tsar of Russia wished to secure for himself all of Napoleon's duchy of Warsaw (formed from the Polish territories taken from Prussia and Austria); and he offered to compensate Prussia by giving to her Saxony, whose king had supported Napoleon. Austria and England opposed this plan, and formed an alliance with Louis XVIII of France to defeat it. Through the adroit diplomacy of Louis's

659. Treaties of Vienna (1815)

ambassador Talleyrand, France recovered a voice in the Congress of Vienna. In the end the dispute was compromised. The chief provisions of the treaties of Vienna were the following: —

1. Prussia gave up some of her former Polish provinces and was compensated by gains on the left bank of the Rhine, and part (not the whole) of Saxony.
2. Russia was allowed to erect most of the Polish provinces into a new kingdom of Poland, which was annexed to the Russian crown.
3. Austria gave up her former possessions in the Netherlands, in addition to part of her Polish provinces, and was compensated with territory in northern Italy.
4. Catholic Belgium was joined in unstable union with Protestant Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands.
5. Norway was torn from Denmark, with which it had been united for centuries, and joined to Sweden, to compensate that state for the loss of Finland, which was retained by Russia.
6. Great Britain kept the Cape of Good Hope, and Malta, Ceylon, Trinidad, and other islands won in the course of the long war; but she restored more than she kept.
7. Murat was at first allowed to remain on the throne of Naples; but after the Hundred Days he was deposed and shot, and the Bourbon line restored.
8. The states of Germany (which now numbered thirty-eight, including Austria and Prussia) were organized into a loose union called the German Confederation, to take the place of the old Holy Roman Empire.
9. Switzerland was restored as an independent state, with its neutrality guaranteed by the Great Powers. The number of its cantons was increased from 19 to 22.

Under the skillful management of Talleyrand, France fared wonderfully well in the first arrangements for peace, but was punished for its adhesion to Napoleon during the Hundred Days. In the treaty of Paris (November, 1815) Louis XVIII was obliged to accept the following terms: — **660. Treaty of Paris (1815)**

1. The frontiers were fixed as they had been in 1790, thus depriving France of Savoy, which at first she had been allowed to retain.

EUROPE IN 1815
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
Boundary of the German Confederation.
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
Liverpool
Manchester
Stockton
Darlington
London
English Channel
Boulogne
Brussels
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
Tours
Strassburg
Zurich
Geneva
Lyons
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Pyrenees
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Lisbon
Madrid
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
Tunis
BARBARY STATES
Turin
Milan
Genoa
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
CORSICA (Fr.)
SARDINIA
SWITZERLAND
NEUCHATEL
Wartburg
Aix-la-Chapelle
Heidelberg
Frankfort
Oldenburg
SLESWICK
HOLSTEIN
HANOVER
NETHERLANDS
PRUSSIA
CONFEDERATION
55
50
45
40
35
20
15
10
5
0
5
10 Longitude West
0 Longitude
5 East
10

15
20
25
30
35
40
45
Gulf of Bothnia
G. of Finland
St. Petersburg
Volga R.
Stockholm
BALTIC SEA
Moscow
Dina R.
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
Dnieper R.
Carpathian
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
Vienna
Danube R.
Pruth R.
Sea of Azof
CRIMEA
Sebastopol
BLACK SEA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Danube R.
Balkan Mts.
Adrianople
Constantinople
TURKEY
ASIA MINOR
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
GREECE
PELOPONNESUS
B. of Navarino
CRETE
CYPRUS
Greenwich
55
50
45
40
35
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO, N.Y.

2. A war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs ($140,000,000) was imposed upon her.
3. She was required to return the priceless works of art of which Napoleon had despoiled conquered states.

With France thus weakened, and the principles of legitimacy reëstablished throughout Europe, the allied sovereigns thought themselves free to return to the policies of the eighteenth century, secure against any renewal of popular revolts.

661. Cost of the war to Great Britain

For Great Britain the struggle with revolutionary France and the Napoleonic empire was "a mortal struggle, the most dangerous, the most doubtful, the most costly she had ever waged." It was entered upon with reluctance, but when it was once begun the English were the soul of every coalition. "England has saved herself by her exertions," said the British prime minister Pitt, at one time, "and will save Europe by her example." She contributed much more than an example. Her command of the sea, firmly fixed by Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, was the chief menace to all French plans of conquest; and her grants of money to France's continental enemies were an indispensable means for carrying on the war.

Her triumph, however, was dearly bought. The total expenditure of Great Britain was soon treble what it had been in time of peace. By 1797 the drain of gold from the country forced the Bank of England to cease redeeming its notes in gold and silver, and specie payments were not resumed until 1821. The public debt increased by leaps and bounds. At the beginning of the French war, in 1793, it was £239,000,000. At the close of the war, in 1815, it had reached the enormous total of £861,000,000, with annual payments for interest amounting to £25,000,000. The amount of this debt has since been decreased, but in 1898 it was still £634,000,000.

The costs of war and the depreciation of paper currency raised prices in England until wheat sold, in 1801, at about $4.00 a bushel. Wages, on the contrary, rose but little. There followed a great increase of pauperism among the people, a result partly due to a bad system of poor relief. A change was

also wrought by the war in British politics. For a generation after 1792 the Whig party was discredited, because of the sympathy of some of its leaders for the French Revolution. The Tories, who opposed every reform as likely to lead to revolution, were firmly seated in power. Thus England, the land of liberty and the champion of freedom, came to be for a time a land of reaction and harsh measures, under the tyranny of a narrow and unrepresentative Tory Parliament.

662. Permanent results of the period

The treaties of Vienna were far from reëstablishing the old states-system of Europe as it had existed before 1789. Still less did the overthrow of Napoleon, taking Europe as a whole, produce a restoration of the Old Régime. A great part of the work of the revolution and of Napoleon (not including his military conquests) proved permanent. The three great ideas which the revolution spread throughout Europe were these: *popular sovereignty*, *nationality* as the basis of states, and *social and political equality*. Although the first two of these ideas were ignored by the Powers at Vienna, they continued to live among the people. In the end, as we shall see, they brought about the overthrow of the system embodied in the Vienna treaties. To-day the principle of popular sovereignty, that is, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," — and of nationality, that is, that the territorial limits of the state should generally coincide with the limits of the nation, — are recognized by all the countries of western Europe. They are even making their way in eastern Europe, and in far-distant Asia.

Even more lasting and fundamental in its effects was the *social and political equality* introduced by the revolution. Instead of overthrowing equality before the law (which marked the chief difference between the France of the Old Régime and that of the revolution), Napoleon had preserved and strengthened this principle, and had spread it throughout his vassal and subject countries. Thus western Europe owes to Napoleon much of its modern social system, with its abolition of serfdom and of personal subjection, its legal equality of all persons, and

its system of law founded on the Code Napoléon. France particularly owes to him, in addition, its highly organized and centralized system of education. The system of strongly centralized government which he fostered has persisted under every government, republican or monarchical, which France has seen since the Reign of Terror. Except the Industrial Revolution (ch. xxviii), no event in modern history has so profoundly affected the life and status of modern peoples as did the French Revolution. And of few rulers in history can it be said that the results of their work were so far-reaching and permanent as was the case with Napoleon Bonaparte.

IMPORTANT DATES

1803. War with Great Britain renewed.
1805. Nelson defeats French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar.
1805. Battle of Austerlitz.
1806. Battle of Jena; Confederation of the Rhine formed; Holy Roman Empire dissolved.
1807. Peace of Tilsit.
1808. Uprising in Spain against French rule.
1809. Battle of Wagram.
1812. Invasion of Russia.
1813. Uprising of Germany; battle of Leipzig.
1814. First abdication of Napoleon.
1815. Return of Napoleon from Elba; battle of Waterloo; treaties of Vienna; Napoleon transported to St. Helena.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Was Great Britain or France chiefly responsible for the renewal of war in 1803? (2) Do you think Napoleon could have conquered England if he had been able to land his armies there? (3) Why was the military strength of Prussia relatively less in 1806 than in the days of Frederick the Great? (4) Make a list of Napoleon's vassal kingdoms and dependencies at the height of his power. (5) Was the reorganization of Germany a good or a bad thing for that land? Why? (6) How might Napoleon expect his Continental System to bring England to terms? (7) Why were his expectations disappointed? (8) What part did the Peninsular War play in the downfall of Napoleon? (9) How did his invasion of Russia contribute to his fall? (10) Why was the military success of Prussia greater in 1813–1814 than in 1806–1807? (11) Were the terms granted to

Napoleon in 1814 unduly harsh? (12) Was the Congress of Vienna justified in proclaiming him an outlaw upon his return from Elba? (13) What enabled Napoleon so easily to recover possession of France? (14) Which was the greater general, Napoleon or Wellington? (15) Were the British justified in keeping Napoleon prisoner at St. Helena? (16) Set down in one column the acts for which Napoleon deserves praise, and in another those for which he deserves censure. (17) Was Great Britain's victory over Napoleon worth to her what it cost?

Search Topics. — (1) BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR. Mahan, *Sea Power and the French Revolution*, II, ch. xvi (latter part). — (2) NELSON. Mahan, *Nelson*, I, ch. x; II, chs. xvi, xxiii; Russell, *Nelson*, chs. xiv–xv, xix–xx. — (3) THE AUSTERLITZ CAMPAIGN. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 119–129; Rose, *Napoleon*, II, ch. xxiii. — (4) NAPOLEON'S RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMANY. Fournier, *Napoleon*, 325–335; Rose, *Napoleonic Era*, 167–168; Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 166–173; Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, 257–261. — (5) JENA, EYLAU, AND FRIEDLAND. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 131–140; Rose, *Napoleon*, II, chs. xxv–xxvi. — (6) TILSIT. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 146–147; Stephens, 249–250; Rose, *Napoleon*, II, ch. xxvi. — (7) THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM. Beard, *English Historians*, 520–537; Rose, *Napoleon*, II, ch. xxvi (first part); Robinson, *Readings*, II, 503–508. — (8) HOW THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM AFFECTED THE UNITED STATES. Channing, *Student's History*, 343–354; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 43–47, 49–53, 91–96, 143–146, 388–390, 395–399; IV, 76–104, 109–111, 125–127. — (9) REGENERATION OF PRUSSIA, 1807–1813. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 270–284, 298–302; Rose, *Napoleonic Era*, 184–193. — (10) RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. Rose, *Napoleonic Era*, 255–262; Johnston, *Napoleon*, 181–187; Fournier, *Napoleon*, II, ch. xvi. — (11) BATTLE OF LEIPZIG. Rose, *Napoleon*, II, 324–338; Fournier, II, ch. xvii. — (12) RETURN FROM ELBA. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 212–218; Fournier, II, ch. xviii. — (13) NAPOLEON'S HOLD ON HIS SOLDIERS. Ropes, *Napoleon*, 310–319. — (14) WATERLOO. Johnston, *Napoleon*, 223–234; Rose, *Napoleon*, II, ch. xi; Ropes, *Napoleon*, lect. 7; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Waterloo"; Hugo, *Les Misérables*, Pt. II, Bk. I. — (15) DUKE OF WELLINGTON. Green, *Short History*, 824–827, 831–832, 834–836. — (16) NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA. Rosebery, *Napoleon*, chs. xiv–xv; Bourrienne, *Memoirs*, IV, ch. xiii; Fournier, II, ch. xx. — (17) WAS NAPOLEON'S WORK BENEFICIAL? Compare Seeley, *Napoleon*, 299–303 (unfavorable), with Ropes, *Napoleon*, 302–308 (very favorable). — (18) TALLEYRAND. Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 380–387; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 372–375.

General Reading. — In addition to the books referred to in the preceding chapter, see Rosebery, *Napoleon, the Last Phase*. Oman's *History of the Peninsular War* (4 vols.) is a recent study of the war in Spain and Portugal; Seeley's *Life and Times of Stein* (3 vols.) covers the Napoleonic period for Germany.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

A. Changes in Agriculture and Transportation

663. Importance of the Industrial Revolution

Only recently have historians come to appreciate the very important part which practical inventions play in the history of human progress. Competent writers now assert that the advancement of mankind from a condition of beast-like savagery to the height of civilization is to be explained "as the result of accumulated changes that found their initial impulses in a half-dozen or so of practical inventions." The following may be named as the steps in this progress which were taken in the Prehistoric Age: the discovery of fire, the invention of the bow and arrow and of pottery making, the domestication of animals, the development of spinning and weaving, the smelting of iron, and the invention of writing. In the period of the Renaissance came the introduction of the mariner's compass, the discovery of gunpowder, and the invention of the printing press. In the latter part of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, occurred a series of inventions and changes in industry which altered practically the whole of man's former mode of living. It is to these later inventions and changes that we give the name "the Industrial Revolution." With a recent educational speaker we may well say that the Industrial Revolution constitutes "the greatest single event in the world's history." It came first in Great Britain, and it was only after the close of the wars with Napoleon that it began to obtain a footing outside that island.

Henry Smith Williams, in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), VI, 403

To understand the nature of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution, we must picture to ourselves the economic conditions which preceded it. Agriculture, manufacturing, and

land transportation were unaffected by the inventions of the Renaissance period. They continued to be carried on by methods and with implements which were little improved since the days of the Roman Empire. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the plows were still clumsy wooden affairs which did little more than scratch the ground. Reaping was done entirely with sickles and scythes. The grain was threshed by hand, by beating it with jointed sticks called flails. Wind- and water-driven sawmills had been introduced in the seventeenth century; but with this exception carpenters and joiners dressed their lumber with the same tools as in ancient times. The implements of the blacksmith, the mason, and other craftsmen remained much what they had been two thousand years before. There were no *machines*, such as now perform ninety-nine per cent of man's work for him. There were only the long-familiar hand *tools*. Since there were no machines, there were no *factories*, with their thousands of men, women, and children employed as machine operatives. And since there were no factories, there were no great *factory towns*, with their huge smoking chimneys blackening the atmosphere and spreading squalor and desolation about them.

664. The old industrial conditions

Town and country were then much more alike than they now are; and the ties of commerce and communication which knit place to place were much less strong and numerous. Since the old Roman days, there had been little building of new roads, and the old ones contrasted unfavorably with those of the fourth century. Six horses were required to haul one of the heavy coaches of the time; and when it was stalled in one of the numerous mudholes, the ox teams of neighboring farmers were employed to drag it out. Goods were usually carried by pack animals, and most of the traveling was done on horseback. The transportation of heavier articles was almost impracticable. The isolation of the smaller communities before the middle of the eighteenth century is scarcely conceivable. Many villages lay, an hour's ride by muddy lanes, back from the highway, and their inhabitants saw few strange faces except those of wandering

peddlers. Each community was almost wholly self-sufficing. It supplied its needs by its own produce and household manufactures, and knew little of what went on in the great world outside.

Agriculture was the first occupation to undergo a transformation. The slow accumulation of money (capital) in the modern period made possible the undertaking of drainage, fertilization, and other permanent improvements of the soil. The area of tillable land was thereby increased, and its productivity enhanced. Only rich men, however, could undertake such improvements; hence the medieval system of small intermixed holdings was gradually broken up, and large farms arose. In part these resulted from the "inclosure" by landlords of common lands and open fields. Agriculture was thus improved; but the condition of the peasantry became worse, for the landlords showed a high-handed disregard for the rights of cottagers and small tenants. Early in the eighteenth century came other improvements, in the form of better tools and methods of cultivation, and new rotations of crops. Root crops — such as turnips and beets — were made to alternate with grain crops. A field planted to root crops received as much rest as under the old plan of lying fallow, while the loss of its use every third year was avoided. The turnips and beets grown were used for feeding stock. It thus became possible to keep cattle over winter, where formerly many were killed in the fall because of lack of feed. By careful breeding, the varieties of cattle and sheep were also much improved, so that a bullock produced more beef, and a sheep more mutton and better wool, than formerly. The increased keeping of live stock also made possible better fertilization of the soil, and so improved its productiveness. In these various ways the land became capable of supporting a larger population than was hitherto the case.

665. Improvements in agriculture

In the middle and second half of the eighteenth century great improvements were also made in the roads of Great Britain. The main highways between the north and south, which were

needed for military purposes in keeping down disaffection in Scotland, were first improved. A host of "turnpike" roads were also established, which were kept in repair through money collected as tolls. At the same time skilled engineers introduced better methods of road-making. The chief of these was a Scotchman named MacAdam, whose fame is still commemorated in our "macadamized" roads. Better highways made possible the use of carriages all the year round. "Fast mail coaches" were established, to run between the chief parts of England in what then seemed incredibly short times. A writer in 1767 described these changes in the following words: "There never was a more astonishing revolution accomplished in the internal system of any country than has been within the compass of a few years in that of England. The carriage of grain, coal, merchandise, etc., is in general conducted with little more than half the number of horses with which it formerly was. Journeys of business are performed with more than double expedition. Everything wears the face of dispatch; every article of our produce becomes more valuable; and the hinge upon which all the movements turn, is the reformation which has been made in our public roads."

666. Betterment of the roads

B. The New Inventions

These changes in agriculture and transportation sink into insignificance, however, in comparison with the changes in manufacturing. The latter changes began in the second half of the eighteenth century, and it is to them especially that we give the name of "Industrial Revolution." We may best consider this subject by taking up in succession (1) the new inventions in spinning and weaving, (2) the application of water and steam power to manufacturing, (3) the rise of the factory system, and (4) the changes caused by the construction of canals, railroads, and steamships.

667. Changes included in the Industrial Revolution

Spinning and weaving, equally with other manufacturing processes, had undergone little change in two thousand years.

668. The Domestic System

Until the seventeenth century the distaff and spindle, such as are depicted on the ancient monuments of Egypt, were almost universally used for drawing out and twisting the fibers of wool, flax, etc., into yarn or thread.[1] The spinning wheel — first the high wheel, revolved by the hand, and then the low wheel, revolved by the foot — marks the first advance in spinning. By the beginning of the eighteenth century spinning wheels were in general use in England. These implements enabled the women (who usually did this work) to spin faster and to produce better yarn, but they could still spin only one thread at a time. The manufacture of cloth continued to be a *household* occupation. "The sheep were shorn, their fleeces carded, the thread spun, the cloth woven, all by hand, and by the farmer, his family, and his laborers." Even where spinning or weaving was carried on as a distinct trade, the workman rarely lived by his trade alone. He did his work with the aid of his wife and children in his own little cottage; and at odd times he cultivated the few acres of ground attached to it. We have a description, dated 1770, of a village in Lancashire, which later became a great center of the cotton industry. Of the fifty or sixty villagers who then resided in it, not more than six or seven gained their rent directly from the land. "All the rest got their rent partly from some branch of trade, such as spinning wool, linen, or cotton. The father of a family would earn from eight shillings to half a guinea [a little over $2.50] at his loom, and his sons, if he had one, two, or three alongside him, six or eight shillings per week. But the great sheet-anchor of all the cottages and small farms

Spinning Wheel

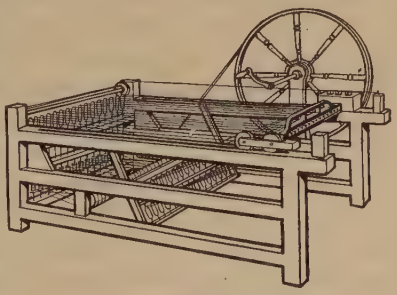
Radcliffe, *Origin of Power Weaving*, 59 ff.

[1] Even at the present time these primitive instruments may sometimes be seen in use in the backward regions of the Balkan peninsula.

was the labor attached to the hand-wheel. And when it is considered that it required six or eight hands to prepare and spin sufficient yarn for the consumption of one weaver, this shows clearly the inexhaustible source there was for every person from the age of seven to eighty years of age (who retained their sight and could move their hands) to earn their bread." This system of household manufacture we call the Domestic System of industry, as opposed to the Factory System which supplanted it.

669. New spinning machines

Spinning was the first branch of cloth-making to be revolutionized by new inventions. About 1764 a poor carpenter and weaver, named James Hargreaves, got an idea from seeing his wife's overturned spinning wheel revolving on the floor, and invented a new spinning machine which he called a "jenny," in her honor. It was a rectangular frame with eight upright spindles. These were rotated by turning a wheel with the right hand, while the left hand drew toward the spinner a sliding frame which clamped and drew out the eight threads, the spindles meanwhile twisting them. In this way eight threads were spun at the same time. By later improvements the number was increased to sixteen threads and even more. The invention of the "spinning jenny" greatly increased the supply of yarn. But the thread which it spun was neither fine enough nor tightly enough twisted to be used for "warp," as the longitudinal threads of cloth are called. A spinning invention of another sort, perfected by Richard Arkwright a few years later, not merely supplied this defect but still further increased the productiveness of spinning. Arkwright's plan discarded the spindles, and passed the prepared wool or cotton through two sets of rollers, the second of which revolved more



Spinning Jenny

rapidly than the first. The fibers were thus drawn out into threads, which were twisted by a second operation. This machine was called a "water frame," because it was intended to be operated by water power instead of by hand power. Presently a third step was taken, in 1775, by Samuel Crompton. He had the happy thought to combine the best features of the "jenny" and the "water frame" into a new machine, which because of its hybrid character he called "the mule." With the improved machines it became possible for one person to spin as many as one hundred and fifty threads at a time. Subsequent improvements have produced great automatic machines which — when tended by a single operative and one or two children to mend the broken threads — draw out, twist, and wind twelve thousand threads at one operation.

The new inventions so enormously increased the output of the spinners that it became impossible for hand weavers to keep up with them. With the old *hand loom* it was necessary for the weaver, sitting before his loom, to throw the shuttle containing the "weft" (crosswise threads) back and forth by hand through the separated threads of the "warp" (lengthwise threads). When broadcloths were woven, it had formerly been necessary to have two persons, one to throw the shuttle from each side. This necessity had been done away with through the invention (in 1738) of a "flying shuttle," which was operated by the weaver pulling alternately two cords, one with his right and one with his left hand. Nevertheless, there was imperative need of a *power loom* in which the shuttle should be *automatically* thrown. To the invention of such a loom, a clergyman named Edmund Cartwright set himself, and in 1785 he patented his first crude production. By later inventions he greatly improved this first effort. When Cartwright's power loom came into general use, weavers were enabled to keep up with the spinners. A single weaver can now tend four or more automatic looms, each working at a much faster rate than was possible with the old hand looms.

670. The power loom invented

As a combined result of the foregoing inventions, cloth of all

sorts is now much cheaper and more plentiful than it has ever been before in the history of the human race. The working classes have profited by this fact, equally with other classes. But the immediate effect of the introduction of machinery was usually the loss of employment by hand workers, so it is not surprising that spinners and weavers opposed the new inventions. They frequently incited riots, attacked factories, and broke to pieces the new labor-saving machines.[1]

671. Use of water power

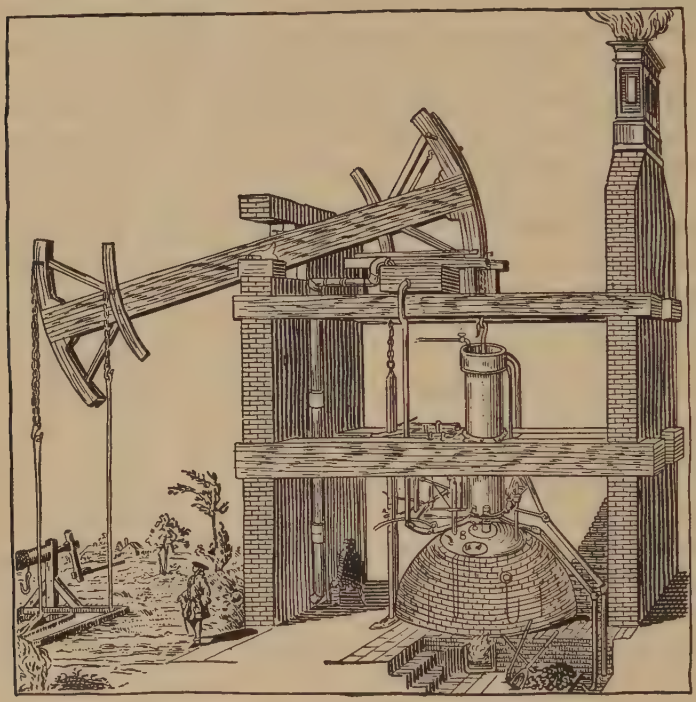
At first, the power looms and spinning machines were run by *water power*, which had long been used to turn flour and grist mills. But water power was very uncertain, for the amount of water in the streams changes with the seasons; moreover, it is not to be had in all places. Fortunately, it was not long before the *steam engine* was invented, to aid not only spinning and weaving, but the countless other operations of modern life to which machinery was soon applied.

672. Invention of the steam engine

For nearly two thousand years men had known of the expansive power of steam, but it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that this force was made practically useful. Its first use was in the form of a steam pump for pumping water out of mines. The illustration on page 558 shows the working of this crude engine. The steam entered a "cylinder" under the "piston head," thus raising one end of the crossbeam. The top of the cylinder was open, and when the steam under the piston head was sufficiently condensed by cooling, the pressure of the air forced back the piston, and all was ready for another stroke. The troubles with this early engine were that it was slow and weak in its action, it wasted a great

[1] The changes which have been described above are far from exhausting the list of improvements made in cloth manufacturing. The additional improvements include the invention of the *cotton gin* by the American inventor Eli Whitney (1794) for cleaning the seed from raw cotton; the application of machinery to *carding* or combing straight its fibers, and for forming it into small rolls or "rovings" as a preliminary to spinning; the use of the chemical called chlorine (1787) for the rapid *bleaching* of white goods; and the *printing of calicoes* by rollers on which the patterns are cut, so that all the colors are applied at one printing, in place of the old hand printing by hammering small blocks successively, one for each color.

amount of steam and so used up much fuel, and it could work only in one direction.



Early Pumping Steam Engine

673. James Watt improves it

The real inventor of the modern steam engine was James Watt, a maker of mathematical and astronomical instruments. While repairing a model of one of these early steam pumps, Watt noticed its waste of steam, and set to work to remedy it. It would take too long to describe in detail the changes which he made. It is enough to say that his first improvements made the steam engine quick-acting, powerful, and saving of fuel; but it was still useful only for pumping. His later inventions enabled it to turn a wheel, and so adapted it to all kinds of work. In 1785 the steam engine was first applied to

running spinning machinery, and its use spread rapidly. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were as many steam engines in use in England as there were water- and wind-mills.

But engines and machinery are largely made of iron; and, until the latter part of the eighteenth century, iron was scarce and costly. So all these inventions would have been of little value if they had not been accompanied by improvements in the manufacture of iron and steel.

For ages iron ore had been "smelted" — that is, the metal extracted from the ore — by mixing it with burning charcoal. But the forests of England, from which the charcoal was made, were decreasing rapidly, and it was clear that little increase could be made in the amount of iron produced so long as charcoal was used as fuel. It was found, however, that the smelting could be done just as well, and more cheaply, by using coke made from ordinary coal; and the supply of coal was abundant. At the same time the bellows, which blew the fire and made it burn with sufficient heat, were replaced by other inventions which gave a stronger and steadier draft. Improvements were also made in the quality of the iron, and in the tools for hammering it out and in methods of casting. Furthermore, Watt's improved engines benefited mining by making it easier and cheaper to pump out water, and so to operate deep mines. From year to year improvements in mining and iron-making have gone steadily on. The result is that this necessary metal has constantly become cheaper and more plentiful, as the increased use of machinery has created new demands for it.

674. Improvements in iron-making

C. Factory System, Canals, and Railways

Not the least of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution — for good or for ill — was the overthrow of the old domestic system of manufacturing and the substitution of the factory system. Under the domestic system each weaver or other workman set up his own tools, in his own house, and used materials which he himself paid for.

675. Rise of the factory system

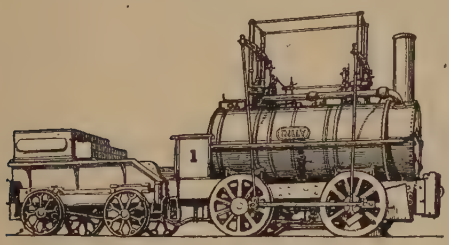
When his goods were finished, he sold them to the dealers, and received the pay. He was his own employer, and supplied his own capital. He worked when he pleased and how he pleased; and his wife and children assisted him. Ordinarily, as we have seen, he had a garden or little farm which he cultivated, and so was not wholly dependent on his handicraft.

The new inventions in spinning and weaving caused the factory system to take the place of the domestic system. Machines in large numbers were now brought together under the roof of a single "factory," in order to take advantage of steam or water power. These machines, together with the factory itself, were the property of a capitalist employer, who paid his workmen "wages" for operating them. The employer supplied the materials and received the manufactured goods, which he sold as he pleased. The work people had to move to crowded towns, where the factories usually were situated, and so could no longer depend upon gardens and small farms for part of their subsistence. Thenceforth, they could count upon their wages alone. Thus the working classes became more dependent on their employers, and the problems of "labor" and "lack of employment" arose. The fact that in the factories women and little children (often only six years old) were hired for a great deal of the work, and that they were forced to labor for long hours, often fourteen and sixteen a day, in dark, close, and unhealthful rooms, gave rise to problems which soon demanded solution. The first application of the factory system was to the "textile industry" (cloth-making). But in course of time hundreds of other industries also arose, or were reorganized, on the basis of the factory system.

The rapid development of manufactures, which followed the introduction of machinery, produced further changes in the means of transportation. To the improvements in road making, already going on, there were added (1) a great development of canal building, and (2) the invention of the locomotive and the beginning of railroad building. France (§ 448) and Prussia (§ 519) had developed systems of canal

676. Canal building

transportation earlier than this; but it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that canals were introduced into Great Britain. In 1761 the first canal, with locks and aqueducts for surmounting the difficulties presented by inequalities of the country, was opened between the rising manufacturing city of Manchester and a coal mine seven miles distant. This began an era of canal building which involved "a complete revolution in the method of transport existing at that time, for by the close of the century the country was much better provided with canals than it had been with roads at the beginning." The transportation of bulky goods was thereby much cheapened.

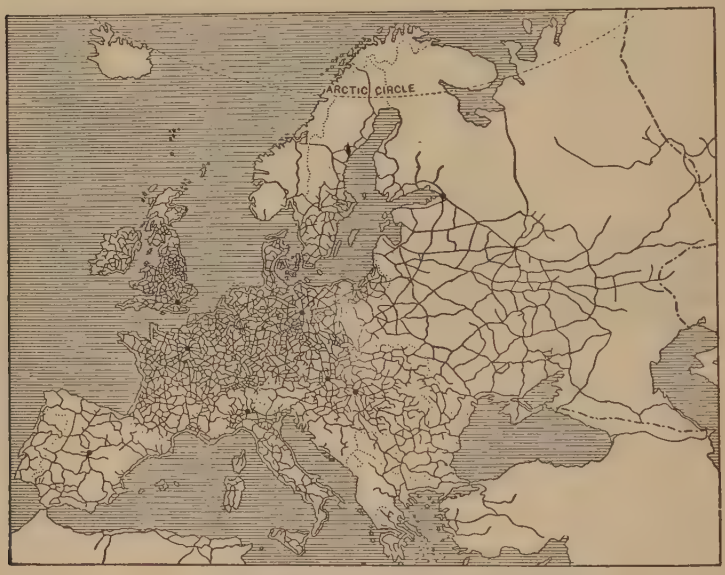


EARLY LOCOMOTIVE (Stephenson, 1825)
Preserved at Newcastle, England

677. Locomotive engines and railroad building

Even more important than the construction of canals was the construction of steam railways, which came in the nineteenth century. Horse "tramways" to transport coal for short distances had been built in England as early as the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Richard Trevithick devised a steam locomotive engine of a rude sort for this work. But the invention of a really practicable "traveling engine" was the work of George Stephenson, the self-taught son of a poor English collier. In 1814 he produced his first locomotive. In the beginning engines were employed only on short lines, to haul coal from mines to the river docks, there to be loaded on boats and barges. The first railway for both passengers and freight was opened in 1825 between Stockton and Darlington, a distance of twelve miles. The passenger cars were like stagecoaches linked together and running on rails; and for some time this model was followed. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway (thirty-seven miles) was opened. For this, Stephenson sub-

mitted, in successful competition with three other contestants, an engine called the "Rocket," which attained a speed of thirty-five miles an hour. Eight years later this railway was opened clear through from London to Liverpool. It then became possible to cover in ten hours a distance which formerly by the fastest mail coach had taken sixty hours. With these events began the modern railway era.



Railways of Europe in 1900

In America, railway construction began almost immediately after 1825. On the Continent of Europe it began later. By the middle of the nineteenth century the basis of the existing network of roads had been laid. By the end of it, railroads linked together all parts of Europe, leaving few of those centers of barbarism which survived the Middle Ages in the heart of the most civilized countries. The chief economic result of the railway is the great cheapening in price of bulky commodities, permitting to all classes a higher standard of comfort.

Equally important with the economic effects of the railway is its work in facilitating communication. The railroad made possible the cheap and regular postal services, which now link together the whole world in a close and constant union of thought and interest. Other agencies, of course, have contributed to this same end. Among these was the development of steam navigation, which preceded the invention of the locomotive. Several Englishmen and Americans shared the attempt to solve this problem. The most famous of these was Robert Fulton, an American, who in 1807 launched the *Clermont*, to run on the Hudson River from New York to Albany. But it was not until 1837 that steam vessels began to cross the Atlantic. The development of the submarine cable, the electric telegraph, and the telephone, will be described in a later chapter.

678. Steam navigation

This Industrial Revolution, which began in the second half of the eighteenth century, went steadily on in the nineteenth. We are still in the full tide of its ever widening sweep. Great Britain's priority in the movement, joined to her commercial and naval supremacy, brought her an industrial and financial ascendancy which has not yet been overthrown. On the Continent of Europe the Industrial Revolution did not begin until after 1815, and it came then as a result of the example of England. In the United States it began somewhat earlier, though equally from British sources.

679. Spread of the Industrial Revolution

D. Effects of the Industrial Revolution

Among the far-reaching effects of the Industrial Revolution we may note the following: —

(1) Production has been enormously increased. The automatic machines which invention has created may be regarded as gigantic slaves whose labor we may use without scruple. "It is no figure of speech, but sober truth," says a recent writer, "to say that in the mills of the textile industries there has come into existence, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, a non-human working population far sur-

680. Increased production

passing the total human population of the whole earth. No one knows how great it is; but some preliminary calculations convince me that it is considerably over 50,000,000,000. That is, had there been no introduction of machinery, it would take that many men and women to do the work now done by it."[1] As a result, prices of all manufactured articles have been lowered, and the people have been benefited through better food, better clothing, and larger opportunities for life.

(2) The whole world has become a single industrial state, delicately responsive to the fluctuations of demand and supply.

681. World-wide commerce

It has well been said that a failure of the cotton crop in Egypt or America produces a closure of the mills in England, while an increased demand for their products in India or China causes them to work overtime. The lands of the whole earth are put under contribution as never before for the food, clothing, and habitations of our daily life.

(3) Cities have grown enormously in size, while the country population has relatively declined. Too often the growth in

682. Growth of city life

the cities has taken the form of rows of ugly cottages or tenements, blackened and smoke-begrimed, with a total absence of gardens or even grass plots.

(4) The rich have grown vastly richer, and the poor have grown relatively poorer. The distance which separates the

683. Rich and poor more widely separated

extremes of wealth and poverty is now much greater than before. Tremendous possibilities, both for good and for evil, lie in the enormous accumulations of wealth in the hands of favored individuals and of giant corporations.

(5) The position of the working classes, through their separa-

684. Working classes less stable

tion from the soil and the rise of the wage system of employment, has become more dependent and less stable. New problems of unemployment have arisen. The relations of capital and labor have become more hostile. This in turn tends to produce strikes, boycotts, and lockouts, the weapons of industrial warfare.

[1] Professor James T. Shotwell, in *Ninth Annual Convention of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland*, 14.

(6) A host of new social ills have arisen from the unhealthy conditions of factory employment (§ 794). These in turn have led to humanitarian movements for their removal, through limiting the employment of women and children in factories and mines, improving the sanitary conditions of employment, and reducing the hours of labor — first from fourteen to twelve hours, then from twelve to ten hours, and now from ten to eight hours.

685. Factory evils and their remedy

(7) An increase in intelligence and in democracy has accompanied the Industrial Revolution. This is partly a result of that movement; in part also it is due to the social influences arising from the French Revolution. Improved communications made possible a wider circulation for books, pamphlets, and newspapers; and about 1814 the steam printing press made printing quicker and cheaper. European governments long attempted, by stamp taxes and other restrictions, to keep newspapers and political publications from reaching the multitude, but the attempt was in vain. As the people increased in numbers and wealth, political agitation was carried to them by the press, and the demand began to be heard that they should be admitted to a share in the government. Everything made for a growth of democracy in the new era. But for a generation the rulers of the allied nations of Europe shut their eyes and ears to the signs of the new time, and sought to bring the people back to their former bondage.

686. Increase in intelligence and democracy

As a result, the history of the quarter of a century which followed the downfall of the Napoleonic empire was largely made up of a conflict between the forces of Progress and those of Reaction. It is to this conflict that we must now turn.

IMPORTANT DATES

1764. Hargreaves invents the spinning jenny.
1769. Watt patents his first improved engine.
1785. Cartwright invents the power loom.
1807. Fulton's steamboat runs on the Hudson River.
1814. Stephenson produces his first locomotive.
1825. First railway opened.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What connection is there between the Industrial Revolution and the "application of reason to the affairs of life" described in chapter xxiv? (2) Which were of more immediate importance, the changes in agriculture or the new inventions applied to manufacturing? Which was ultimately more important? (3) What is the difference between a machine and a tool? (4) Which class contributed most to advance human welfare — statesmen and generals, such as Pitt and Wellington, or inventors, such as Hargreaves, Watt, and Stephenson? (5) What did the working people gain by the substitution of the factory system for the domestic system? (6) What did they lose? (7) How did the locomotive and steamship help on the Industrial Revolution? (8) How did the Industrial Revolution aid the growth of political democracy?

Search Topics. — (1) An English Village before the Industrial Revolution. George Eliot, *Silas Marner* (description of Raveloe). — (2) The Domestic System of Manufacture. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 185–189; Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, ch. ii. — (3) Improvements in Agriculture. Cheyney, 216–220; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, ch. vi. — (4) Inventions in Spinning and Weaving. Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 30–38; Cheyney, 203–212; Weeden, in Report Am. Hist. Assoc., 1902, I, 193–210 ("The Art of Weaving"); Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture*, ch. ix; Traill, *Social England*, V, 305–317. — (5) James Watt and the Steam Engine. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 39–44; Thurston, *Growth of the Steam Engine*, 78–143. — (6) Sir Humphry Davy's Safety Lamp and the Mining of Coal. Rand, *Selections Illustrating Economic History*, 51–54. — (7) Stephenson and the Locomotive. Smiles, *Life of George Stephenson*, chs. viii–ix, xxii; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXII, 819–822. — (8) Early Attempts at a Steamboat. McMaster, *History of the American People*, I, 50; II, 77–79; III, 486–494; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXV, 823. — (9) The Factory System of Manufacture. Cheyney, 212–213, 232–239; Cooke Taylor, *The Modern Factory System;* Hobson, *Modern Capitalism*, ch. iv. — (10) The Industrial Town. Hobson, ch. xiii. — (11) Social Changes Produced by the Factory System. Cheyney, 235–239; Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 45–49; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, § 56.

General Reading. — See in addition to the above Walpole's *History of England since 1815*, vol. I; Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. II; Warner's *Landmarks in English Industrial History;* Gibbins's *Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century; Cambridge Modern History*, vol. X.

CHAPTER XXIX

POLITICAL REACTION AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

A. Europe under Metternich's System

Forty years of peace followed the treaties of Vienna. During that time the Industrial Revolution was introduced on the Continent, and the peoples of western Europe advanced rapidly in numbers, in wealth, and in political importance. The absence of wars between the great states was largely due to the influence of what was called the Grand Alliance. Originally this league was composed of the four Powers which had overthrown Napoleon (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain). After 1818 France also was admitted to its councils. Its purpose was to maintain peace by enforcing the treaties of Vienna; but it developed into a league for suppressing Liberal ideas and upholding absolute government all over the Continent.

687. Forty years of peace

Metternich

From the painting by T. Lawrence

The chief statesman of the Grand Alliance was Prince Metternich (mĕt'ter-nĭk) of Austria. He was a polished but cynical diplomatist who, until the middle of the nineteenth century, exercised a powerful influence in European poli-

688. Metternich's policy

tics. His ideas and policy were summed up, in his own words, as follows: "The first need of society is to be maintained by strong authority, and not to govern itself. Therefore, let the governments govern, let them maintain the foundations of their institutions, both ancient and modern; for it is at all times dangerous to touch them. It certainly would not now, in the general confusion, be wise to do so." More briefly, the essence of his policy has been declared to be, "Do nothing, and let nothing be done," in the way of democratic reforms or the disturbance of existing territorial arrangements. This was the policy which the five great Powers sought to enforce upon Europe. The means which they used were: (1) A series of congresses, held from time to time, in which the rulers or their representatives met to talk over the affairs of Europe. (2) When necessary, armed intervention was used; that is, one or more of the Powers were commissioned to interfere in the internal affairs of any state in which democratic movements threatened to disturb the peace of Europe, or to overthrow the sacred rights of legitimate sovereigns.[1]

Robinson, *Readings in Modern European History*, II, 386 (condensed)

The national uprisings which caused the downfall of Napoleon had been directed against the rule of a foreign power, not against the Liberal ideas of the French Revolution. When, therefore, the allied Powers ignored national sentiments, and insisted upon absolute governments, they came into collision with the very force which had enabled them to triumph

689. Secret Liberal societies

[1] The Grand Alliance, which held these congresses and intervened to put down Liberalism in different countries, is often confused with an organization called the "Holy Alliance." The latter was a visionary and impractical Christian brotherhood of European rulers, formed by Tsar Alexander I of Russia. In this "Holy Alliance" the sovereigns declared their "fixed resolution to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion [Christianity]"; to "remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity"; and "on all occasions and in all places to lend each other aid and assistance." This compact was signed by most of the European Powers. The exceptions were England, whose ministers excused themselves on constitutional grounds; the Pope, who felt that the Alliance interfered with his prerogatives; and the Sultan of Turkey, who was excluded because he was not a Christian. Few of the sovereigns took the "Holy Alliance" seriously; even Metternich called it "mere pious verbiage." The real governing body of Europe in this period was the Grand Alliance, which is described above.

over the French Empire. In the ten years following the treaties of Vienna, Liberal principles spread all over western Europe, — largely through the efforts of secret societies. The chief of these was the *Carbonari* (car-bo-nä′re; "charcoal burners"). This society had first been organized in Italy to expel the French, but later worked for the freedom of that land from Austrian rule, and for a united Italy under a constitutional government. Its members were drawn from all ranks of society. After 1816 it is estimated that they numbered sixty thousand, scattered throughout Italy.

690. Slight progress in Germany

Metternich's policy was most successful, perhaps, in Germany. That land, by the treaties of Vienna, was organized into a loose confederation, with a federal Diet so weak and dilatory as to be the laughing-stock of Europe. Austria maintained her traditional leadership in German affairs, but her ascendancy was weakened by the growth of Prussia. Some of the German states were absolute governments; others were monarchies tempered by traditional assemblies; in others the princes had granted written constitutions with elected assemblies. The king of Saxony held so high an idea of the royal office that he never went out on foot, or spoke to any one beneath the rank of colonel. A few enlightened journalists and university professors conducted an agitation for a Liberal and united Fatherland, expressing their views in the press, in university lectures, and in the gymnastic and students' societies which sprang up all over Germany. But the Diet demanded that university professors who taught "harmful doctrines" be removed; the student societies were ordered suppressed; and a strict censorship of the press was established. The system of Metternich was thus established in full force, and for half a century there was little progress in Germany toward national unity or political liberty.

In Spain the reaction against Liberal ideas was blindest, and it was there that revolution first broke out. When the Bourbon Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, was restored to his throne, in 1814, he refused to sanction the constitution which had been adopted

(1812) by those who had driven out the French. Instead, he arbitrarily imprisoned the leading Liberals, revived the Inquisition, and restored the worst abuses of the Old Régime. "Nothing I can say," wrote an Englishman from Spain in 1818, "could convey to you an adequate idea of the wretchedness, misery, want of credit, confidence, and trade which exist from one end of the country to the other." As a result, the army officers conspired and produced the military revolt of 1820. For a time the movement succeeded, and the king was forced to take an oath to observe the constitution. But he soon fell back on the support of the clerical and absolutist parties, and for two years Spain was torn by civil war.

691. Insurrection in Spain (1820)

These troubles, with similar movements in Italy, led the allied Powers to hold congresses in 1820, 1821, and 1822. At the first of these, the principle was laid down that any changes in government which were *forced* upon a sovereign gave the allied Powers the right to interfere. Accordingly, France was appointed to intervene in Spain, and in 1823 a French army restored Ferdinand to absolute power. The Liberal movements in Italy (Naples and Piedmont) were also put down, Austria being the Power which there carried out the orders of the Alliance.

692. The allied Powers intervene (1823)

The Spanish colonies in America, like the home nation, had refused to accept the rule of the Bonapartes. After the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814, however, the colonists grew discontented at the refusal to grant more liberties than they had formerly possessed. The result was a series of declarations of independence (beginning with that of Buenos Ayres in 1816), which created the present republics of Mexico, and of Central and South America. The Spanish government was too weak to put down these revolts unaided; so the allied Powers of Europe proposed to intervene in America also. Great Britain and the United States opposed this policy. Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, gave formal warning that Great Britain would not permit such intervention. He invited the United States to join

693. Intervention in Spanish America abandoned

Great Britain in declaring against it. President Monroe thereupon issued an independent declaration (1823) that the proposed interference in America would be regarded "as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."[1] In the face of this opposition the proposed intervention in the former Spanish colonies had to be given up. "I resolved that if France had Spain," said Canning, "it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence in order to redress the balance of the Old."

Great Britain's breaking away from the Grand Alliance was the first blow to the policy of Metternich. The second came in the refusal of Russia to accept Metternich's attitude towards a Greek revolt from Turkish rule, which broke out in 1821. By Greeks and Turks alike that war was waged with great ferocity. The educated classes of England and France strongly favored the Greeks, because of the noble part which the Greek race had played in ancient history. Many Englishmen (like the poet Byron, who gave up his life in the cause) aided the Greeks with money and with arms. Russians sympathized with the Greeks because they were of the same religion as themselves. Metternich, however, defeated the Tsar's endeavors to induce the Alliance to intervene by force of arms in behalf of the Greeks. The Tsar then resolved to treat the troubles in Greece as "the domestic concerns of Russia," and intervened on his own account. In two hard-fought campaigns the Russian forces, operating chiefly in the Danube provinces, forced the Sultan to submit. The treaty of

694. Greek War of Independence (1821–1829)

[1] Out of this declaration has grown the now famous Monroe Doctrine, which really contains two principles: (1) It demands that Europe shall keep "hands off" and refrain from attempts to conquer or coerce any one of the states of North, Central, or South America. (2) It declared that all American territory was then (1823) owned by some organized government, and that no new colonies could be established by European Powers in the New World. It also implied the traditional policy of the United States of refraining from interference in European affairs. The Monroe Doctrine did not mean that the European colonies which then existed should be abandoned; nor does it forbid any American state from setting up a monarchy, or any other part of the "European system," if it wishes to do so of its own accord.

Adrianople (1829) recognized the independence of Greece. In 1832 its government was settled by the choice of a prince of the royal house of Bavaria as its first king.

Metternich's system of governing Europe was greatly weakened by these events. What force remained to it was practically destroyed by the breaking out, in 1830, of a new French revolution, which sent a second wave of Liberalism over Europe. But before describing this we must turn to the internal history of France under the restored rule of the Bourbons.

B. The Restored Bourbons in France

Though the Bourbon monarchy was reëstablished in France, in 1815, the Old Régime was not restored. Louis XVIII began his reign by granting a "Constitutional Charter," which set up a limited monarchy somewhat after the English type. Its chief provisions were the following: —

695. The Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII

1. It retained equality before the law, personal liberty, and religious freedom.
2. The legislature (or Assembly) was to be of two houses, — a House of Peers appointed for life by the king, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people.
3. The right to vote was given to persons over thirty years of age, who paid 300 francs ($60) a year in direct taxes.
4. Only the king could propose laws, and all amendments had to be approved by him before they were introduced.
5. The ministers were made legally responsible for the acts of the government, but there was no provision requiring them to resign office when their measures were defeated in the Chamber of Deputies.

This charter was represented as the free grant of the king, so it did not violate the principles of Metternich's system. Its preamble, indeed, asserted that "all authority in France resides in the person of the king." Under this government the nation had more control over taxation and legislation than it had at any time under Napoleon's rule. Nevertheless, the charter

was far from being satisfactory to the Liberals. Only about one man in seventy had the right to vote; and the property qualification for serving in the Chamber of Deputies was placed so high that trouble was experienced in finding enough eligible men to fill the places. So long as Louis XVIII lived, however, serious trouble was avoided.

When Charles X succeeded his brother, in 1824, he adopted a more reactionary policy. The royalists were compensated for the confiscation of their estates during the revolution by a grant of a thousand million francs ($200,000,000). Other laws favored the Catholic clergy in every practicable way. "There is no such thing as political experience," wrote the duke of Wellington. "With the warning of James II (of England) before him, Charles X was setting up a government by priests, through priests, for priests." It seemed as if the French king was determined to show the truth of the saying that the Bourbons "had learned nothing and forgotten nothing" in the course of their long exile from power.

696. Reactionary policy of Charles X

Charles X relied for success on an active foreign policy, to turn his people's minds from domestic politics. An opportunity for action abroad appeared in Algiers in 1830, when the half-piratical Dey (ruler of Algeria), in a fit of passion, struck the French consul. A French expedition sent thither met with speedy success. Within two months Algiers opened its gates, and the Dey gave up his city, his government, and his treasure. In spite of previous pledges to the contrary, the French then announced their intention to annex the country. They began a war of conquest, which was not completed until 1847.

697. Algeria annexed to France (1830)

The "glory" which the army was winning in Algeria, however, failed to reconcile the people to the arbitrary course of Charles X. The Tsar and Metternich both advised him to make a virtue of necessity, and to adopt a more conciliatory course, but Charles replied that "concessions were the ruin of Louis XVI." A clause in the Constitutional Charter gave the king power to make "such ordinances as

698. French crisis of 1830

are necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state." Relying upon this, Charles X (on July 26, 1830) published four ordinances which practically suspended the charter.[1] The government had so little expectation of resistance that only a few troops were at hand. These ordinances, however, proved the signal for a new revolution, which overturned the Bourbon monarchy in France, separated Belgium from Holland, and spread its waves over Germany, Italy, and Poland.

C. The Revolutions of 1830

699. Revolution of July, 1830, in France

The French Revolution of 1830 began with a protest from the journalists of Paris. They declared that they would treat the ordinances as illegal, and they called upon the nation to join in resisting them. As a result of this appeal, there was some rioting and street fighting in Paris on July 27. But it was not from the journalists and politicians that the revolution was to receive its force. There was still in France, especially in Paris, a remnant of the old republican party, which cherished in secret the ideas of 1792. It was this party — made up of old soldiers, *Carbonari*, laborers, and students — which organized the insurrection in the night of July 27. Three things especially favored their rising: (1) The flintlock muskets of the soldiers were no better than the arms of the rebels. (2) In the narrow, crooked streets which then existed, it was easy to erect "barricades" of paving stones behind which to fight. (3) The soldiers were loath to fire upon the people, because the insurgents hoisted the tricolor flag (red, white, and blue) of 1789, which many even of the army regarded as the national colors. On July 28th the fighting became more serious. On the 29th Lafayette (now an old man) took command of the revolutionists. The king sought to retrieve his mistake by withdrawing the

[1] These July ordinances (1) suspended the liberty of the press; (2) dissolved the recently elected Chamber of Deputies, in which there was a Liberal majority, before it had a chance to meet; (3) arbitrarily changed the law governing elections so as to limit the rights of the people still further; and (4) ordered a new election.

hated ordinances, but it was too late. The riot had become a revolution. The palace of the Tuileries and the city hall fell into the hands of the insurgents, and resistance came practically to an end. Mindful of the fate of Louis XVI, Charles X abdicated the throne in favor of his young grandson, and fled to England. Outside of Paris there was no fighting, though France as a whole welcomed the downfall of the Bourbons.

Louis Philippe

The revolution was chiefly the work of the republicans, who were largely uneducated workingmen without a vote. The profit of the rising, however, went to the Liberal royalists, who made up the *bourgeois*, or well-to-do citizens. For some time their minds had been turning toward Louis Philippe (fē-lēp′), Duke of Orleans, a collateral descendant of the Bourbon house. He had fought for the French cause in the early campaigns of the Revolution of 1789, and had then led the life of an exile in Switzerland, America, and England. Since the Restoration he had favored the Liberal cause, and Lafayette's support now enabled him to secure the crown. Accordingly, on August 9, Louis Philippe was enthroned as "King of the French."

700. Louis Philippe enthroned (1830)

Every great political movement in France had a reflex in the other states of continental Europe, and the Revolution of 1830 proved no exception to this rule. The first land in which its effects were felt was the kingdom of the Netherlands. The Belgians disliked their union with Holland, for although they were three fifths of the population, the king, most of the

701. Revolution in Belgium (1830)

officials, the official language, and the seat of the government were Dutch. The revolution in France gave practical direction to this discontent, and in August, 1830, the Belgians revolted. When Brussels was bombarded by Dutch troops, the Belgians declared that the blood which was shed dissolved every tie with Holland. They thereupon set up a government of their own. The efforts of Holland to put down the revolt proved in vain. In 1831 the Belgians chose a king from one of the lesser princely houses of Germany, and next year the Great Powers recognized his rule. In 1839 the Dutch king at last gave up hopes of reconquering his former subjects, and recognized their independence. Since then Belgium has remained an independent kingdom, with its neutrality guaranteed by the European Powers.

702. Revolutionary movements elsewhere

In the German states the movement started by the revolution in France produced only slight results. In Italy there were risings which once more called for the intervention of Austrian troops. In the kingdom of Poland (§ 659) a formidable insurrection broke out (in November, 1830), with the object of recovering Poland's independence. The movement, however, was in the interest of the nobles only, who refused to make concessions which might have won the peasants to their support. The rising was hampered also by weakness, disunion, and treachery; and the foreign aid on which the leaders rashly counted was not forthcoming. Though outnumbered three to one, the Poles made a heroic resistance. It was only after they were defeated in five battles, and Warsaw was bombarded, that the rebellion came to an end (September, 1831). The constitution which had been granted by Alexander I was then abolished, and the kingdom of Poland was absorbed into the Russian Empire. Thereafter an iron rule kept in check Polish disaffection.

In spite of these failures, the revolutions of 1830 broke the strength of absolute government in Europe. Further triumphs of personal Liberty, of Nationality, and of Popular Sovereignty only awaited the larger growth of the people in wealth and in intelligence.

IMPORTANT DATES

1823. Revolts in Italy and Spain put down by the allied Powers.
1829. The Greeks win their independence from Turkey.
1830. Successful revolutions in France and in Belgium.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) What good did the Grand Alliance do? What harm? (2) Why was Metternich's system foredoomed to failure? (3) Was the intervention of the allies in Spain and in Italy justifiable? (4) Why did Great Britain oppose intervention in Spanish America? (5) What interest had the United States in the question? (6) What effect did the Greek revolt have on European politics? (7) Compare the French Revolution of 1830 with the English revolution of 1688. (8) Why did the Belgian revolution succeed? (9) Why did the Polish revolt fail?

Search Topics. — (1) ALEXANDER I AND THE HOLY ALLIANCE. Hazen, *Europe Since 1814*, 14–16, 19; Henderson, *Short History*, II, 325–326. — (2) METTERNICH. Hazen, 20–22, 25–28; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVIII, 301–307; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, I, 384–387. — (3) THE CARBONARI. Johnston, *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*, Pt. II, ch. ii; Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity*, I, ch. ii; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, V, 307–308. — (4) REACTION IN GERMANY. Hazen, 28–44; Henderson, II, 328–338; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 229–241. — (5) SPANISH REVOLT OF 1820. Hazen, 45–50, 57–64; Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 505–517. — (6) ORIGIN OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. Hazen, 64–65; Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 21–28; *Readings*, II, 38–44; Fyffe, 517–519. — (7) GREEK WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. Hazen, 604–611; Phillips, *Modern Europe*, ch. vii. — (8) FRENCH IN ALGERIA. Johnston, *Colonization of Africa*, 134–141; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, I, 650–653. — (9) REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN FRANCE. Hazen, ch. iv; Andrews, I, 157–179; Phillips, 168–185; Fyffe, 602–619. — (10) REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN BELGIUM. Hazen, 100–106; Fyffe, 620–625; Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 112–121. — (11) POLISH REVOLT OF 1830. Hazen, 106–109; Müller, 133–143; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, 110–122.

General Reading. — The best general accounts for this period are in Hazen, Andrews, Fyffe, and Müller. The *Cambridge Modern History*, volume X, treats the subjects more extensively, but dryly.

CHAPTER XXX

FRANCE: THE REVOLUTION OF 1848, THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC

703. France in the nineteenth century

France in the nineteenth century was the land of revolutions. In the recovery and application of the principles of the Revolution of 1789, it was France which ever took the lead. The process was not one of steady, unvarying progression. Rather was it accomplished by a series of upheavals, which in turn were followed by reactions. But each revolution advanced progress more than the following reaction retarded it. And the advance has always been in the same direction — against monarchy, against the rule of priests in politics and in the world of thought, and towards liberty and ever larger democracy. Every revolution in France spread its waves throughout Europe. After the decline of Metternich's system, and until the rise of a united Germany, France was the most influential country of Europe. This was true alike in politics, in literature, in art, and in science. In this chapter we shall consider (1) the Orleans Monarchy and the Revolution of 1848 in France; (2) Louis Napoleon and the Second French Empire; (3) the Third French Republic to the close of the nineteenth century. The effects upon other countries of the movements here described will be considered in later chapters.

A. The French Revolution of 1848

704. Monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830–1848)

Louis Philippe loved to be known as "the Citizen King." He avoided show and ceremony, and walked the streets of Paris in the modest frock coat and stovepipe hat of the ordinary well-to-do citizen, with a green umbrella under his arm. He sent his sons to the public schools, and

enrolled them as privates in the national guard. He began his reign with a promise that the Constitutional Charter should "henceforth be a reality," and he modified it so as to make it more acceptable to the nation. But the lower classes were little better off than they had been before. The number of voters was still small, being only about 200,000 in a population of 30,000,000. Only the larger property owners — the rich bankers, merchants, and manufacturers — really profited by the change.

The republicans were naturally aggrieved that they gained so little from the revolution. They demanded a more liberal voting franchise, which should give poor men the ballot; but their demand was refused. "France has made a revolution," said Guizot (gē-zō′), who was one of the ministers, "but she has no intention of placing herself in a permanently

705. Activity of the republicans

Caricature of Louis Philippe

revolutionary state." The republicans thereupon plotted against the new government. They had little money ; but they had young, resolute, and intrepid leaders, who possessed the confidence of the working classes. They formed powerful secret societies, modeled on that of the *Carbonari*. The government prosecuted these societies, but as fast as one was destroyed another arose to take its place. Through the press, too, the republicans sought to arouse the people to a consciousness of their wrongs. They attacked the king in caricatures, one of the most famous of which represented him with a stupid face shaped like a pear. In four years one paper was prosecuted more than a hundred times for political libel.

The growth of industry in France, in this period, was a powerful factor in increasing the importance of the common people.

706. Influence of the Industrial Revolution

Railroads were beginning to be introduced into France. Iron works sprang up, and in the eastern part of the kingdom factories flourished for the manufacture of thread and cloth. By 1847 there were five thousand steam engines and three and a half million spindles at work. The number of patents for new inventions, which under the Napoleonic empire was not more than one hundred a year, rose about 1844 to two thousand a year. The change in the methods of production, in France as elsewhere, increased the population of the towns, and led to the growth of an industrial class as distinguished from the peasantry. Soon the workingmen began to form labor unions, in defiance of the law, to enforce their demands for higher wages and better working conditions. Disputes between employers and workmen then arose, which took on a political color. Strikes against long hours and low pay were transformed into risings against the government, which was controlled by the capitalist class. In 1832, and again in 1834, insurrections broke out at Paris and at Lyons. Six attempts were made to assassinate the king. In spite of severe repressive laws, the importance of the working classes steadily increased.

After frequent changes of ministry, two statesmen — each noted also for his historical writings — became rivals for political leadership. Guizot upheld a system similar to that maintained by the Tories in Great Britain, under which the king, subject to the limitations of the constitution, should actually rule. Thiers (tyâr), his opponent, summed up his views in the maxim, "The king *reigns*, but does not *govern*." In 1840 Guizot secured an ascendancy over his rival which for seven years he preserved unshaken. A steady majority upheld his measures in the Chamber of Deputies, but it was a majority secured (as were those in the British House of Commons under George III) by grants of offices and corrupt means. The country prospered, however, and the monarchy of Louis Philippe seemed secure.

707. Guizot prime minister (1840–1848)

As events proved, this security rested on no solid basis. The nation as a whole chafed at what was called spiritless yielding to England on questions of foreign policy. The Catholic party resented the control of the state over education. The moderate Liberals were angered by the refusal of any electoral reform. The working classes were exasperated by the leanings of the government to the capitalist classes. In this condition of discontent, a slight conflict between the people and the government sufficed to bring on the Revolution of February, 1848.

708. Outbreak of the Revolution of 1848

The Liberals planned, by holding a series of "reform banquets" throughout the country, to arouse public opinion in favor of enlarging the voting franchise. At these banquets the toast "to the king!" was sometimes omitted. Louis Philippe declared that he would never yield to the demands that were made, and the Chamber of Deputies passed resolutions to the same effect. Finally a great banquet was planned to be held at Paris on February 22. The government forbade this banquet, together with the procession through the streets by which it was to be preceded. The Liberals then gave up their plans, but a crowd of workingmen and students gathered in the streets and shouted for "Reform." Riots broke out, with singing of the *Marseillaise* and plundering of gun shops. The national guard of Paris, composed chiefly of small shopkeepers, refused to march on the insurgents. "The first day's outbreak was a riot by the reform party against Guizot; the second was a revolt of the republican parties against the monarchy." Some twenty of the rioters were killed on the evening of the second day. The bodies of the slain were thereupon mounted on carts and exhibited to the people with demands for vengeance.

709. Abdication of Louis Philippe

Louis Philippe finally dismissed Guizot. When this step failed to pacify the people, he abdicated in favor of his infant grandson. This sacrifice also was in vain. Under pressure of the Parisian mob, a republic was proclaimed, on February 24; and a National Assembly, to be elected by manhood suffrage, was called to draw up a constitution. Louis Philippe

retired ingloriously to England, where he died two years later. The Revolution of 1848, in the words of a Frenchman of that day, "was of all our revolutions the shortest and the least bloody; yet, far more than any other, it filled the minds and hearts of men with the idea and feeling of its omnipotence." Again, as in 1830, the movement was confined almost entirely to Paris, the provinces merely accepting the result when it was accomplished.

It was the republicans who had overturned Louis Philippe, as they formerly had overthrown Charles X. But they were far from constituting a majority of France, and moreover were divided into two opposing camps. The Moderate Republicans were satisfied with a *political* revolution, which should establish a democratic republic based on universal suffrage. The Socialists, on the other hand, demanded a *social* revolution also, which should better the condition of the working classes.

710. Growth of socialism

Socialism was the outgrowth, in part, of the new industrial world, with its factory system, produced by the Industrial Revolution. In part it was also due to the development of those ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity which were a heritage from the great French Revolution. Socialists differ among themselves on many questions; but they unite in demanding that the *means of production* (that is, the land, mines, factories, etc.) shall belong to the state and not to private capitalists. The Socialists protested against the hard life of the working classes, and held the capitalist employers responsible for their long hours of labor, low wages, unhealthful lodgings, and unwholesome food. They proposed to do away with the capitalist class, and to establish "national workshops" in which the state should employ the laborers, under more wholesome conditions.

The workingmen now had arms in their hands, and for a time were able to impose their will upon the provisional government. The working day was reduced by law from eleven hours to ten hours in Paris, and from twelve hours to eleven hours in the country. A decree was passed which recognized the obligation

of the state to provide work for its citizens. Another decree provided for the establishing of "national workshops," in accordance with the Socialists' demands. But instead of setting the unemployed to working each at his trade, all were employed with pick and shovel in railroad work and in making fortifications. Thousands of persons who were out of employment flocked to Paris, and the number employed at the public works increased in two months from 6000 to 100,000. To meet the increased expenditure, new and unpopular taxes were imposed. The work, moreover, was soon cut down to two days a week. The "workshops" as thus established were not in any sense a fair trial of socialistic principles, but were "intended expressly to discredit them."

711. The national workshops

The Socialists had few adherents outside of Paris. When the National Assembly met, in April, it set about putting down these radicals. It ordered the "workshops" to be closed and the workmen sent back to the provinces. The Socialists thereupon erected barricades and revolted. There followed the bloodiest street battle that even turbulent Paris had ever known. Only after four days' fighting was the government victorious. About 11,000 captured insurgents were shot or were transported to the French colonies. As an organization the Socialist party came temporarily to an end. The result of these conflicts was a legacy of bitter hatred (existing to the present day in France) between the working class, who lean to socialism, and the *bourgeoisie* (boor-zhwä-zē′), or middle class. The latter class is composed largely of shopkeepers and small capitalists, who are very conservative and bigoted.

712. Socialist rising suppressed (June, 1848)

On November 4, 1848, the National Assembly proclaimed its new constitution,—that of the Second French Republic. It provided for a president, elected for four years by manhood suffrage, and a single legislative chamber. In the new government a great deal would depend upon the character of the first president. The Assembly, however, did not take the simple precaution of declaring ineligible members of the families which formerly had reigned over France.

713. The Second French Republic proclaimed

Since Napoleon Bonaparte's exile and death, a "Napoleonic legend" had grown up which cast a halo about his memory. Bonaparte's crimes and tyranny were forgotten, and he came to be regarded by the masses as a patriotic ruler who was pursued by the allies because he loved France too well. His portrait as Emperor was to be found in half the peasants' cottages from Flanders to the Pyrenees. In countless village taverns his old soldiers told tales, over their wine, of his victorious campaigns. In 1840 Napoleon's remains were brought back from St. Helena by the French government, and were buried in the Hôtel des Invalides, in Paris, with the highest honor. Louis Napoleon, the Emperor's nephew, was now heir to the Bonapartist cause. He had already made two adventurous attempts to seize power in France, but these had only brought ridicule upon himself. After years of exile in America, in Switzerland, and in England, the Revolution of 1848 enabled him to return to France; and he was elected a member of the Assembly which framed the new constitution. Throughout his checkered career Louis Napoleon had never lost faith in his "star of destiny," and his faith was now to be justified. A newly formed Bonapartist party nominated him for the presidency of the republic, and his was the only name which was known to thousands of those who were suddenly given the franchise. When the election was held (December 10, 1848), Louis Napoleon received 5,500,000 votes, while his nearest competitor received only 1,500,000. What this new triumph of the Bonaparte family meant, time was soon to reveal.

714. Louis Napoleon elected president (1848)

B. Louis Napoleon and the Second French Empire

The election of Louis Napoleon as president excited fears in the breasts of sincere republicans, and his course in office did not allay these. "The name of Napoleon," he declared in October, 1849, "is of itself a program signifying order, authority, religion, and the prosperity of the people at home, with national dignity abroad. This is the policy — in-

715. Course of Louis Napoleon

augurated by my election — which I wish to see triumph." In the tours which the prince-president took into the French provinces, he was occasionally greeted with the cry, "Long live the *Emperor!*" The legislative Assembly meanwhile lost popularity by so regulating the right of voting that sixty-four per cent of the voters in Paris were disfranchised.

716. Napoleon's coup d'état (1851)

The decisive struggle between Napoleon and the Assembly came on a proposal to revise the constitution so as to make the president eligible for a second term. The required three fourths majority of the Assembly could not be obtained for this change. The friends of the president then planned a *coup d'état* (coo dā-tä′).[1] The command of the army at Paris was put in the hands of officers devoted to Napoleon; and on the night preceding December 2, 1851, the leading republican and royalist members of the Assembly were arrested in their beds. The people awoke to find decrees posted on the walls which declared the Assembly dissolved and universal suffrage restored, and called upon the voters to ratify the action of the president. Those who resisted this high-handed act were shot down, transported, or exiled.

NAPOLEON III

By a vote of 7,400,000 to 647,000 the *coup d'état* was ratified by the people. Napoleon formed a new constitution, modeled on that of the Consulate of 1799, which gave a ten years' term to the president, with practically all power. The legislature was composed of (1) a lower house, elected by manhood suffrage "to discuss and vote the laws"; and (2) a Senate, appointed by the president for life, which had "predomi-

717. He becomes emperor (1852)

[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." The term is used to describe any sudden and violent seizure of power.

nant authority." Exactly one year after the *coup d'état* a further step was taken. By a popular vote of 7,800,000 to 253,000 the prince-president then assumed the title "Napoleon III, Emperor of the French."[1] Again the wheel of revolution had swung around, and once more a democratic and military despotism ruled over France.

718. Policy of Napoleon III

The Second French Empire lasted for eighteen years (1852–1870). Napoleon III lacked the great Napoleon's genius; indeed, the French author, Victor Hugo, nicknamed him "Napoleon the Little." Failing to secure a bride from any of the princely houses of Europe, Napoleon in 1853 married a beautiful Spaniard of noble but not exalted birth, the Empress Eugénie (û-zhā-nē′). She gave charm to the imperial court, but exercised a harmful influence in politics. The whole administration was honeycombed with corruption. In the final crisis this greatly weakened the empire.

719. Great material prosperity

The policy of the Emperor, as well as the economic tendency of the time, combined to produce great material prosperity. Between 1850 and 1870 nearly ten thousand miles of railways were built in France. Manufactures increased rapidly. Foreign commerce grew, largely because of liberal commercial treaties with Great Britain and other countries. The Suez Canal, completed in 1869 by De Lesseps′, a French engineer, revolutionized the commerce of the world. By connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, it shortened the ocean route from Europe to India by about

SUEZ CANAL

[1] The elections were unfair, and the issue presented was clouded; but there is no doubt that a large majority of the French people were willing to try again the experiment of rule by a Bonapartist Emperor. The son of Napoleon I, who had been brought up in Austria and died in 1832, was regarded as "Napoleon II."

4000 miles.[1] Joint-stock companies were formed to use the savings of small investors in carrying on industrial enterprises, and these further increased wealth. The streets of Paris were widened and improved so that broad boulevards, spacious squares, and imposing buildings took the place of wretched houses. Thus the city was made more healthful and beautiful, the working classes had employment, and insurrection was made more difficult through the widening of the narrow streets in which barricades had so easily been erected. The industrial progress of the world at large was revealed at the first "universal exhibition," or World's Fair, held at London in 1851. Similar exhibitions, held at Paris a few years later, gave France an opportunity to show her material growth and artistic excellence.

Napoleon III declared that "the empire is peace"; but the times and his own policies made his reign a period of European war. For forty years there had been no armed conflict between great European Powers. Now Europe saw, in rapid succession, five important wars. These were the Crime'an War (1854–1856); the Franco-Austrian War in Italy (1859); the war of Austria and Prussia with Denmark (1864); the Austro-Prussian War (1866); and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). In the first, second, and fifth of these wars, France played a leading part; and in the other two her interests were vitally concerned.

720. European wars (1854–1871)

The Crimean War arose out of the Eastern Question, — that is, the question of the political status and future of the lands included in the Turkish Empire. Since the close of the seventeenth century, the power of Turkey had steadily declined. Austria and Russia had absorbed large portions of its territories, while other districts had become independent or semi-independent countries through revolt. The Tsar Nicholas I (1825–1855) believed that Turkey was "the Sick Man" of

721. The Eastern Question

[1] In 1879 De Lesseps undertook to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, but his enterprise proved unfortunate, and the Panama company became bankrupt. In 1902 its rights were sold for $40,000,000 to the United States, which pushed the work to completion.

Europe,[1] and that arrangements should be made by Great Britain, Russia, and the other Powers for a final division of the inheritance. But the British saw in this only a scheme of the Tsar to secure Constantinople, and refused to coöperate. Ill feeling arose between Napoleon III and the Tsar, because Nicholas addressed the French Emperor in letters as "My good friend" instead of "My brother," as was customary between sovereigns. There was also a quarrel concerning the custody of the "holy places" in Jerusalem, in which the French, as the official protectors of the Roman Catholic clergy, opposed the Russians, the protectors of the Greek clergy. The dispute over the holy places was soon adjusted. A further claim of Russia to a protectorate over all Greek Christians living under the Sultan's rule, could not be admitted by the Great Powers, for fear of its being used as a pretext for seizing Constantinople.

In June, 1853, war began between Russia and Turkey on this issue. Because of ill will for Russia, and to gain strength at home, the Emperor Napoleon (in 1854) took up arms in aid of Turkey. Great Britain did the same, because a Russian triumph would endanger her interests in Asia. With the hope of gaining prestige, Sardinia-Piedmont sent her troops to fight side by side with those of Great Britain and France. Thus Russia found arrayed against her not only the troops of Turkey, which defended the Danube lands, but also the fleets and armies of France, Great Britain, and Piedmont.

The chief seat of war proved to be the peninsula of the Crime'a. There, in the strongly fortified harbor of Sebas'topol, where enormous war supplies were stored, the Russian Black Sea fleet took refuge. To reduce this fortress, France and Great Britain landed a force of 60,000 men (September, 1854). For nearly a year Sebastopol held out, while cholera, famine, and the winter weather — "Generals January and

722. The Crimean War (1854–1856)

[1] This famous phrase was used by the Tsar in 1853, in conversation with the British ambassador to Russia. "We have on our hands," said he, in speaking of Turkey, "a sick man — a very sick man. It will be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made." — McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, 430.

February" — terribly thinned the besiegers' ranks. For the first time in history, war correspondents kept the people at home informed of events, and profoundly moved the English nation by describing the sufferings of the army, — much of which was chargeable to mismanagement on the part of the English government. On the other hand, Miss Florence Nightingale, an Englishwoman, gained undying fame by the zeal and devotion she showed in organizing the nursing of the sick and wounded.[1] In a battle at Balaklava (bȧ-lȧ-klä′vȧ), in the neighborhood of Sebastopol, occurred the "charge of the Light Brigade," celebrated in Tennyson's poem. In this encounter, owing to a misunderstanding of orders, 673 men courageously charged the whole Russian army.

THE CRIMEA

In 1855, Tsar Nicholas died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. In September, after a long bombardment, Sebastopol was taken by assault. The following terms of peace were finally agreed to in a congress held at Paris in March, 1856:— **723. Peace of Paris (1856)**

1. The territory of the Turkish Empire remained as before.
2. Russia's claim to a protectorate over the Christian populations was disallowed.
3. The Danube was declared open to the navigation of all nations.
4. The Black Sea was closed to the war vessels of all powers, and Russia and Turkey agreed not to maintain arsenals on its shores.
5. The Sultan promised reforms in the treatment of his Christian subjects — promises which he did not keep.[2]

[1] An indirect result of Miss Nightingale's work was the adoption of the international Geneva Convention of 1864, providing for the protection of hospitals and ambulances under the red-cross flag in time of war.

[2] After peace was signed, the congress drew up a separate Declaration of Paris containing four new rules of maritime law. (1) Privateering was declared abolished;

724. French war with Austria (1859)

In 1859 Napoleon III fought a short but decisive war with Austria. The purpose of the war was to expel the Austrians from Italy and to aid the cause of Italian union. Its part in the unification of Italy will be described in another chapter. Here we need only note that by the war France gained two provinces (Nice and Savoy), and that Napoleon's victories strengthened his position at home and abroad.

725. Decline of Napoleon's prestige

At the end of 1859, the reputation of Napoleon III was at its highest point. The world for a time "learned to look to Paris, as it had once looked to Vienna, as to the political oracle which should pronounce its fate." This proud position, however, Napoleon did not long occupy. A number of causes contributed to his decline.

726. The expedition to Mexico (1861)

One of the earliest of these was his interference in the affairs of Mexico. Great Britain, Spain, and France all had financial claims against that country; and when the Mexican Congress voted to suspend for three years the payments due to its foreign creditors, these three Powers (in 1861) joined in an expedition to compel the payment of their claims. Napoleon III went far beyond his allies in this matter. To please the Catholic party at home, he took up the cause of the Mexican president's "clerical" enemies, and planned to make the Archduke Maximilian (brother of Francis Joseph of Austria) Emperor of Mexico. Thereupon Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces. French troops for several years maintained Maximilian upon his throne; but when the Civil War in America came to an end, the United States, acting on the policy of the Monroe Doctrine, demanded that the French army should leave Mexico. Accordingly, in 1867, the French troops were withdrawn. Maximilian was then overcome and shot by the

(2) blockades were required to be effective in order to be valid; (3 and 4) greater protection was given to private property on the high seas (other than contraband) in time of war. These rules were accepted by the European states and became part of international law. The United States, remembering the excellent service rendered by privateers in her wars, refused to agree, though in practice this country also has observed them.

Mexicans, and public opinion rightly held Napoleon III responsible for his tragic fate.

In France itself, meanwhile, important changes were taking place. After 1859 Napoleon sought to please the Liberals by a series of changes in the French constitution. The lower house of the legislature received the privilege (as was the practice in Great Britain) of drawing up an "address" in answer to the "speech from the throne," thus giving the deputies an annual opportunity to express their opinions of the government's policy. Next was granted the right of discussion at any time. Publication of the debates in the legislature, formerly prohibited, was allowed soon after this. The government also repealed the laws forbidding the organization of trade-unions and the holding of political meetings. Finally (in 1869) it was decreed that the ministers, who carried on the government in the Emperor's name, should be *responsible to the lower house*. By these measures the government of the empire, which at first was practically absolute, was changed into a parliamentary monarchy.

727. The Empire made Liberal (1869)

CARICATURE OF NAPOLEON III

In spite of these concessions, Napoleon III steadily lost favor with the French nation. In the lower house of the legislature the opposition party increased its numbers until, in 1869, it almost equaled the government party. The fact, however, which contributed most to Napoleon's decline in prestige was the growth of the power of Prussia. Here we can only note the bare facts of the history, reserving the full account for a later chapter. In 1866 Prussia fought a brilliantly successful war with Austria, by which she gained new territory in Germany, expelled Austria from the German headship, and

728. War with Prussia overthrows Napoleon (1870)

secured that position for herself (§ 767). During this war Napoleon adhered to a policy of friendly agreement with Prussia. He failed, however, to gain any territorial "compensation" for France to balance these gains, and this discredited him with his subjects. Smarting under his ill success, Napoleon in 1870 allowed himself to be tricked into the Franco-Prussian War (§ 771). The result was the decisive defeat of his armies, and his own surrender to the Prussians. The victorious Germans then invaded France in overwhelming numbers. Paris was heroically defended, but after a four months' siege it was starved into surrender (January 28, 1871).

In the face of these reverses the Second French Empire simply disappeared. A republic was proclaimed by the people, the Senate was abolished, and the lower house of the legislature dissolved (September 4, 1870). The Empress Eugénie, who had acted as regent at Paris since the beginning of the war, fled to England. A temporary "Government of National Defense," of which the chief members were Jules Favre (zhül fȧ′vr') and Leon Gambetta, carried on the government until the end of the war (February 26, 1871). Napoleon III remained a captive in Germany until peace was signed. He then joined Eugénie in England, where he died in 1873. The ex-Empress survived him, a lonely and pathetic figure, for more than forty years. By these events the Bonapartist cause was forever destroyed.

C. The Third French Republic

Amid these circumstances — with France smarting under the most crushing defeat ever inflicted upon a great nation, and its capital in the hands of the victorious Germans — the Third French Republic was born. A National Assembly, elected by manhood suffrage, met at Bordeaux (March 12, 1871) to form a provisional government and to negotiate terms of peace. Thiers, the one man of prominence who had opposed the declaration of war, was chosen "Chief of the Executive Power," in spite of his seventy years of age. The Govern-

729. Provisional government formed (1871)

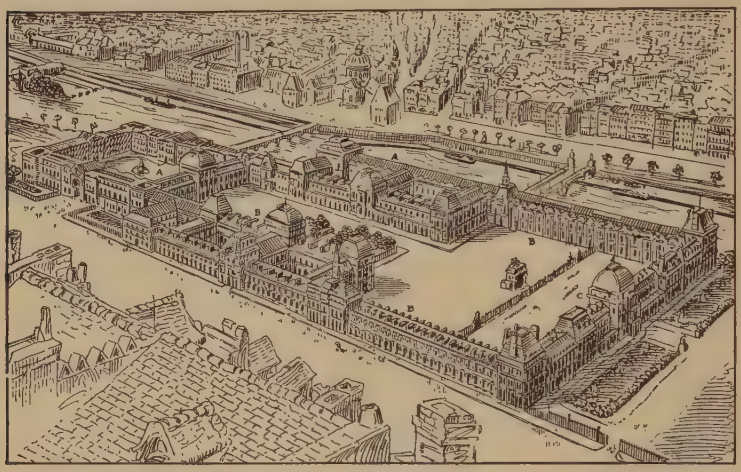
ment of National Defense was dissolved. The new government under Thiers was established temporarily at Versailles. The harsh terms of peace exacted by the Germans included the cession of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and the payment of a war indemnity of $1,000,000,000. Until this sum was paid, German troops were to remain on French soil (§ 776).

730. The Commune in Paris (1871)

While the German armies were still encamped about the capital, a desperate revolt occurred in Paris against the new French government. Its causes were the terrible sufferings of the people during the siege, their well-grounded fears of a monarchist reaction, and the agitations of the Socialists. Its chief promoters were the national guard, who had been allowed to retain their arms together with a number of cannon which were in their possession. The rebels set up an independent municipal government in Paris called "the Commune." They adopted as their emblem the red flag of the Socialists. They called themselves "Jacobins," and returned to the traditions of 1793. The revolt broke out on March 18 (1871) and lasted until near the end of May. Paris now endured a second siege, by the troops under Thiers's command, while the Germans remained neutral.

On May 21 the government troops entered the city. There followed a week of the fiercest civil warfare that history records. The residence districts were bombarded, and no quarter was given in the desperate street fighting. Insurgents taken with arms in their hands were shot down without ceremony. Materially and politically Paris suffered more injury from the Commune than from the Germans. The Column Vendôme (väN-dōm′), erected in 1814 to commemorate the victories of Napoleon I, was wantonly destroyed, together with many public buildings. The city hall (Hôtel de Ville) and part of the palace of the Tuileries were among the buildings which perished. When resistance was at an end, France was in no mood to show mercy. The Communards were hunted down relentlessly. More than seven thousand were sent as convicts to New Caledonia, in the South Pacific Ocean, and thousands more were condemned to impris-

onment at hard labor. The bitter hatred which the working classes already felt for the *bourgeoisie* was further increased by this savage cruelty of the capitalist government.



THE LOUVRE AND TUILERIES

A, *A*, Louvre; *B*, *B*, *B*, Palace of the Tuileries (including parts erected by Napoleon III), now occupied by public offices; *C*, side of Tuileries destroyed by fire in 1871, and not since rebuilt.

731. Wise rule of Thiers (1871–1873)

With the Commune crushed, the National Assembly turned to the business of constitution making. For five years the future form of the French government was not fixed. A majority of the nation, perhaps, wished to maintain the republic, but more than half of the Assembly were monarchists. They were divided among themselves, however, into three groups: (1) the Imperialists, who wished the restoration of the Bonapartes; (2) the Orleanists, who wished the throne restored to the line of Louis Philippe; (3) the Legitimists, who wished a restoration of the Bourbon line that had been dispossessed in 1830. The Assembly had been elected without a limit as to term of office, and so there was no method short of revolt by which the nation could compel it to lay down its power. Thiers himself had been a constitutional monarchist of the Orleanist

party, but he loyally upheld the republic as "the system that divides us least." He persuaded the Assembly to postpone the settlement of the question of the government until France was strengthened and prosperity restored. Under his wise rule, France recovered rapidly from her disasters. The war indemnity was soon paid; and in September, 1873, the last German soldiers withdrew from French soil.

In May, 1873, Thiers was forced to resign his office because of the opposition of the monarchists. He was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon (màk-mà-ôN′), who was elected president with the express purpose of restoring the kingship. Of the three monarchical parties (Imperialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists), the Imperialists were so weak that they could be neglected. The two others now came to an agreement. The National Assembly was to recognize as king the head of the "legitimate," or elder branch of the Bourbons, — the count of Chambord (shäN-bōr′), known as "Henry V." The head of the Orleans branch was to be recognized as his successor. At the last moment, however, the restoration failed. The count of Chambord declared that he would restore the white flag of the Bourbons, while the Orleanists insisted on the tricolor, with which so many patriotic memories were intertwined. This disagreement saved the republic.

732. Failure of a monarchist movement (1873)

The Assembly then (in 1875) passed a group of "organic laws," which (with subsequent changes) are the basis of the present French constitution: —

733. Constitution of the Republic formed (1875–1884)

1. The head of the state is called "the President of the Republic."[1] He is elected for a term of seven years by the two houses of the legislature, voting together. His position is similar to that of a constitutional king. He can perform no executive act except through ministers who are responsible to the legislature. The president has the power (with the coöperation of the Senate) to dissolve the lower house and appeal to the country in a new election.

[1] This decision, which implied a continuance of the republic, was reached by a majority of but one vote — 353 to 352.

2. The legislature is composed of two houses — the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies.
3. The Senate is composed of 300 members, who are elected for a term of nine years by electoral colleges. The electoral colleges are composed in part of officials, and in part of members elected by the people. At first one fourth of the senators were life members, but these are now being replaced by ordinary members as vacancies occur.
4. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by manhood suffrage for four years. The French colonies are represented in it as well as the

FAÇADE OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS

Erected 1804–1807

home departments. In practice the Chamber of Deputies has become the more powerful of the two legislative bodies, making and unmaking ministries by its votes, and even compelling the president to resign.
5. The constitution can be amended by an act passed by the two houses, meeting together.
6. The acts passed by the two houses are the supreme law of the land. Unlike the United States, France gives her courts no power to set aside laws because they are "in conflict with the constitution."

The free organization of society created by the first revolution was preserved, together with the administrative system of

the first Napoleon. To these was now added a moderate constitution, based on the sovereignty of the people, manhood suffrage, and liberty of the press.

734. Party struggles in France (after 1875)

For a score of years after 1875, the monarchists looked upon the republic as provisional, and worked for its overthrow. The Catholic clergy generally favored a restoration of monarchy; but in 1892 a great part of the clergy "rallied" to the support of the republic, through the influence of Pope Leo XIII. To offset this gain, the Socialist party again became a political factor, after those who had taken part in the Commune were pardoned (in 1879).

735. The Dreyfus affair

For some years following 1894, political interest in France centered about a Jewish army officer named Dreyfus (drā-füs′), who was tried and condemned on the charge of revealing military secrets to Germany. Dreyfus's friends claimed that his condemnation was the result of a plot formed by high army officers who were hostile to the Jews. The brilliant novelist Zola took up Dreyfus's cause, and was largely the means of securing a new trial for him. In the retrial it was shown that much of the evidence against Dreyfus was deliberately forged; nevertheless he was again condemned. The president of the republic then granted him a pardon. Dreyfus's friends continued to work for yet another trial, and in 1906 the highest court of France declared him innocent. He was then promoted to the rank of major, and decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor. The questions involved in the Dreyfus case came to be far greater than the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus himself. The "affair" became a military, religious, and political question, involving the influence in state affairs of the army and of the Catholic Church. It created a sort of frenzy in France, which threatened the very life of the republic. Its outcome was utterly to discredit the anti-Jewish party, and to remove from the army the officers who were favorable to a royalist restoration. The separation of church and state, which was in part brought on by the activity of the Catholic clergy against Dreyfus, will be discussed in a later chapter (§ 876).

736. France at the close of the century

At the close of the nineteenth century France occupied a place of less political importance than formerly. This was due to the more rapid development of the rest of Europe. Under Louis XIV the population of France was forty per cent of that of the Great Powers of Europe. In 1789 it had fallen to twenty-seven per cent; and in 1900 it was barely ten per cent. The practically stationary population of France, due to its low birthrate, was the great cause of its relative political weakness.

In spite of its political decline, France maintained a leading place among the nations of the world. Its people were thrifty and saving. Its agriculture and its manufactures — especially those which call for artistic taste — were flourishing. Its economic wealth was great. In painting, in sculpture, and in architecture, there was no nation which was so renowned as the French. In literature the French led the world because of the finished form and perfection of their style. In science and in education France advanced under the Third Republic, as it had under every preceding form of government. A leading French historian said: "We are proud — and why should we not be? — of a very glorious past. We rejoice in the attention which this past secures for us from nations whose future seems brighter than ours. And we are confident, lastly, that France will remain, by virtue of the sincerity of her efforts, one of the forces, one of the lights, and one of the graces of humankind."

Langlois, *The Historic Rôle of France*, 45

IMPORTANT DATES

1848. The "February Revolution" establishes a republic in France. Spread of the revolution to Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Italy.

1851–1852. Louis Napoleon overthrows the French republic and sets up the Second Empire.

1854–1856. The Crimean War.

1859. French War with Austria in aid of Italy.

1867. French troops forced to withdraw from Mexico.

1870. War with Prussia; fall of Napoleon III; the Third French Republic proclaimed.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare Louis Philippe with Charles X. (2) What connection was there between the advance of the Industrial Revolution in France and the Revolution of 1848? (3) Was the justification for revolution in France in 1848 as great as in 1830? (4) Why do you suppose Charles X and Louis Philippe left France so quickly upon the outbreak of revolts in Paris? (5) Why did the French provinces play so little part in the Revolution of 1848? (6) What ideas of the French Socialists seem to you good? (7) Did France really wish a republic in 1848? (8) Was the *coup d'état* of 1851 justifiable? (9) Was the domestic policy of Napoleon III wise or unwise? (10) Was his foreign policy wise or unwise? (11) Why could not Great Britain and France permit Russia to exercise a protectorate over the Sultan's Christian subjects? (12) Did the Crimean War help in any way to a settlement of the Eastern Question? (13) Why did the United States demand the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico? (14) Do you think the Empire could have continued much longer in France, if there had been no war with Prussia? (15) Why was the populace of Paris less able to control the government in 1871 than in 1792 and 1793? (16) Was the treatment of the Communards by the provisional government wise or unwise? Why? (17) To what did the republic owe its continuance in the years 1873 to 1875? (18) Compare the constitution of France with the constitution of the United States. (19) What was the real importance of the "Dreyfus affair"? (20) Compare the position of France in 1800 with its position in 1900.

Search Topics. — (1) Government of Louis Philippe. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 114–119; Seignobos, *Europe Since 1814*, 132–136; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 276–314; Fyffe, *Modern Europe* (popular ed.), 699–703. — (2) Early French Socialists. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, 22–40; Ely, *French and German Socialism*, 66–71, 74, 108–123; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 75–78. — (3) The February Revolution (1848) in Paris. Hazen, 130–144, 187; Seignobos, 155–159; Andrews, I, 336–345; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 78–80; Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 186–192. — (4) The National Workshops. Hazen, 188–195; Andrews, I, 345–358; Seignobos, 159–164; Ely, *Socialism*, 111–113; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 80–84. — (5) Louis Napoleon and the Coup d'État. Hazen, 127–129, 198–205; Andrews, II, 7–41; Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, ch. ii; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XIX, 211–216; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 88–94. — (6) De Lesseps and the Suez Canal. Penfield, *Present-Day Egypt*, ch. vi; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVI, 494–496, XXVI, 22–25. — (7) The Empress Eugénie. McCarthy, *Modern Leaders*, 25–34; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, IX, 885. — (8) The Facts Concerning the Charge of

THE LIGHT BRIGADE. Murdock, ch. vii; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VII, 452. — (9) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XIX, 684–685. — (10) THE FRENCH IN MEXICO. Hazen, 277–279; Fyffe, 969–971. — (11) THE FALL OF THE SECOND EMPIRE. Hazen, 296–300; Phillips, 471–475; Fyffe, 1002–1006; Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 595. — (12) THE COMMUNE. Hazen, 329–337; Andrews, II, 343–349; Seignobos, 187–194; Coubertin, *France under the Third Republic*, 17–22; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 211–212; Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 608–612. — (13) PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 304–319; Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe; Encyclopedia Britannica*, X, 789–791. — (14) The DREYFUS CASE. Hazen, 358–364; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, II, 142–144; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 218–223; Dreyfus, *Five Years of My Life*.

General Reading. — In addition to the general histories of Europe in the nineteenth century, see Lebon, *Modern France, 1789–1895;* Coubertin, *France Since 1814;* Berry, *France Since Waterloo*. For advanced study, see *Cambridge Modern History*, vols. X, XI, XII, and Hanoteaux, *Contemporary France*, 4 vols. (covering the years 1871–1882).

CHAPTER XXXI

THE AUSTRIAN REVOLUTION OF 1848, AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

In this chapter we shall consider (1) the Revolution of 1848 in the Austrian lands north of the Alps; (2) the disunited condition of Italy, and the objects and course of the Revolution of 1848 there; (3) the attaining of Italian unity, and the history of Italy since 1870.

A. The Revolution of 1848 in the Austrian Empire

737. Spread of the Revolution of 1848

The February Revolution of 1848 in France produced a rapid series of revolutionary outbursts throughout Europe. The progress of Liberal ideas in recent years had prepared the materials for these explosions, but it was the news from Paris which supplied the spark. Metternich himself had seen that revolution was imminent. "The world is very sick," he wrote to a friend in January, 1848; "the one thing certain is that there will be tremendous changes." Within a few months his prediction was fulfilled. The kings of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden were forced to heed the demands of their peoples for constitutional reforms. Even England was threatened with serious disturbances. In Germany there was a widespread revolution to further the cause of Liberal reform and national union, which will be described in the next chapter. Most important of all were the revolutionary movements in the Austrian Empire. Here we shall consider only the outbreaks in the Austrian lands north of the Alps. In a later section we will take up the revolt against Austrian rule in Italy, and its bearing on the movement for Italian unity.

In the Austrian Empire the revolutionary impulse from Paris

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combined with (1) the resistance of the Liberals to the iron rule of Metternich, and (2) the movements of the different peoples of the empire for separate national governments. A glance at the map on page 602 will show how numerous were the peoples — separated by differences of race, of language, of religion, and of culture — whom the accidents of history had placed under the rule of the Hapsburgs. Eleven distinct languages were spoken among them, besides numerous dialects. The Germans were the ruling element, giving to the empire its capital (Vienna), the royal family, and the official language. Society was still feudal and medieval. The nobles were free from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; the peasants were still in a state of serfdom. An absolute but inefficient government was kept in power by a system of rigid censorship, passports, and government spies.[1]

738. Conditions in the Austrian Empire

The news of the French Revolution of February, 1848, caused a riot of students and citizens in Vienna. They demanded freedom of education, of religion, of speech, and of the press, together with a representative form of government. When the mob gathered about the Emperor's palace, shouting "Down with Metternich," that aged minister resigned. He escaped from Vienna in a laundry cart, and took refuge in England. After Metternich's downfall a new ministry was formed, which began to draft a constitution for the empire. The movement of *liberalism* triumphed temporarily in the capital, but there remained the movements for *national governments* on the part of the subject peoples.

739. The revolution in Austria

[1] "The censorship was exercised with grotesque stupidity. It was still the aim of government to isolate Austria from the ideas and speculation of other lands, and to shape the intellectual world of the Emperor's subjects into that precise form which tradition prescribed as suitable for the members of a well-regulated state. In poetry the works of Byron were excluded from circulation, where customhouse officers and market inspectors chose to enforce the law; in history and political literature the leading writers of modern times lay under the same ban. Native production was much more effectively controlled. Whoever wrote in a newspaper, or lectured at a university, or published a work of imagination, was expected to deliver himself of something agreeable to the constituted authorities or was reduced to silence." — Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe* (popular edition), 694.

740. Revolution in Hungary, Bohemia, etc.

In Hungary there had long been a movement for a separate administration of that kingdom, together with the official use of the Magyar tongue. Under the lead of Louis Kossuth, a brilliant journalist and orator, the Hungarians now insisted on Liberal reforms, together with a constitution which should make Hungary a sovereign state, independent of the rest of the Austrian Empire. A desperate struggle in the Italian provinces, Venetia and Lombardy, for a time engaged all the military resources of the imperial government. Owing to this fact, and to the insurrection in Vienna, the Emperor was obliged to accede to the Hungarian demands, and to grant them a responsible ministry, together with freedom of the press, trial by jury, and the abolition of serfdom.

KOSSUTH

The revolutionary movement spread also to Bohemia, where the Czechs (chĕks) fought the Germans in the streets of Prague. Among the Poles of Galicia, and the Croats and other South Slavs, similar national movements broke out. Everywhere appeared a frenzy of liberalism and local national sentiment. At the end of March, 1848, the prospects of the reform movements seemed very bright indeed.

741. Suppression of the revolutions (1848–1849)

Nevertheless, the revolutions in the Austrian Empire failed almost completely. In large part this was due to class, religious, and race hatreds among the different groups. The Magyars, while seeking national independence for themselves, tried to stifle such aspirations on the

part of the South Slavs. The Viennese, for their part, wished to continue German rule over the Czechs of Bohemia. The result was an alliance between the imperial government and the Slavs, against the Magyars and the German Liberals. In Bohemia the revolution was ended in June, 1848. October saw Vienna reduced to submission, after a cruel bombardment.

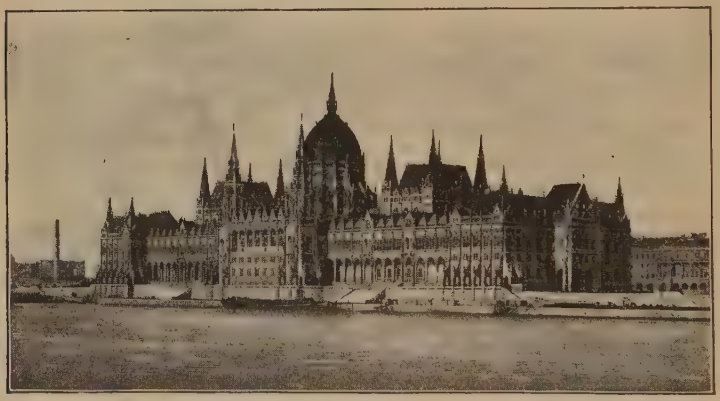
Hungary, which had gained a separate army and administration, was not so easily dealt with. To permit of a new régime, the Emperor Ferdinand resigned in December, 1848, and his nephew, Francis Joseph, ascended the throne. In April, 1849, the Hungarians issued a declaration of independence, and formed a republican government with Kossuth at its head. For a time they almost completely freed their land from Austrian troops. The rebellion was ended only by the intervention of the Tsar of Russia, who in June sent an army of over a hundred thousand men to aid his Austrian brother ruler. By the middle of August the revolution in Hungary was crushed. Kossuth and other leaders escaped to Turkey, where the Sultan, with British and French support, gave them refuge. Bloody punishments awaited the leaders who fell into Austrian hands; and a rigid repression of all Liberal and national aspirations followed.

The one immediate and lasting reform brought about by the revolutions in the Austrian Empire was the sweeping away of the remains of feudalism.

In subsequent sections an account will be given of the two wars, with France in 1859 and with Prussia in 1866, by which Austria lost her Italian provinces, and was thrust out of all participation in German affairs. These serious reverses accomplished what internal revolution had not been able to effect. To save the Austrian Empire from complete dissolution the most far-reaching reforms were necessary. The absolutist system of Metternich was abandoned, and a more liberal government took its place. Equality of all persons before the law was introduced, with guaranteed personal and political liberties. Religious liberty, and the separation of church and

742. Austria-Hungary after 1849

state, are parts of the new system. The political organization of the empire long remained unsettled, owing to the existence of so many differing peoples, with conflicting national aspirations. In 1867, however, the principle of *dualism* was established, — that is, the Austrian Empire was converted into the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. After that Austria and Hungary had each a separate constitution, separate parliament, and separate administration; but they had the same sovereign, the same ministers for war, finance, and foreign affairs, and sent



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS OF HUNGARY, AT BUDAPEST

Erected in 1866

the same number of persons (sixty) to a joint council for the whole realm (the "Delegations").

In Austria, German was the official language; in Hungary, Magyar. But in each kingdom there were a number of other peoples with separate tongues and national aspirations. The "language question" threatened each with disruption. In Austria the oath of office at the opening of the Reichsrath (rīks'rät, Parliament) was administered in eight different tongues. Provincial diets, subordinate either to Austria or to Hungary, were established in the different provinces (Bohemia, Transylvania, Croatia, etc.). For Hungary the settlement of 1867

was a great triumph, for it gave her legislative and administrative independence. After the loss of the Italian provinces, and the exclusion of Austria from Germany, Austria-Hungary became more and more a Slavic and Magyar state. It looked for territorial gains to the Balkan peninsula, and its influence there became increasingly important. At the end of the century, it was a debatable question whether the Dual Monarchy would probably continue as then constituted, or whether in course of time race hostilities or external events would lead to a new political grouping of its territories. It was predicted that the test would come when the venerable Francis Joseph I, who ascended the throne in 1848, passed from the scene.[1]

B. The Disunion of Italy, and the Revolution of 1848

From the days of the old Roman Empire to the conquests of Napoleon Bonaparte, Italy was never effectively united under a single rule. The sword of Napoleon for a time broke down the barriers of local jealousies and princely interests, and established his rule throughout the peninsula. His legislation also for the first time made all classes equal before the law. Napoleon's work, however, was overthrown on his downfall, and the establishing of Italian unity and independence was postponed for more than half a century.

743. Napoleon Bonaparte and Italian unity

The treaties of Vienna left Italy (in Metternich's words) "a mere geographical expression." It possessed even less union than was given to Germany under the German Confederation. The whole land was parceled out among small states, each with an absolute government. Venetia and Lombardy were given to Austria, and the neighboring duchies of Mo'dena and Parma (map, p. 612) were placed under Hapsburg dukes. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was restored to the rule of the Bourbons. The Papal States again came under the rule of the Pope. The only prince in Italy (except the

744. Disunion after 1815

[1] Francis Joseph, however, died during the Great War (November 22, 1916). He was succeeded by his grandnephew, Charles I of Austria and IV of Hungary.

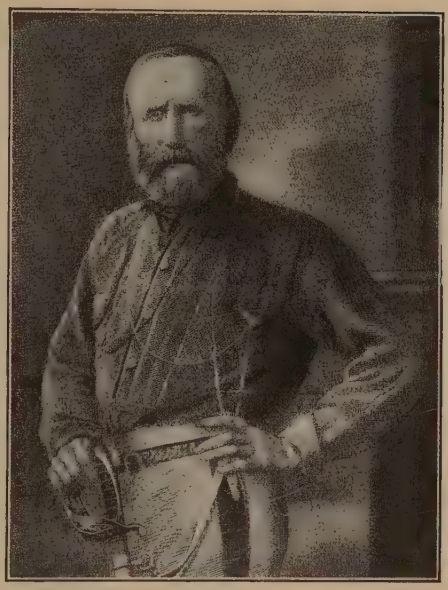
Pope) who was not dependent on Austria was the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, who steadfastly refused to fall in with Metternich's schemes. The rest of Italy seemed "only an annex and prolongation of the empire of the Hapsburgs." "The baton of Metternich," wrote the Italian patriot Mazzini (mät-sē′nē), "governs and directs all the petty tyrants of Italy." Reaction was everywhere supreme, and almost medieval conditions were restored. The tasks of the future were: (1) the establishing of a united Italy free from foreign control; and (2) the winning of Liberal constitutional government.

745. Mazzini and Garibaldi

In 1820 and 1830 isolated revolts broke out, but these were easily crushed by Austrian troops. The final attaining of Italian unity was the work especially of three great men — Mazzini, Garibaldi (gä-re-bäl′dē), and Cavour (cä-voor′). Mazzini has been described as "the prophet of Italian unity," and Garibaldi as its "knight-errant," while Cavour was the far-seeing practical statesman who crowned their efforts with success. Mazzini (1805–1872) was a lawyer, philosopher, and journalist of Genoa; but most of his life was spent in exile in Switzerland and in England. While undergoing imprisonment near Genoa — the first of many trials which he endured for Italy's sake — he planned a new revolutionary organization, which should omit the foolish theatrical features of the *Carbonari* (§ 689). His new society was called "Young Italy." Its motto was "God and the People," and its banner bore on one side "Unity and Independence," and on the other "Liberty, Equality, and Humanity." Mazzini's program was soon enlarged to include agitation for these principles in

Mazzini

every land; and societies called "Young Poland," "Young Germany," "Young Switzerland," etc., were formed on the model of the one which he organized in Italy. Mazzini's ardent patriotism, heroic self-sacrifice, and unconquerable faith in the ultimate triumph of his ideas made him a great leader of men. He influenced most strongly the educated classes, — lawyers, doctors, professors, and army officers. Garibaldi (1807–1882) early joined the Young Italy society. He was forced to flee from Italy after an unsuccessful attempt at revolution in Piedmont, in 1834. He then spent ten years in South America, playing a romantic and honorable part in the civil wars of Brazil and Uruguay.



GARIBALDI

Count Cavour (1810–1861) was a nobleman of Piedmont who early developed Liberal ideas. These were strengthened by frequent visits to Paris and London. The policy of plots and petty revolts did not appeal to him, and he never became a member of the society of Young Italy. He firmly believed that political liberty was useless or impossible unless it was accompanied by commercial and industrial prosperity. His efforts, therefore, were early directed to improving the economic condition of Italy. He wrote much on agriculture, railroads, and similar subjects. "The railroads," he said, about 1845, "will stretch without interruption from the Alps to Sicily, and

746. Views of Cavour

CAVOUR

will wipe out all the obstacles which separate the inhabitants of Italy and hinder them from forming a great and single nation." He believed that the expulsion of Austria from the land could be accomplished only by an established government which was recognized by the Powers of Europe and possessed a regular army.

At first Italian patriots were far from being united in their ideas as to the form of government to be set up, or the sort of union which they desired. Some wished a limited monarchy; others a democratic republic. Some wanted a union of all Italy under one head; others wanted a mere federation of the existing states against foreign rule. Many persons hoped that the union of Italy would be accomplished by Pope Pius IX, who ascended the papal throne in 1846. These expectations were encouraged by the Pope's releasing political prisoners in the Papal States, and by Liberal measures of reform and of hostility to Austria. But when the wave of revolution swept over Italy in 1848, the Pope abandoned his liberalism, and adopted reactionary policies.

747. Pope Pius IX and liberalism

The revolution of 1848 began (even before the outbreak in Paris) in Sicily and Naples, where the Liberals rose in arms and forced the king to issue a constitution (January, 1848). This success, together with the news of the revolutions in France and Austria, aroused the patriots throughout the peninsula. Milan, Venice, and other Austrian possessions in Italy revolted. Charles Albert of Sardinia-Piedmont, influenced by Cavour, issued a constitution for his kingdom, and declared war on Austria. The rulers of Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States were compelled by public sentiment to send troops

748. Revolution of 1848 in Italy

to fight under the Italian tricolored flag, raised by Piedmont. But soon jealousies and differences of opinion arose, and Naples and the Pope withdrew their forces. At Custozza (koos-tōd′zä), in 1848, the Piedmontese army was defeated by the Austrians, and again, in 1849, at Novara (no-vä′rä).

Charles Albert then abdicated. His son, Victor Emmanuel II, secured peace with Austria by paying a heavy war indemnity.

Pius IX

749. Failure of the Revolution

The Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venice was speedily restored. In Naples the king overthrew the constitution he had granted, and crushed the revolution. In the Papal States the revolutionists had set up a Roman republic under Mazzini and Garibaldi; but in June, 1849, a French army, sent by Louis Napoleon, defeated the Roman republicans, and the absolute power of the Pope was restored. The brilliant retreat of Garibaldi through the mountains of central Italy was one of the spectacular feats of this struggle, but did not change the outcome. Everywhere in Italy the revolution failed. Yet the attempt had not been wholly in vain. A prince had sacrificed himself for Italian independence, and the people had proved their heroism. "Henceforth the National cause had a dynasty to represent it, and a people to defend it."

C. The Attainment of Italian Unity (1849–1870)

The failure of the Revolution of 1848 left Italy divided as before, and garrisoned by foreign troops. The Austrians held the northeast, and French troops supported the papal monarchy

at Rome. The kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont alone clung to Liberal ideas, a constitution, and the tricolored flag — the emblem of Italian unity. It was to King Victor Emmanuel that Italian patriots thenceforth turned their eyes.

750. Italy after 1848

Unfortunately Victor Emmanuel's subjects numbered less than five millions as against the thirty-seven millions of Austria.

GROWTH OF THE ITALIAN KINGDOM

But they had a patriotic and able king; they had an army that could fight; above all, they had in Count Cavour a minister — one of the greatest of modern statesmen — whose

life was devoted to the work of freeing and uniting Italy. From 1849 to 1859 was the period of preparation for Italian unity; the years 1859 to 1870 saw its realization.

751. Policy of Cavour for Piedmont

For a time Cavour was the most unpopular man in Turin. He was hated by radicals for his moderation, and by reactionaries for his liberalism. Gradually Mazzini, the leader of the visionary republicans, lost ground, and the true greatness of Cavour was recognized. From 1852 until Cavour's death, in 1861, he was (with two short intervals) prime minister and almost dictator of the kingdom. He labored unceasingly for economic prosperity, Liberal reforms, and the military strength of the monarchy. In addition to remodeling taxes, he reformed the clergy. The number of monasteries totaled 604; and there was one ecclesiastic to every 214 inhabitants. Belgium and Austria, both strongly Catholic countries, had respectively only one priest to 500, and one to 610 inhabitants. After a bitter fight, Cavour carried through a moderate reform, which abolished the religious orders not engaged in public teaching, preaching, or nursing the sick. His farsighted statesmanship sent Sardinian troops to take part in the Crimean War (§ 721), a step which was described as "a pistol shot in Austria's ear." Then, in the congress of Paris, Cavour was enabled to bring the cause of Italy before the diplomats of Europe, and to pave the way for future action.

752. Attitude of Napoleon III

Great Britain was, in general, favorable to Italian hopes, but feared to see the peace of Europe again disturbed. Napoleon III, during his adventurous career as a young man, had taken an active part in the plots of the *Carbonari* to free Italy, and still favored that cause. But the Catholic party in France violently opposed any action which might endanger the Pope's temporal power. While Napoleon hesitated, a fanatical Italian patriot hurled three bombs at his carriage in the streets of Paris (January, 1858), by which 256 persons were killed or seriously wounded. Although the Emperor and Empress escaped unharmed, this attempt convinced him that his life would not be safe unless he redeemed his early vows. In July,

1858, he secretly agreed with Cavour to join Piedmont in attacking Austria when a fitting moment came. Austria was to be entirely expelled from Italy, and her possessions there annexed to Piedmont. In return France was to be given the Piedmontese territories of Savoy and Nice, thus extending French territory to the Alps, her "natural frontier" on the southeast.

A plausible pretext for war with Austria was needed, and the months which followed were the most trying of Cavour's life.

753. War in northern Italy (1859) His skill, working on Austrian stupidity and pride, brought it to pass that Austria issued an ultimatum (April, 1859) demanding that Piedmont disarm, on pain of war. Cavour was radiant with joy. Austria was put clearly in the wrong; Napoleon would now be obliged to help; the other Great Powers would remain neutral.

The war proved short and decisive, lasting less than three months. In April an army of Austrians crossed the Ticino (te-chē′nō) River, and invaded Piedmont. The French army had already begun to pour over the Alps, and in May the French Emperor arrived to take command in person. The allies soon drove the Austrians out of Piedmont, and at Magen'ta inflicted upon them a severe defeat. This was followed by a second victory, after a fiercely fought battle, at Solferino (sŏl-fĕ-rē′no). Garibaldi, meanwhile, liberated the Alpine part of Italy as far as the frontier of Tyrol.[1]

The complete expulsion of Austria from Italy now seemed certain. But Napoleon III was alarmed at the hostile attitude which Prussia was taking; moreover, he did not want to make Piedmont too strong. In July he suddenly deserted his ally, and entered into negotiations for peace at Villafranca.[2] When Victor Emmanuel found that he was deserted by the French, he could only resign himself to join in "the infamous treaty"

[1] Between 1849 and 1859 Garibaldi had spent several years in New York City, engaged in commerce, and had accumulated a small fortune.

[2] Read James Russell Lowell's poem entitled "Villafranca." It well expresses the indignation felt by Liberals the world over at this betrayal.

which was signed (at Zurich) in November, 1859. Its terms were the following: —

1. Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont, but Venetia was left to Austria.
2. The rest of Italy was to be restored to the condition in which it was at the opening of the war.
3. A scheme of Italian confederation was proposed under the presidency of the Pope.

The last two provisions of the treaty could not be carried out. All central Italy had revolted from its rulers and sought union with Piedmont; and after the peace Napoleon did not object to Piedmont's annexation of those territories. As a result, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the northernmost of the Papal States were all peacefully added to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. In return, Victor Emmanuel reluctantly ceded to France the provinces of Nice and Savoy, the cradle of the Piedmontese monarchy. The annexation of the kingdom of Sicily and Naples followed soon after, as the result of a successful revolution carried out by Garibaldi, with Cavour's secret assistance. With a thousand "red-shirts," Garibaldi landed in Sicily (May, 1860), and was received by the people with open arms. In August he crossed over to the mainland. By September Naples was in his hands, and he was planning to march upon Rome, to overturn the temporal power of the Pope. The sound statesmanship of Cavour saw that Europe was not ripe for this step, and he sent Piedmontese troops to check his too zealous ally. In February, 1861, the struggle came to an end with the surrender of the last of the Bourbon kings of Naples. Already Sicily and Naples had declared, by overwhelming votes, for union with Piedmont; and in March, Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of Italy.

754. Kingdom of Italy founded (1860–1864)

Except Venetia and the patrimony of St. Peter (as the district immediately about Rome was called), the whole of the peninsula was at last consolidated under one rule (map, p. 612). Italy ceased to be "a mere geographical expression," and took its

place as one of the nations of Europe. To this end many persons had contributed, with heroic courage, high endeavor, and noble self-sacrifice. But the genius which mastered all and brought the work to a successful issue was that of Cavour. Three months later (in June, 1861), he died, worn out before his time by his labors.

Victor Emmanuel II

755. Italian unity completed (1870)

For the completion of Italian unity King Victor Emmanuel was largely indebted to Prussia. In 1866 he joined with that kingdom in the war which crushed Austria's power (§ 767); and in reward for this assistance he received Venetia, the last considerable district held by Austria south of the Alps. Four years later the Franco-Prussian War (§ 772) gave Victor Emmanuel opportunity to seize Rome, which for a thousand years had been ruled by the Popes. The French troops which had there supported the Pope were now withdrawn for use elsewhere. The Piedmontese troops were received with cheers by the Roman people; and not one of the Great Powers raised its voice in serious protest. Thenceforth Rome was the capital of a united kingdom of Italy.

756. Subsequent position of the papacy

An attempt was made to come to a friendly arrangement with the Pope. A liberal annuity was offered him, together with the right to keep up in the Vatican the rank of a sovereign prince. But Pius IX would not consent to the loss of the temporal power of the papacy. Throughout the rest of his life he remained a voluntary "prisoner" in the Vatican, refusing to set foot outside its gardens. The policy which he adopted has been closely followed by his successors. The papacy has remained unreconciled to its loss of Rome, and this

attitude has hampered the Italian government in many ways. But in spite of the loss of its temporal power, the position of the papacy has never been higher than it is to-day. To many minds this seems partly due to the fact that the Pope's position is no longer complicated by the local cares of an Italian prince.[1]

The present constitution of Italy is an expansion of that granted by Charles Albert to his kingdom in 1848:—

757. Present constitution of Italy

1. The king exercises his executive authority through ministers who are responsible to Parliament.
2. The Parliament is composed of two chambers, one nominated by the king, and the other elected by the people.
3. The franchise was at first limited to adult male citizens who could read and write, and who possessed certain additional educational or property qualifications. In 1912 manhood suffrage was adopted, thus increasing the number of voters from 3,000,000 to 8,000,000. At the same time, payment for members of Parliament was introduced.

758. Italy since 1870

For ten years after the complete unification of Italy, questions of debt and institutional development occupied the government. Then came fifteen years (1881–1896) devoted to the development of railroads and public works; and to attempts to secure external prestige through increase of the army and navy, and through an unsuccessful war with Abyssinia (1895–1896), and colonial ventures of doubtful value on the African shore of the Red Sea. After 1896 the burden of public debt led to soberer policies. King Humbert I, who succeeded his father in 1878, was assassinated by an anarchist in 1900, and his son, Victor Emmanuel III, came to the throne. In 1908 the world was horrified by an appalling earthquake in Sicily, which destroyed the city of Messina, and killed 150,000 persons. The war with Turkey, by which Italy in 1912 acquired the province of Tripoli in northern Africa, will be described in a later chapter (§ 830).

[1] The great Vatican Council in 1870, just a few months before the Pope's loss of temporal sovereignty, proclaimed his official decisions "on questions of faith and morals" to be infallible.

Notwithstanding many hindrances to national progress, much was accomplished for Italy. Brigandage was in large measure suppressed. Waste lands were brought under cultivation, and malaria was decreased by extensive drainage systems. Many miles of state railroads were built. A system of public education was established, which extended from elementary schools to the universities. As a result, illiteracy, which is one of the curses of Italy, decreased from 73 per cent of the adult population in 1871, to 56 per cent in 1901. Modern manufactures, though late in arising, developed rapidly, especially in the north. But the burden of the national debt was still crushing, and Italy remained in 1913 the most heavily taxed country in Europe. This in part accounts for the great number of its inhabitants who have emigrated to other lands, especially to the United States. Industrial and political discontent, moreover, was widespread; and strikes and labor disturbances were incessant and were complicated by Socialist agitations. To check the growth of the radical party, Pope Pius X in 1905 practically abolished the church rule by which good Catholics were forbidden to vote in parliamentary elections. The permanence of the Italian kingdom was assured, but the future of no other great power of western Europe seemed clouded with so many unsolved problems.

IMPORTANT DATES

1846. Pius IX becomes Pope.
1848. Revolution put down in Austria and Bohemia; Francis Joseph I becomes Emperor of Austria.
1848. Revolution in Italy put down by Austria; Victor Emmanuel II becomes king of Sardinia-Piedmont.
1852. Cavour becomes prime minister of Sardinia-Piedmont.
1859. Napoleon III aids Sardinia in wresting Lombardy from Austria.
1860. Most of central Italy gained.
1861. Naples and Sicily annexed; kingdom of Italy proclaimed.
1866. Venetia added to kingdom of Italy.
1870. Rome taken from the Pope; Italian unity completed.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) How do you explain the wide spread of the revolutionary movements in 1848? (2) Compare the aims of the revolutionists in Vienna with those in Hungary and Italy. (3) Why did the revolution in the Austrian lands fail? (4) Why should Russia intervene to aid Austria in Hungary? (5) Why did the events in Paris in 1870–1871 find no echo in Austria-Hungary? (6) What did the first Napoleon contribute to the cause of Italian unity? (7) How did Mazzini aid the movement? (8) What did Garibaldi do to further it? (9) What did Cavour contribute? (10) Why did the movement to drive the Austrians out win greater success in 1859 than in 1848? (11) Why was the movement for Italian unity finally successful? (12) Why did Victor Emmanuel seek to win Rome for his capital? (13) Why did the Pope resist? (14) Compare Italy's position in 1900 with its situation in 1850.

Search Topics. — (1) KOSSUTH. Thayer, *Throne Makers* ("Kossuth"); *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XV, 916–918; Kossuth, *Memories of my Exile*. — (2) REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 152–159, 169–181; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 363–373; Phillips, *Modern Europe*, 289–308. — (3) PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 456–474, 489–500; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, III, 2–3; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 165–168, 171–175. — (4) MAZZINI AND YOUNG ITALY. Hazen, 159–164; Andrews, I, 205–213; Stillman, *Union of Italy*, 44–48; Cesaresco, *Liberation of Italy*, ch. iv; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 115–118. — (5) GARIBALDI. Hazen, 232–236; Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, ch. xiii; Cesaresco, *Liberation*, ch. xiv; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 126–128. — (6) CAVOUR. Hazen, 215–239; Andrews, II, 91–114; Thayer, *Throne Makers* ("Cavour"); Cesaresco, *Cavour*. — (7) HOW CAVOUR BROUGHT ON WAR IN 1859. Phillips, 366–370; King, *Italian Unity*, II, 56–67; Cesaresco, *Liberation*, ch. xi; Mazade, *Cavour*, 186–193. — (8) VATICAN COUNCIL OF 1869–1870. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVII, 947–951; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 303–309. — (9) PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF ITALY. Hazen, 374–380; Ogg, 365–381; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XV, 19. — (10) ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ITALY. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XV, 8–14, 80–81; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 138–141.

General Reading. — The best general accounts of the Revolution of 1848 in Central Europe are in Hazen, Andrews, Fyffe, and Phillips. For Austria-Hungary since 1849, see Colquhoun, *The Whirlpool of Europe*. The best histories of the attainment of Italian unity are by Bolton King, Cesaresco, Stillman, and Probyn. Trevelyan's various works dealing with Garibaldi are fascinatingly written. For present conditions in Italy, see King and Okey, *Italy To-day*.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

A. The Revolution of 1848 in Germany

The Revolution of 1848, which broke out first in France and whose influence in Austria and in Italy has been traced in the preceding chapter, profoundly disturbed Germany also. As in Italy, the movement in Germany had two objects: (1) to secure Liberal and democratic reforms in the separate German states; (2) to unite all Germany into a single national union.

759. Weakness of Germany after 1815

The German Confederation, which was established by the Congress of Vienna, was in many ways similar to the government of the United States under the old Articles of Confederation. No important measure could be passed in the Diet without the unanimous vote of all the thirty-eight states. Its members were without individual freedom in voting; they were mere delegates, sent by their governments with precise directions, and were obliged to ask instructions before each vote. The result was that no important measure was ever passed by the Diet. In addition, the Confederation had no organized executive, and no means of enforcing its rulings upon the separate states. The Diet was only a council of representatives of the federated princes, under the presidency of Austria. It in no way represented the sentiments of the German people. Hence the movements for Liberal reforms and national union did not center in the Diet, but rather in the universities, for which Germany was famed.

760. The Prussian Zollverein

In Germany, as in the United States, it was the need of regulating commerce which caused the first step towards union to be taken. The accident that Prussia ruled many scattered territories, with a thousand miles of frontiers,

made a *Zollverein* (tsōl'fer-īn; customs tariff union) a matter of importance for her. By 1854 Prussia succeeded in including in such a union the whole of southern and central Germany, with the exception of Austria. The states belonging to the *Zollverein* abolished all customs duties on their trade with one another, and agreed upon a common tariff in their trade with foreign countries. Railroads were developing rapidly in Germany in this period, and the *Zollverein* enabled its states to

GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN (1834–1854)

reap full benefit from the commerce which railroad building stimulated. At the same time, this commercial union exerted a powerful influence towards uniting Germany politically under Prussian headship.

761. Revolution of 1848 in Prussia

The news of the February Revolution of 1848 in Paris, and the fall of Metternich in Austria, caused great excitement throughout Germany. Risings occurred in the great cities, particularly in Munich (mū'nik) and Berlin. In the latter city barricades were erected, and street fighting occurred

which caused the death of several hundred citizens (March, 1848). The kind-hearted but arbitrary and vacillating king, Frederick William IV, ordered the soldiers to withdraw from the city, and he donned the revolutionary colors — the old black, red, and gold of the medieval Empire. He also summoned an assembly which drew up a constitution for Prussia. This constitution was later (1850) modified by the king into a very conservative instrument; nevertheless it was important because it gave Prussia the appearance — though not the reality — of constitutional government.

762. Movement for German unity (1848–1849)

At the same time an impetus was given to the movement for German unity. In May, 1848, a "constituent parliament," elected by manhood suffrage from the different German states, met in the city of Frankfort, on the river Main. Its purpose was to draw up a constitution for a united Germany. Its members were chiefly university professors, lawyers, and journalists. The two great questions which confronted it were: (1) What territories should be included in the new Germany? (2) Who should be its head? On the first point the question especially was whether Austria should be allowed to bring into the new union her non-German provinces, with their 38,000,000 inhabitants, thus enabling her to overbalance the 32,000,000 of Germany proper. The second point involved a decision as to whether Austria or Prussia should be the head of the new state. The "parliament" at last decided (1) that Austria should be admitted with her German provinces only; and (2) that the crown of the new German Empire should be offered to the king of Prussia. Unfortunately, neither Austria nor Prussia would agree to these proposals. Austria was now regaining control of her revolted provinces and was thus free to act decisively in Germany. To the proposals of the Frankfort "parliament" she announced curtly that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the German Confederation, nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible Austrian monarchy." The king of Prussia, for his part, was afraid of war with Austria in case he accepted the headship of

the new empire. For this and other reasons he declined the perilous offer of the Frankfort assembly.

This refusal wrecked the whole plan for union, and caused the breaking up of the Frankfort "parliament." The revolutionary party was then put down in all the German states, and German unity was postponed for twenty years. To escape punishment many of the revolutionary leaders fled to foreign lands. The United States thus gained many valuable citizens, among whom was Carl Schurz (shoorts), who for fifty years honorably served his adopted country. Austria speedily regained her lost ascendancy, and Prussia made a humiliating submission at Ol'mütz (1850). The old Confederation of 1815 was restored, completely under Austrian influence.

763. Its failure (1849)

B. Bismarck and the War with Austria (1861–1866)

In 1861 William I succeeded his brother, Frederick William IV, as king of Prussia. The humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz had burned deep into his patriotic soul. His chief aim became the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, and a union of Germany under Prussia. But the accomplishment of these ends was largely the work of his minister, Otto von Bismarck. The latter was a statesman of commanding genius and relentless will. "From the beginning of my career," Bismarck once said, "I have had but the one guiding star: By what means and in what way can I bring Germany to unity?" Bismarck had served for a time as the Prussian envoy in the Diet at Frankfort. This service had taught him that Austria was the chief enemy to Prussian greatness and to German unity, and that ultimately Prussia would have to fight her. In 1862 Bismarck became the chief minister of Prussia. From that time until his dismissal from office, in 1890, he played the largest part in shaping German destinies.

764. Aims of William I and Bismarck

Bismarck was an aristocrat of the aristocrats. He was a stanch upholder of the theory that monarchs rule "by the grace of God" and not by the will of the people. The hope of German

unity, he believed, lay not in Liberalism but in Prussia's making itself a great military power. He wished to secure a reorganization of the Prussian army, together with increased armaments. To accomplish this, Bismarck was obliged for four years to wage an unceasing conflict with the shortsighted Liberal majorities of the Prussian Diet, who refused the necessary appropriations. With brutal frankness Bismarck declared, in his first speech to the Diet, "*The unity of Germany is to be brought about, not by speeches nor by votes of majorities, but by blood and iron.*" With indomitable courage and inflexible will he forced the Prussian people to submit to his direction. At times he even overrode or hoodwinked the king himself.[1]

765. Policy of "blood and iron"

BISMARCK

Bismarck's first opportunity to use the reorganized army came in 1864. In that year a war was successfully waged by Prussia and Austria jointly against Denmark, in the interest of the Germans of Sleswick and Holstein (hōl'stīn) who were under Danish rule. As a result of the war, these two duchies were taken temporarily under the joint rule of the victors. From this situation the adroit and unscrupulous

766. The Danish War (1864)

[1] The army system adopted was practically that which now prevails throughout the German Empire. Every healthy young man was required to serve for three years in the active army, followed by four years in the reserve. In this way every able-bodied German man was trained as a soldier, and Prussia could put in the field on short notice an efficient army of 400,000 men.

diplomacy of Bismarck, — by steps too intricate to be here related, — succeeded (in June, 1866) in bringing forth his long-contemplated war with Austria.

767. Seven Weeks' War with Austria (1866)

In this contest Austria was supported by all the South German states (including Saxony), and by Hanover and some other states of North Germany. To most observers, it seemed that Prussia must surely be crushed. Italy, however, had secretly promised aid to Prussia, and in return was to be given the Austrian province of Venetia. The Prussian army was armed with breech-loading "needle guns"; while the Austrians, in common with the rest of Europe, still used muzzle-loaders, in which no improvement had taken place since the beginning of the century, excepting the substitution of the percussion cap for the old flint lock. Above all, the Prussians had in Roon, the minister of war, and in Moltke (mōlt'kĕ), the general in the field, men who in their spheres were as able as Bismarck was in diplomacy.

The thorough preparations of the Prussians gave them from the beginning the advantage over their opponents. Within three days the Prussians occupied three hostile German states. Within seven weeks the war was over. On the eve of the decisive battle, Moltke joined the army in Bohemia, together with the king, Bismarck, and Roon. On July 3 the Austrians were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle of Königgrätz (kû-nĭĸ-grĕts'), or Sadowa (sä'do-vä). "Your majesty has won not only the battle," said Moltke to King William, "but the campaign."

With wise moderation Bismarck checked the demands of the military authorities, and offered Austria a liberal peace. Venetia alone was taken from her, and given to Italy. Prussia made no territorial gains from Austria; but she did annex Sleswick-Holstein, together with the North German states which had fought against her. These included Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort (map, p. 631). The rulers of these states protested bitterly, but without avail. Austria was obliged to pay a war indemnity, and to consent to a reorganization of Germany with Austria left out.

For a time the new organization took the form of a North German Confederation, which included all the states of Germany except Austria and the four South German states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt). A strong federal government was given to the new union, radically different from that of the old German Confederation. The four South German states soon entered voluntarily into a secret military alliance with the new federal state.

768. The North German Confederation (1867)

At last the objects of Bismarck's policy were understood. From being the most hated man in Germany he became the most popular. The chief influence which for centuries Austria had exercised in German affairs, was gone forever. Prussia was fast becoming the heart and the head of a new and united German nation.

C. The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)

Napoleon III in this crisis had "committed every error which it was possible to commit." He had counted on making his own profit out of a war between powers which seemed practically equal. But to his amazement Prussia had crushed Austria, and was uniting Germany. French statesmen now saw in Prussia a rival for that ascendancy in Europe which France had enjoyed for two hundred years, and Napoleon's prestige suffered serious decline. But in 1866 France was too unprepared, and too disorganized by the Mexican expedition (§ 726), for Napoleon to go to war. He contented himself with demanding, therefore, that France be allowed to "compensate" herself for Prussian gains by seizing territories on the left bank of the Rhine, or by conquering Belgium. Bismarck believed that war with France was not only inevitable, but necessary to German union; so he skillfully blocked, in turn, each of Napoleon's "compensation" projects. Cajoled, thwarted, humiliated, France burned to avenge herself on the "upstart Prussians." What seemed a fitting occasion was soon at hand.

769. Attitude of Napoleon III (1866–1867)

In 1868 a Liberal revolution brought the reign of the Bourbon

queen of Spain to an end, and it became necessary to find a ruler to take her place. After repeated attempts, Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (zĭg'mä-ring-en), one of the petty princes of southern Germany, was induced (in July, 1870) to become a candidate, subject to the approval of King William as head of the Hohenzollern house. This choice caused a storm of indignation in Paris. The French minister of foreign affairs said in the French Chamber that the proposal "put in peril the interests and honor of France"; and he added that the government "would know how to fulfill its duty without hesitation and without feebleness." This threat of war naturally inflamed the people of both Germany and France; and Prince Leopold withdrew his name. The French foreign minister then required a promise from the Prussian king that he would never in the future permit the prince to renew his candidature. This request, when presented to King William at Ems, through the French ambassador, was politely but firmly refused.

770. Hohenzollern candidacy for Spanish throne

WILLIAM I

In all this there was no real cause for war. But Bismarck was anxious for war, and took steps to bring it about. The telegram which stated the facts of the interview at Ems reached Bismarck at Berlin, while he was at dinner with Moltke and Roon. "As I read it to them," said Bismarck later, "they were both actually terrified, and Moltke's whole being suddenly changed. He seemed to be quite old and infirm. It looked as if our most gracious majesty

771. Bismarck alters the Ems dispatch

might knuckle under after all. I asked him (Moltke) if, as things stood, we might hope to be victorious. On his replying in the affirmative, I said, 'Wait a minute!' and, seating myself at a small table, I boiled down those two hundred words to about twenty, but without otherwise altering or adding anything. It was the same telegram, yet something different — shorter, more determined, less dubious. I then handed it over to them, and asked, 'Well, how does that do now?' 'Yes,' they said, 'it will do in that form.' And Moltke immediately became quite young and fresh again. He had got his war, his trade." [1]

Busch, *Bismarck*, I, 304; II, 174

The dispatch, thus altered, was interpreted in the press to mean that the king had been insulted and had snubbed the French envoy — which was not the case. In both Berlin and Paris the war spirit rose to fever heat. To Thiers and others who opposed war, on the ground that France was not sufficiently prepared, the French minister of war gave the assurance that the army was "ready to the last gaiter button." The French prime minister declared that he accepted the responsibility "with a light heart"; and on July 19 France declared war. Never did a great state rush more blindly to its own destruction.

772. France declares war (July, 1870)

France stood alone in the war, while Prussia was assisted by the South German states, as well as by the North German Confederation. The Prussian armies showed the same thorough preparation and energy which had brought success in 1866. The French armies, when put to the test, were found greatly lacking. In arrangements for supplying and transporting troops, in generalship, and in the spirit which animated officers and men, the Germans were superior. In courage the French equaled them, and they had equally good breech-loading rifles, and the first of machine guns. These advantages, however, could not make up for their other weaknesses. It was France instead of Germany that was invaded, Paris instead of Berlin that was taken.

773. Superiority of Prussia

[1] Compare the original dispatch, and Bismarck's condensation of it, in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*, pp. 593–594.

Soon after hostilities began, the French were defeated (at Wörth) after a bloody contest, and were forced to fall back from the frontier. A series of battles followed, ending in a desperate struggle at Gravelotte (gräv-lōt′). The result was that the two French armies were prevented from uniting, and one of them, numbering 170,000 men, took refuge in the strongly fortified city of Metz. Leaving a force to besiege this place, the main German army turned westward after the second French army, under General MacMahon, whom they found at Sedan′. There, on September 1, was fought "one of the decisive battles of the world — a battle that resulted in the surrender of the largest army ever known to have been taken in the field, a battle that dethroned a dynasty and changed the form of government in France." MacMahon was defeated and surrounded by an overwhelming force. Next day his army of 100,000 men, together with the Emperor Napoleon, surrendered. France was left without an army in the field.

774. Sedan campaign (1870)

After Sedan, the Germans advanced on Paris, and began the siege of that city (September 19, 1870). The French capital was one of the most strongly fortified cities in the world, and great efforts had been made to provision it. Communication with the outside world was kept up during the siege, by means of carrier pigeons and balloons. Gambetta, a member of the Committee of National Defense, escaped from the city in a balloon, and worked with fierce energy (but in vain) to organize new armies and to rescue Paris. The commander of the French army at Metz, who was incompetent and disloyal, surrendered in October, thus setting free more German troops to use about Paris. In December, after long delays, the bombardment of the city's defenses began. The sufferings of the Parisians during the five months that the siege lasted were appalling. Dogs, cats, and rats were eaten; and fuel gave out. Only when the city was face to face with actual starvation, did it surrender (January 28, 1871).

775. Siege of Paris (1870–1871)

Before peace could be concluded, a recognized government

was needed in France to take the place of the empire, which had been overthrown (§ 728). To furnish this, a National Assembly was called at Bordeaux, and the aged Thiers was chosen head of the state (§ 729). At Versailles (February 26, 1871) the following preliminaries of peace were signed: —

776. Peace of Versailles (Feb., 1871)

1. France agreed to cede to Germany the greater part of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, including the fortified cities of Metz and Strassburg.
2. She also agreed to pay a war indemnity of $1,000,000,000.
3. Until the indemnity was paid, German troops were to remain garrisoned in France.

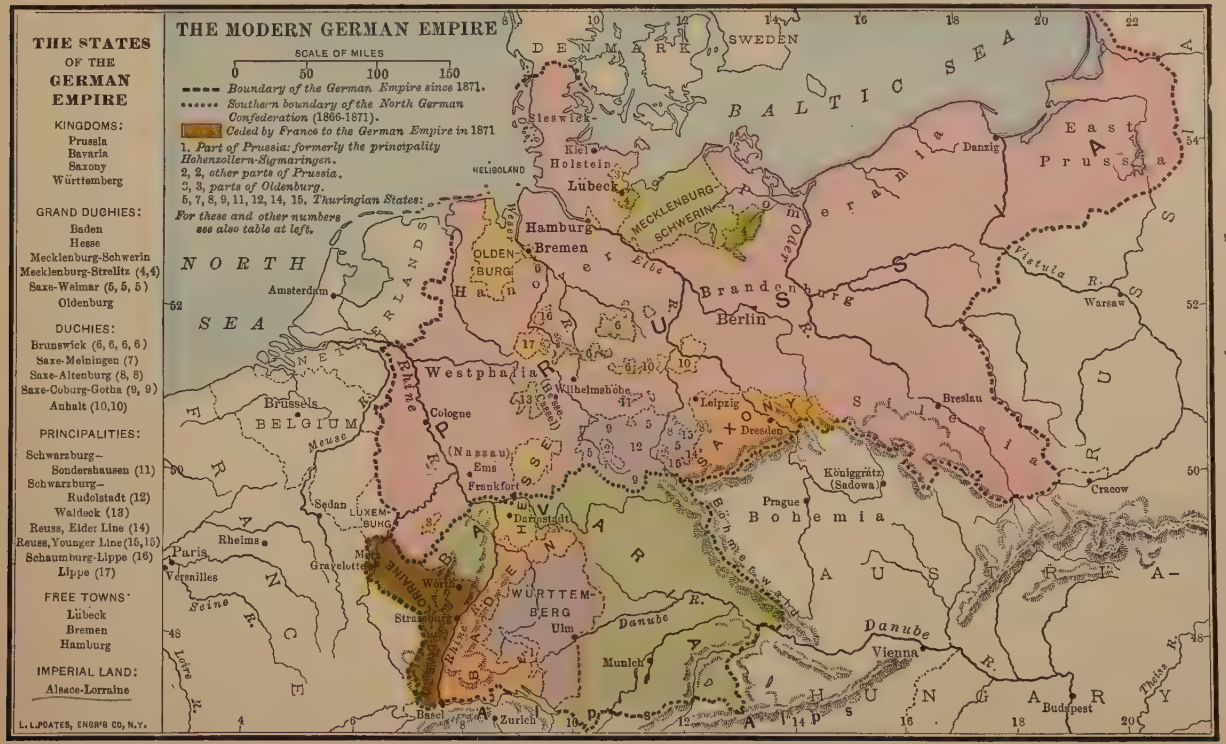
On March 1 the Germans marched in triumph into Paris. The result of the harsh terms of peace was a lasting French resentment against Germany.

D. The New German Empire

The victory over France was the last influence needed to complete the union of Germany. After much negotiation Bismarck's skillful diplomacy overcame both the disinclination of the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg to surrender their independence, and the Prussian king's objections to some details. On January 18, 1871, in the hall of the French royal palace at Versailles, the result of the negotiations was made known by the proclamation of the new German Empire. The constitution adopted was that framed for the North German Confederation, in 1867, with merely incidental alterations. It is still the constitution under which Germany is governed, its chief provisions being the following: —

777. German Empire proclaimed (Jan., 1871)

1. The number of states included in the empire is twenty-five, with one imperial territory (Alsace-Lorraine). The list includes 4 kingdoms, 6 grand duchies, 5 duchies, 7 principalities, and 3 free cities. Each of these states has its separate state government, subordinate to that of the empire.


THE MODERN GERMAN EMPIRE
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Boundary of the German Empire since 1871.
Southern boundary of the North German Confederation (1866-1871).
Ceded by France to the German Empire in 1871
1. Part of Prussia: formerly the principality Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.
2, 2, other parts of Prussia.
3, 3, parts of Oldenburg.
5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15. Thuringian States:
For these and other numbers see also table at left.
THE STATES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOMS:
Prussia
Bavaria
Saxony
Württemberg
GRAND DUCHIES:
Baden
Hesse
Mecklenburg-Schwerin
Mecklenburg-Strelitz (4,4)
Saxe-Weimar (5, 5, 5)
Oldenburg
DUCHIES:
Brunswick (6, 6, 6, 6)
Saxe-Meiningen (7)
Saxe-Altenburg (8, 8)
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (9, 9)
Anhalt (10,10)
PRINCIPALITIES:
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (11)
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (12)
Waldeck (13)
Reuss, Elder Line (14)
Reuss, Younger Line (15,15)
Schaumburg-Lippe (16)
Lippe (17)
FREE TOWNS:
Lübeck
Bremen
Hamburg
IMPERIAL LAND:
Alsace-Lorraine
L. L. POATES, ENGR'S CO, N.Y.
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Sleswick
Kiel
Holstein
HELIGOLAND
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
OLDENBURG
MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN
Pomerania
East Prussia
Danzig
Vistula R.
Warsaw
NORTH SEA
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
Brandenburg
Berlin
Westphalia
Wilhelmshöhe
Brussels
BELGIUM
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
Cologne
(Nassau)
Ems
Frankfort
Leipzig
Dresden
Silesia
Breslau
Cracow
Königgrätz (Sadowa)
Prague
Bohemia
Sedan
LUXEMBURG
Darmstadt
Rhenish Hesse
Rhenish Prussia
Rhenish Bavaria
Rhenish Palatinate
Rhenish Baden
Rhenish Hesse
Metz
Gravelotte
Rhelms
Paris
Versailles
Seine R.
Loire R.
Worth
Strasburg
WÜRTTEMBERG
Ulm
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Budapest
Theiss R.
Basel
Zurich
Alps
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631

2. The king of Prussia is hereditary "German Emperor" (*Kaiser*), with full direction of military and foreign affairs.
3. The Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) is a council of ambassadors appointed by the separate states. It oversees the administration, and initiates most legislation. The states are represented unequally in it. Prussia, which contains three fifths of the population of Germany, has 17 votes out of a total of 61; Bavaria has 6, Saxony and Württemberg 4 each, and the other states fewer.
4. The Diet of the empire, called the *Reichstag* (rīks'täk), is the representative chamber of the legislature. It is composed of 397

Reichstag (Parliament) Building, Berlin

members, of whom Prussia elects 236. The members are elected by manhood suffrage for a term of five years; but the Emperor may (with the consent of the Bundesrat) dissolve the Reichstag at any time and order new elections.
5. The administration of the empire is in the hands of a ministry, headed by the imperial chancellor. Unlike the ministers of true parliamentary governments, the German ministers are responsible to the Emperor, and not to the legislative chamber. They do not need, therefore, to resign their offices when defeated in the Reichstag.

From 1871 until 1890 the post of chancellor of the empire and chief minister of Prussia was held by Bismarck. In the

first half of this period occurred the "Kulturkampf" (kŏŏl-toor'kämpf). This was a conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the Prussian government over the control of education and church appointments. Similar conflicts occurred in Bavaria, Austria, Switzerland, France, and Belgium. They were occasioned in part by the action of the church Council of the Vatican, in 1870, in proclaiming as a dogma of the church the infallibility of the Pope in matters concerning the faith and morals. Bismarck expressed his confidence of victory in the sentence, "We shall not go to Canossa." In the course of the struggle laws were passed to expel the Jesuits and other Catholic religious orders from Prussia, and to transform the bishops and priests into state officials. A powerful Catholic party was formed in the Reichstag to combat these measures; and at length Bismarck, wearied by the contest, caused the obnoxious laws to be gradually repealed.

778. The Kulturkampf (1871–1890)

Other important features of Bismarck's administration were (1) the passing of laws to put down the Socialists, who were beginning to show marked strength in Germany; and (2) the enacting of measures to provide pensions under government control for laborers disabled by accident, sickness, or old age. The purpose of the latter measures was to draw off the working classes from socialism. "Give the workingman the right to employment as long as he has health," said Bismarck in a speech to the Reichstag. "Assure him care when he is sick, and maintenance when he is old. If you will do that, without fearing the sacrifice, then I believe the Socialists will sound their bird-call in vain. As soon as the workingmen see that the government is deeply interested in their welfare, the flocking to the Socialists will cease." The laws to put down the Socialists failed to accomplish their object. The measures to aid the working classes have done much good, but they also have failed to prevent the growth of the Socialist party (§ 907).

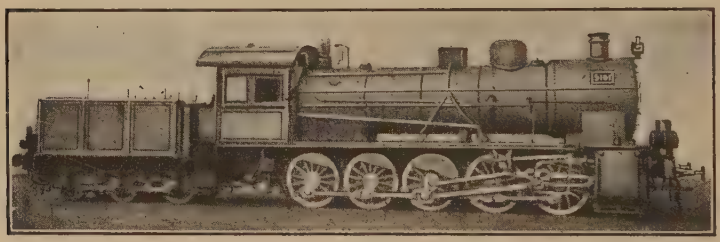
779. Working class legislation

In March, 1888, the Emperor William I died, at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son Frederick, who, however, was suffering from a mortal disease, and lived only

until June, 1888. His son, William II, then ascended the throne. William II was strongly opposed to liberalism and democracy.

780. Accession of William II (1888)

As Emperor he showed great energy and self-confidence, and wished to take a larger personal part in the administration than his two predecessors. Bismarck, however, insisted that the ministers of departments should communicate with the Emperor only through the chancellor. As a result of this difference of views, Bismarck was suddenly dismissed from his office in 1890, and passed into restless retirement on his country estates, where he died in 1899. Under William II a vigorous foreign policy was pursued, with many royal journeys and visits to neighboring monarchs. The army was fostered and a powerful navy founded. Manufactures were encouraged and new measures were passed for improving the condition of the working classes.



A Modern German Locomotive

A great feature of Germany's recent history has been her rapid industrial development. Her manufactures and railroads, together with her army and navy, made her by 1913 the most aggressively powerful state on the Continent of Europe. In part this growth was the natural result of the Industrial Revolution. In part it was due to the patient thoroughness with which Germany applied the results of chemical and physical research to manufacturing. In part, also, it was due to competition fostered by government subsidies, to low average wages, and to the French war indemnity and Alsace-Lorraine mines of iron and coal.

781. Germany's industrial growth

Until 1879 Germany followed a free trade policy in her commercial relations with foreign nations. In that year Bismarck introduced the system of high tariffs, to protect and foster German industries. "Both France and America," he said, "have completely forsaken free trade. Austria, instead of reducing her protective duties, has increased them; Russia has done the same. No one can expect Germany to remain permanently the victim of its sincere belief in the theory of free trade. Hitherto we have thrown our doors wide open to foreign goods, and so have made our country the dumping ground for all the overproduction of other countries. Let us close the door, and erect the somewhat higher barriers that are proposed; let us see to it that we secure, at any rate, the German market for German manufactures." This policy was continued by William II after Bismarck's fall.

The German manufacturers secured not only their home market, but also a large share in the markets of the world. The commercial supremacy which Great Britain so long enjoyed was now threatened by German competition. In iron manufactures and in the manufacture of chemicals, Germany led all nations. In porcelains, woolen and cotton textiles, and a host of other products she secured an enviable place. German shipping grew apace with manufactures; and a beginning was made in the acquisition of colonies — especially in Africa (§ 837) — as outlets for German trade. Capital accumulated rapidly, and German banking and financial houses attained international importance. Germany's population grew from 41,000,000 in 1871 to 65,000,000 in 1911 — largely through the creation of a strong and wealthy middle class, with numerous employees, engaged in manufactures and commerce.

782. Problems of democracy and socialism.

The political development of Germany, however, failed to keep pace with the growth in importance of the middle and working classes; and this failure was one of the causes of the unrest shown by the growth of the Socialist party. The German people counted for less politically than in any other country of western Europe. Although all men twenty-

five years of age had the right to vote, the electoral laws were such as to give a great advantage to the upper classes, especially the landowning nobles. The Socialists were the most numerous of all the half dozen or more German parties. In the elections of 1907 their vote was more than double that of the Conservative party;[1] but they elected only 43 members to the Reichstag, as against 83 elected by the Conservatives. A reform of the electoral law was one of the things which was urgently needed. With this went a demand also for the introduction of the cabinet system of government, by which the imperial ministers should become responsible to the Reichstag, and not merely to the Emperor.

IMPORTANT DATES

1848. Revolutionary outbreak in Berlin; Frankfort Parliament meets.
1849. Failure of the revolution in Germany.
1861. William I becomes king of Prussia.
1862. Bismarck becomes chief Prussian minister.
1866. Seven Weeks' War with Austria.
1867. North German Confederation formed.
1870. Franco-Prussian War begun.
1871. Peace of Versailles; German Empire proclaimed.
1888. Accession of Emperor William II.
1890. Bismarck dismissed from office.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the German Confederation after 1815 with the old Confederation of the United States. (2) Why did the movement for national union fail in 1848–1849? (3) What gains did Germany make by the attempt at revolution? (4) What did Bismarck mean by his policy of "blood and iron"? (5) How did the war with Austria contribute to the attainment of German unity? (6) Which side was responsible for the Franco-Prussian War? (7) Was Bismarck's alteration of the Ems dispatch justifiable? (8) Why was Prussia successful in this war? (9) Where should the blame be placed for the failure of the French in the war? (10) Why were harsher terms of peace imposed on France in 1871 than on Austria in 1866? (11) How did the war enable Bismarck to complete the formation of the German Empire? (12) Compare the constitu-

[1] For more recent election results, see § 907.

tion of the Empire with that of the United States. (13) Were Bismarck's measures for the domestic government of Germany wise or unwise? Why? (14) Did Emperor William II do right in dismissing Bismarck from office? (15) What explanations are there for Germany's great industrial growth in recent years? (16) What is the significance of the growth of the Socialist party in recent German elections?

Search Topics. — (1) REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 173–174, 183–186; Andrews, *Development of Modern Europe*, I, 379–384; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, II, 348–352. — (2) CHARACTER AND WORK OF BISMARCK. Hazen, 240–256; Thayer, *Throne Makers* ("Bismarck"); Munroe Smith, *Bismarck and German Unity;* Headlam, *Bismarck; Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), IV, 5–8. — (3) THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR WITH AUSTRIA. Henderson, II, 404–406; Hazen, 256–271; Fyffe, *Modern Europe* (popular ed.), 948–956; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 144–155. — (4) THE EMS DISPATCH. Henderson, II, 419–422; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 158–159; Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, 593–594. — (5) BATTLE OF SEDAN. Henderson, II, 432–437; Murdock, *Reconstruction of Modern Europe*, ch. xxvi; Rose, I, ch. iii; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 160–161. — (6) SIEGE OF PARIS. Henderson, II, 439–442, 445–446; Murdock, ch. xxviii, xxx; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 208–210. — (7) PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. Henderson, *Short History*, II, 447–450; Rose, I, 153–157; Fyffe, 1014–1016. — (8) GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 210–228; Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 130–134; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XI, 816–818. — (9) THE KULTURKAMPF. Hazen, 306–309; Andrews, II, 370–375; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 178–185. — (10) SOCIAL REFORMS IN GERMANY. Hazen, 312–318; Rose, I, 178–183; Ogg, *Social Progress*, ch. xviii; Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism*, 23–36, 72–127; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 185–192. — (11) INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY. Ogg, *Social Progress*, 115–119, 123–124; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XI, 811–816. — (12) DISMISSAL OF BISMARCK. Hazen, 322–323; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 200–203.

General Reading. — On Bismarck, in addition to the works cited above, see Busch, *Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of History*. Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire* (7 vols.), presents the official view; Malleson, *Refounding of the German Empire, 1848–1871*, is briefer, but deals mainly with military events. For the Franco-Prussian War, see the histories by Moltke and by Maurice. The history since 1870 is dealt with by Andrews in a volume entitled *Contemporary Europe, Asia, and Africa* (History of all Nations series). For Germany's industrial development see Dawson, *Evolution of Modern Germany*, and Howard, *Recent Industrial Progress of Germany*.

CHAPTER XXXIII

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. Political and Social Reforms

Great Britain is the only state in Europe which went through the nineteenth century without an armed revolution. Though the framework of her constitution remained unaltered, its practical operation was profoundly changed. At the beginning of the century the government was in the hands of the great landowners, who were members of the established church. At its end power was shared by them with the middle class, the workingmen, and the agricultural laborers, and offices were open to men of all religious faiths. In the words of an English political writer, "Power has been transferred from the control of a compact and vigorous aristocracy to that of a democracy, which in fact, though not in outward form, is more complete and more uncontrolled than any at present existing in any first-class state."

783. No armed revolution in Great Britain

Dickinson, *Parliament in the Nineteenth Century*, 1

The transfer of power to the more democratic elements in the state was largely the work of the Industrial Revolution (chapter xxviii). Only in the nineteenth century did the far-reaching political and social effects of those industrial changes begin to be apparent. The north of England, where manufacturing centered because of its supplies of iron and coal, became the most populous, the wealthiest, and the most influential part of the kingdom. "A new England was added to the old," says a French writer. "It was as if a new land had been upheaved from the sea, and joined on to the shores of some old-world continent." In religion this new England was the stronghold of Dissent, that is, of those Protestant sects not included in the established Church

784. Influence of the industrial north

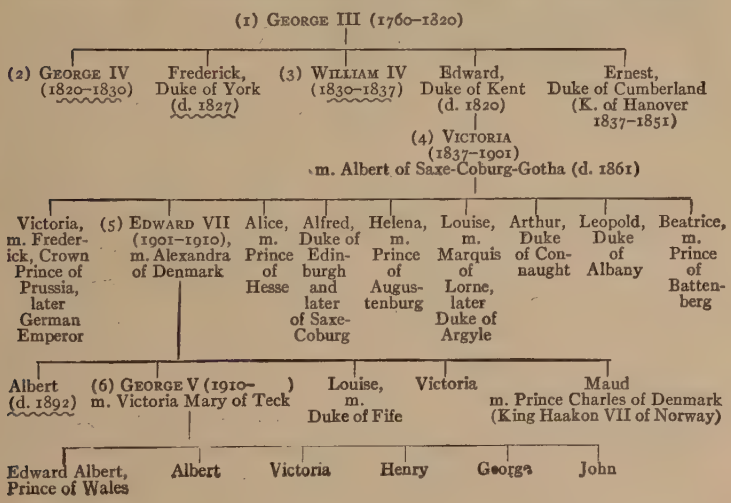
Boutmy, *English Constitution*, 186

of England. In politics it was the chief center of liberalism, and even of those more advanced ideas which we call radicalism.

The long and disastrous reign of George III ended in 1820. He was succeeded in turn by his two sons, — George IV (1820–1830), a dissolute and incompetent ruler; and William IV (1830–1837), a bluff and erratic prince who, as a younger son, had been trained for a naval career. William IV, like his brother, died without legitimate children. The crown thereupon passed to his niece, Queen Victoria (1837–1901), who at the time of her accession was still a girl of eighteen.[1] She had been prudently trained by her mother, the widowed duchess of Kent, and from the beginning of her reign showed intelligence and goodness of heart. The crown of Hanover, which had been joined in personal union with that of Great Britain since 1714, passed to her uncle, the duke of Cumberland, as the nearest male heir. Throughout her life Victoria took a keen interest in German affairs. In part this was due to her mother's German birth, to her own happy marriage (1840) to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and to the marriage of her eldest

785. British sovereigns in the 19th century

[1] The following table shows the family of George III and of Queen Victoria: —


(1) George III (1760–1820)
(2) George IV (1820–1830)
Frederick, Duke of York (d. 1827)
(3) William IV (1830–1837)
Edward, Duke of Kent (d. 1820)
Ernest, Duke of Cumberland (K. of Hanover 1837–1851)
(4) Victoria (1837–1901)
m. Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (d. 1861)
Victoria, m. Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, later German Emperor
(5) Edward VII (1901–1910), m. Alexandra of Denmark
Alice, m. Prince of Hesse
Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh and later of Saxe-Coburg
Helena, m. Prince of Augustenburg
Louise, m. Marquis of Lorne, later Duke of Argyle
Arthur, Duke of Connaught
Leopold, Duke of Albany
Beatrice, m. Prince of Battenberg
Albert (d. 1892)
(6) George V (1910–) m. Victoria Mary of Teck
Louise, m. Duke of Fife
Victoria
Maud m. Prince Charles of Denmark (King Haakon VII of Norway)
Edward Albert, Prince of Wales
Albert
Victoria
Henry
George
John

daughter to the crown prince of Prussia, later himself German Emperor and father of Emperor William II.

Each of these three British reigns saw important steps taken in the peaceful transformation of the constitution. Under

786. Catholic emancipation (1829) George IV laws were passed which at last put Catholics practically on an equality with their Protestant fellow subjects. Something had been done in this direction in the eighteenth century, when unjust laws prohibiting Catholic worship and limiting their civil rights were repealed. Catholics, however, were still shut out of Parliament and high political office (§ 493). The movement under George IV was to complete "Catholic emancipation" by removing these disabilities. After much agitation, Daniel O'Connell, an eloquent Catholic lawyer, organized a widespread Catholic Association in Ireland. He was elected to the House of Commons with the avowed purpose of testing the right of a Catholic to sit in that body. To deny him his seat would have precipitated an Irish rebellion. Consequently the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, who were then the leaders of the government, gave way. In 1829, to the great disgust of their Tory followers, they secured the passage of a bill admitting Catholics to seats in Parliament and to nearly all offices in the state.[1]

VICTORIA IN 1837

[1] The laws forbidding Protestant dissenters to take political office had been repealed the preceding year (1828). Jews, however, were not permitted to sit in Parliament until 1858.

A far more important step was the passage, in 1832, of the first Parliamentary Reform Act. The members of the House of Commons, as we have seen, were of two sorts, — county (or shire) representatives, and borough (or town) representatives. Every county, large or small, had two members.[1] The right to vote for county representatives was restricted to the small class of persons who owned what was called "freehold" land, a qualification which excluded the larger part even of prosperous farmers, whose lands were usually "copyhold" or "leasehold." The Scottish county of Bute, with a population of fourteen thousand persons, had only twenty-one electors. It is related that, at one election, only a single elector appeared; he forthwith took the chair, moved and seconded his own nomination, cast his vote, and declared himself unanimously elected. The boroughs were represented usually by two members each (a few had only one), and there had been practically no change in the list of boroughs since the days of Charles II. Many populous manufacturing towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, which were outgrowths of the Industrial Revolution, were without representation. On the other hand, many places which had lost their former importance, or even (like Old Sarum) were without any inhabitants at all, continued to send members to Parliament. The seats of such "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs were often publicly sold by the landlord, or (in some boroughs) by the voters themselves. The qualifications for the franchise in the boroughs varied greatly, in some only the small governing body — a close corporation — having the right to vote. In a House of Commons of 658 members, not more than one third were the free choice of even the limited bodies of electors that had the franchise. More than one third of the members owed their seats to the influence of members of the House of Lords. To sum up, there were two great defects: (1) Large parts of the kingdom had no direct representation in the House of Commons. (2) The great majority of the

787. Parliamentary representation before 1832

[1] Except Yorkshire, which was given two additional members in 1821.

adult male population had no voice in the elections to that body.

To remedy these defects, plans for parliamentary reform had been proposed in the latter half of the eighteenth century. But during the gigantic struggle with Revolutionary France, all projects of reform were stopped by the fear lest Great Britain also might be led into revolution. With the return of peace, reform projects again began to obtain a hearing. The advent of the Whig party to power (in 1830), after twenty-four years' exclusion, facilitated their triumph.

Lord John Russell played the chief part in securing the passage of the first Parliamentary Reform Act. After many attempts at piecemeal reform, he introduced a general Reform Bill in the House of Commons in March, 1831. At an important stage of its progress, the bill was carried by a majority of only one vote.[1] The ministers then procured a dissolution of Parliament. The new elections gave them a great

788. Reform Act of 1832 passed

[1] The historian Macaulay, who was a member of this House of Commons, gives an excellent account in one of his letters of the excitement which prevailed on this occasion. "Everybody was desponding," he wrote. "'We have lost it! I do not think we are two hundred and fifty; they are three hundred.' This was the talk on our benches. As the tellers passed along our lowest row the interest was insupportable. 'Two hundred and ninety-one, two hundred and ninety-two —' We were all standing up, and stretching forward, telling with the tellers. At 'three hundred' there was a short cry of joy; at 'three hundred and *two*,' another. We knew that we could not be severely beaten. The door was thrown open and in they came. First, we heard that they were three hundred and three; then that number rose to three hundred and ten; then went down to three hundred and seven. We were all breathless with anxiety, when Charles Wood, who stood near the door, jumped up on a bench and cried out: 'They are only three hundred and *one!*' We set up a shout that you might have heard to Charing Cross, waving our hats, stamping against the floor, and clapping our hands.

"No sooner were the outer doors opened, than another shout answered that within the House. All the passages and stairs were thronged by people who had waited till four in the morning to know the issue. We passed through a narrow lane, between two thick masses of them; and all the way they were shouting and waving their hats, till we got into the open air. I called a cabriolet, and the first thing the driver asked was, 'Is the bill carried?' 'Yes, by one!' 'Thank God for it, sir!' And away I rode to Gray's Inn; and so ended a scene which will probably never be equaled till the reformed Parliament wants reforming." — Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, I, 187–188 (condensed).

majority in the Commons. The Reform Bill now passed that house without difficulty, but was rejected by the House of Lords (199 to 158). This produced a great outburst of popular excitement. The lords were mobbed when they appeared on the streets, and even the bishops (who had voted unanimously with the other peers in rejecting the bill) were subjected to abuse. Riots broke out in many parts of the country, with burning of castles and the release of prisoners from the jails. England seemed on the brink of a popular revolution such as those with which France was familiar.

There yet remained one weapon of a constitutional sort to use against the aristocratic upper house. The Reform Bill was passed a second time by the House of Commons and again sent up to the House of Lords. There is no limit to the number of peers that the king can create; and it is a fixed principle of the British constitution that the king must rule according to the advice of ministers responsible to the House of Commons. The ministers now extorted from the king a promise that, if necessary, he would *create enough new peers favorable to the bill to carry it through the House of Lords*. To prevent this wholesale swamping of their order, the Lords gave way, and in June, 1832, the Reform Bill became law.

This triumph of the people fixed in practice what has well been called the "safety valve" of the British constitution. By this is meant the power of a ministry, when supported by a majority in the House of Commons and an aroused public sentiment behind it, to require the king to use his prerogative of creating peers as a means to coerce the upper house. The mere threat to use this power is all that is needed; no such wholesale creation of peers has ever taken place. For a generation after 1832 the House of Lords sank into political impotence, and did not dare attempt to thwart the will of the representative chamber.

789. The "safety valve" of the constitution

The Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 took away 143 members from small boroughs. It used these seats to increase the representation of the more populous counties, and to give mem-

bers to the unrepresented manufacturing towns of the north. The purpose of the bill may be described in language which Russell used of one of his earlier measures: "My proposal took away representation from the dead bones of a former state of England, and gave it to the living energy and industry of the England of the nineteenth century, with its steam engines and factories, its cotton and woolen cloths, its cutlery and its coal mines, its wealth and its intelligence." The franchise for both county and borough electors was, at the same time, made more liberal, and the qualification in the boroughs was made uniform.

790. Provisions of the Act of 1832

The reform of 1832, though brought about by peaceful means, constituted a real political revolution. It marked the end of the Old Régime in England. It substituted the rule of the middle classes — of the farmers and shopkeepers — for the rule of the landed aristocracy. The further step of making the government democratic was accomplished by the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884. The first of these was passed by the Conservatives (as the Tories were now called) while Disraeli (diz-rā′lĭ) was leader of the House of Commons. Because it was proposed by the Conservatives, it had no difficulty in passing the House of Lords. It doubled the number of voters by giving workingmen the franchise. The Reform Act of 1884 was passed while Gladstone (glăd′stun), the Whig, or Liberal, leader, was prime minister. It added about two million persons, mostly rural laborers, to the voting body. It passed the Lords only after a struggle, because it was the work of the Liberal party. After the passage of the latter act, the franchise in Great Britain was almost as widely distributed as it is in the United States. Each extension of the franchise was accompanied by a redistribution of seats, so that representation became roughly proportioned to population.

791. Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884

The Reform Act of 1832, and later electoral laws, made some improvements also in the methods of holding elections. Voters were required to be registered, the number of polling places was increased, and the time of voting was reduced to one day.

Until 1872, however, the voting was *viva voce*, or by show of hands. The defeated candidate, if dissatisfied, might demand a poll of the voters. In that case, each voter had to make public declaration of his vote, which was then entered upon the poll books. Such crude methods obviously made intimidation and bribery easy. To remedy these evils a system of voting by secret ballot was adopted in 1872, similar to that used in Australia and the United States.

792. Voting by ballot introduced (1872)

The foregoing changes made the government of Great Britain more democratic. Other laws, which did much to improve the material condition of the people, followed as a result of the fact that the people themselves now had a larger part in the government.

One of the greatest of the social changes which followed the first Parliamentary Reform Act was the abolition of negro slavery throughout the British Empire. A decision of the British courts in 1772 had established it as the law that whenever a slave set foot in England, his master lost legal control of him. Nevertheless, slavery continued to exist in British colonies, and British vessels continued to play a large part in the slave trade. Philanthropists (especially Clarkson and Wilberforce) carried on an agitation against this infamous traffic. As a result, Parliament was induced, in 1807, to pass an act which abolished entirely the slave trade by British ships and to British colonies. In the Congress of Vienna (1815), England urged the other Powers to similar steps.

793. Abolition of slavery (1833)

The year following the first Parliamentary Reform Act, Parliament passed an act which abolished slavery itself, and appropriated £20,000,000 to compensate the masters (1833). Thus the British Empire was entirely freed from the curse of negro slavery. This step was taken a generation before the extinction of slavery in the United States. It should be noted, moreover, that the abolition of slavery was accomplished peacefully in the British Empire, while in the American republic it was brought about only by a great civil war.

The first reformed Parliament also passed an important measure to improve the lot of free laborers. In manufacturing establishments men, and even women and children, often worked as many as eighteen hours a day. Many parents practically sold their children to the owners of factories, who worked them for such long hours and under such bad conditions that they either died or were injured for life. One young man testified before a committee of Parliament, in 1832, as follows: —

794. Conditions of factory life improved

"What time did you begin to work at a mill?" — "When I was six years old."

"What sort of a mill was it?" — "A woolen mill."

"What were the hours of work?" — "We used to start at five, and work till nine at night."

"State the effect upon your health of those long hours of labor." — "I was made crooked with so much standing." Here the witness showed his legs, which were very crooked.

"How tall are you?" — "About four feet, nine inches."

"What effect did working by gaslight have upon your eyes?" — "It nearly made me blind."

As a result of such revelations as these, Parliament in 1833 passed a Factory Act, which prohibited entirely the employment of children under nine years of age. It also limited to nine hours a day the labor of those who were between nine years and thirteen years of age; while "young persons" (that is, those between thirteen and eighteen years of age) were limited to twelve hours a day. Subsequent acts still further limited the employment of children. The employment of both women and children underground in mines, where conditions were even worse than in factories, was entirely prohibited.

The adoption of free trade was another step which followed the reform of Parliament. We have already traced the origins of this movement in the writings of French economists, and in the great work of Adam Smith (§ 563). The chief obstacle to the triumph of free trade was the interest of the landlord class. They wished to maintain the "corn laws,"

795. Free trade adopted (1846)

which prohibited the importation of "corn" (that is, grain), except when scarcity raised the price to starvation figures. Manufacturers protested against these laws, because they made living dear and compelled employers to pay higher wages. After the Reform Act of 1832 had weakened the influence of the landlord class in Parliament, it became possible to attack the "corn laws" with some hope of success.

An Anti-Corn-Law League was accordingly organized (in 1838) under Richard Cobden and John Bright. In 1845, as Cobden said, "Famine itself, against which we had warred, joined us." In that year a disease attacked the potato, which was the chief article of food of the Irish peasantry. As a result, two million persons are said to have died of starvation and want in Ireland, and within four years another million emigrated to America. A traveler reported that in certain places "all the sheep were gone; all the cows, all the poultry killed; only one pig left; the very dogs which had barked at me before had disappeared; no potatoes, no oats." The Whig leader, Lord Russell, who formerly had upheld the corn laws, now took up the cry for their repeal. He declared that they had "been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." The Tory leader, Sir Robert Peel, who was again prime minister, yielded to the demand, and with the assistance of the Whigs, carried through Parliament the repeal of the obnoxious laws (1846). This measure helped to relieve the distress occasioned by the failure of the potato crop. It also permanently cheapened the cost of living for the working classes of Great Britain, and so greatly improved their condition. The repeal of the corn laws practically completed the series of changes in the tariff laws which committed Great Britain to the policy of free trade. To Peel himself the measure brought political downfall; for the Tory protectionists now abandoned their former leader, and soon joined the Whigs in overthrowing his government.

Walpole, *Life of Russell*, I, 408

B. Gladstone and Irish Questions

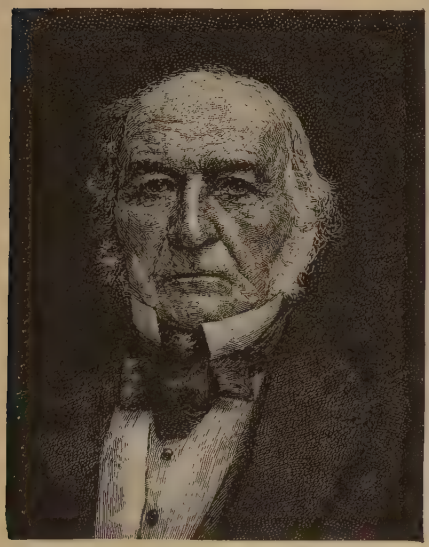
In the first thirty-five years which followed the Reform Act of 1832, the Conservatives (Tories) were in office less than seven years all told. In the next thirty-eight years (1868–1905) they were in office twenty-six years. This recovery of their lost power was due principally to two things: (1) they now adopted a more Liberal policy with respect to domestic reforms; (2) they gave more prominence than Liberals to foreign and colonial affairs.

The Conservative leader who did most to educate his party on these lines was Benjamin Disraeli, later made earl of Beaconsfield. He became prime minister for the first time in 1868. At about the same time Lord Russell surrendered the leadership of the Liberal party to William E. Gladstone. From that day until Beaconsfield's death, in 1881, there was a prolonged political duel between these two great statesmen. Disraeli, who was a novelist, and a man of sparkling wit, was the son of Jewish parents, but was himself a Christian. He was one of the leaders of those who deserted Peel on the question of abolishing the corn laws, and bitterly attacked that statesman for his course. He said that Peel had "caught the Whigs bathing, and had walked off with their clothes" — meaning that he had stolen their political ideas. Disraeli was a very brilliant speaker and an able statesman, but he was regarded by many as lacking in political sincerity.

796. Gladstone and Disraeli

In his youth Gladstone for a time had planned to become a clergyman. Though he followed his father's wishes and entered political life instead, he retained a deep interest in religion throughout his career. He entered Parliament in 1833 as an extreme Tory. He became a Peelite; then an out-and-out Liberal; and after more than sixty years of active political life, he ended his parliamentary career (in 1894) as a Radical. Late in life he summed up the changes in his political principles in these words: "I was brought up to distrust and dislike liberty. I learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my

changes." Gladstone was a matchless orator, and a master of finance and constructive statesmanship. He was fearless to the point of rashness in his political leadership. Above all, he was a great moral force, using his remarkable intellect to advance the cause of political, social, and industrial freedom. Because of his long and honorable public service, he became known the world over as England's "Grand Old Man."



GLADSTONE

Disraeli's first ministry fell the same year that it was formed, the question at issue being the continuance of the established Protestant Church in Ireland. At the time of the Reformation, this branch of the Anglican Church had been assigned the former position and the property of the Roman Catholic Church in that land. Four fifths of the people of Ireland, however, clung to the old Catholic faith; and in 1835 it was reported to Parliament that in 151 parishes there was not a single Protestant. Sydney Smith, an eloquent English clergyman, wrote: "On an Irish Sabbath the bell of a neat parish church often summons to church only the parson and an occasionally conforming clerk; while two hundred yards off a thousand Catholics are huddled together in a miserable hovel and pelted by all the storms of heaven." Gradually the consciences of English Liberals awoke to the injustice of taxing the Irish people for the support of a faith professed by so small

797. The Irish Church disestablished (1869)

a minority. On this question the Conservatives were outvoted in the House of Commons, and in the elections which followed, the Liberals were victorious.

Gladstone, at the head of a Liberal government, thereupon became prime minister for the first time. The first act of his government was to introduce and carry through a measure to disestablish and partly disendow the Protestant Irish Church. Thenceforth the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland has held a position similar to that which it holds in the United States.

798. Other reforms (1868–1874)

Gladstone was responsible for a host of other reforms in his first premiership (1868–1874). Among these were: an act establishing in England (1870) a state system of elementary education; the abolition of all religious tests at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1871); an act reorganizing and unifying the great law courts (1873); an Irish Land Act, which attempted to remedy some of the economic evils which weighed upon the Irish peasantry (1870).

799. Conditions in Ireland

In later years Gladstone was forced more and more to consider Irish questions. To understand these we must review briefly the history of Ireland's connection with England. The policy of confiscating Irish land, which was begun in the sixteenth century (§ 395), was continued under James I and Oliver Cromwell. Two thirds of the tillable land of Ireland passed into the hands of Englishmen, who at the same time were usually Protestants. The great mass of the Irish people were forced to become "tenant farmers" under "absentee" landlords who dwelt in Great Britain. The main concern of these landlords was to get as much rent from their tenants as possible, and to do as little for them as they might. Their Irish tenants lived in miserable hovels, paid high rents, and usually were liable to be turned out of their little farms at a moment's notice. Disraeli once said that the Irish peasants were "the worst housed, worst fed, and the worst clothed in Europe." Except in Ulster (the northern part of Ireland) tenants who made improvements on the lands they tilled ran the risk of having their rents raised as a result of their own

industry. Evictions (the turning out of tenants for failure to pay the rent demanded) were common. These led in turn to cattle maiming, arson, and murder by way of revenge. Then, to put down such crimes, Parliament passed coercive laws, and these served still further to embitter Irish hatred of England. In addition to other injustices, Irish manufactures and commerce were long crushed by the English Navigation Acts (§ 450) and similar repressive laws. Agriculture and grazing were almost the only occupations to which Irishmen could turn their hands.

800. Parnell and the Irish Land League

The beginning of better things for Ireland came in 1879 with the formation of the National Land League under Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the Irish party in Parliament. Its demands were summed up in the "three F's": (1) Fixity of tenure, (2) free sale, and (3) fair rent. In 1880 the "boycott" (so called from Captain Boycott, the first notable victim of the system) was devised as a means of combating those who violated these principles. In Parliament Parnell at the head of a solid Irish party adopted the policy of systematically "obstructing" all business until Irish grievances should be redressed. Gladstone's second administration (1880–1885) passed a second Irish Land Act, which did much good, but fell short of the demands of the Irish party.

801. Gladstone adopts Home Rule (1886)

With the general development of the spirit of nationality in the nineteenth century, came a desire for the restoration of the Irish Parliament.[1] This led, in 1870, to the formation of the Irish Home Rule League, which advocated "home rule" (or self-government) for Ireland. In Gladstone's third administration (1886) he startled England by announcing his conversion to the cause of Home Rule. The result was a disastrous split in the Liberal party. The majority of its members followed their official leader; but a minority, of whom Joseph Chamberlain was the most important, formed the Liberal

[1] By an Act of Union, passed in 1800, the Irish Parliament had been induced to disband and to unite Ireland with Great Britain in "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." Thenceforth Ireland had 28 representative peers, sitting for life, in the British House of Lords, and 100 members in the House of Commons.

Unionist party, and thereafter acted with the Conservatives. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, introduced in 1886, was defeated in the House of Commons by 341 to 311 votes. Gladstone then "appealed to the country" by procuring the dissolution of the House of Commons and holding new elections. In the new House of Commons he had only 276 supporters against 394. He thereupon resigned, and a Conservative ministry was formed under Lord Salisbury (sôlz'bĕr-ĭ).

Lord Salisbury's (second) administration lasted from 1886 to 1892. Some further steps were taken toward solving the Irish land question, but nothing was done toward giving Home Rule to Ireland. The Irish cause was weakened by a split in the Home Rule party, a portion of the Irish members having on personal grounds repudiated Parnell, who died in 1891. In 1892 Lord Salisbury was forced to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. The Liberals, under Gladstone, adopted a platform which demanded Home Rule for Ireland, the disestablishment of the Anglican (Protestant Episcopal) Church in Wales, the "mending or ending" of the House of Lords, payment for members of Parliament, and other radical measures. The result of the elections was a House of Commons containing a Gladstonian majority of forty.

802. Weakening of the Irish party (1886–1892)

Thus for the fourth time Gladstone became prime minister. This position he held until 1894, when he resigned (in his eighty-fifth year) on account of ill health. His second Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons in 1893, but it was defeated in the House of Lords, by a vote of 419 to 41. Since the opposition to Irish Home Rule was strong among the upper classes in Great Britain, and the people did not overwhelmingly demand it, Gladstone was unable to procure a creation of peers to carry the measure through the House of Lords (§ 789). Consequently he let Home Rule drop for a time, and carried through other measures to which he was pledged. The cause of Home Rule languished until a decade after Gladstone's death.

The Irish land question, however, was practically settled by an act passed, in 1903, by the Conservative government, in agree-

VICTORIA IN 1897

ment with the Irish party. The main feature of this act was a provision for a government loan of £100,000,000 to enable Irish tenants to purchase their holdings. The repayment of the loans was distributed over long periods. The peasant is thus at last becoming the owner of the land he tills, and the chief source of Ireland's ills will soon be removed.

803. Irish Land Purchase Act (1903)

Gladstone died in 1898, and Salisbury in 1903. More important than the death of either was the death, in 1901, of Queen Victoria. The loyal affection felt for her throughout the

British Empire was shown at her jubilees (in 1887 and in 1897) on the completion of her fiftieth and sixtieth years of rule.

804. Death of Queen Victoria (1901) During her reign of sixty-four years, the people of Great Britain doubled in numbers, while their wealth increased threefold and their trade sixfold. Victoria's reign is the most glorious in the annals of England — glorious not by reason of conquests and wars, but by reason of the progress of peace, enlightenment, morality, and of the uplifting of the people. In English literature it was an important epoch. Burns, Byron, and Scott belong to an earlier period; but Wordsworth (1770–1850), Macaulay (1800–1859), Browning (1812–1889), Tennyson (1809–1892), Dickens (1812–1870), and Thackeray (1811–1862) were of the Victorian era. Many forces combined to produce the greatness of England in this period. Among these must be reckoned the good Queen Victoria, whose "noble life and beneficent influence," to use the language of President McKinley, "have prompted the peace and won the affection of the world." The Prince of Wales, at the age of sixty, succeeded her as Edward VII (§ 880).

The revival in the new century of the struggle for Home Rule will be described in a later chapter. The following things

805. Progress of Ireland should be noted as having been accomplished for Ireland in the nineteenth century: (1) The religious tests which kept Irish Catholics out of political office were repealed. (2) The Protestant Church of Ireland was disestablished, and Irish Catholics were no longer taxed to support a religion in which they disbelieve. (3) The land question was practically settled. (4) In addition, Ireland shared in the benefits of the general reforms enacted by Great Britain — in the extension of the right of voting, in free trade, in the protection given by the factory acts, and in the reform of local government. (5) Irish manufactures and commerce, Irish art and literature, were revived. The "Emerald Isle" is at last awakening from the stagnation into which it was thrust by England's oppression; and to no one Englishman is this result more due than to William E. Gladstone.

To sum up the history of Great Britain in the nineteenth century we may say: (1) That her constitution was transformed by peaceful means. (2) That great steps were taken toward the solution of many vexed social and economic problems. (3) That Great Britain by her example contributed largely also to the solution of the political problems of Continental countries. "England in the nineteenth century," says a French historian, "has served as a political model for Europe. The English people developed the political mechanism of modern Europe, — constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. The other nations have only imitated them."

806. Great Britain's progress and influence

Seignobos, *Europe Since 1814*, 10

England passed through the nineteenth century without a revolution mainly because of two things: (1) She already had an established constitution, under which much political freedom was enjoyed, together with a liberty of speech and of writing which made possible peaceful movements for reform. (2) The English are a conservative people, and prefer to "muddle along" with existing conditions as long as they are endurable, and to change cautiously when change is necessary. Most of their reforms — religious emancipation, parliamentary reform, factory legislation, Irish betterment — came gradually and as a result of compromise. Thus Great Britain escaped the seesaw of revolution and reaction, and each step in advance proved permanent.

C. The British Constitution

The three great acts of Parliamentary Reform (§§ 791, 792) transferred to the people the chief political power in Great Britain. The forms and appearances of the monarchy, however, were preserved unchanged. In theory the king still enacts laws, declares war, makes peace, and carries on the government. In practice all legislative power is exercised by Parliament, and all executive power is in the hands of Cabinet ministers, who act in the king's name. To Americans it may seem absurd to maintain the ancient forms of government

807. The externals of monarchy preserved

when the substance has so greatly changed. But Englishmen cling to them with pride and reverence.

The British constitution is not, like that of the United States, embodied in a written document. It is made up of institutions, customs, and laws which have arisen in the slow growth of centuries. An English philosopher compares the British constitution to one of those old English manor houses "which instead of being built all at once, after a regular plan, has been reared in different ages, has been altered from time to time, and has continually been receiving additions and repairs suited to the taste, fortune, or convenience of its successive proprietors." Unlike the constitution of the United States, that of Great Britain can be amended at any time and in any part by an ordinary act of Parliament.

808. The Cabinet the center of government

The center of the actual working part of the government is the Cabinet. In reality this is a committee selected from the two houses of Parliament. Usually it numbers from sixteen to twenty members.[1] The king chooses the prime minister or head of the Cabinet, and the latter chooses his colleagues. In reality the range of choice is greatly narrowed by the requirements: (1) that the Cabinet shall be of the same political opinions as the majority in the House of Commons; and (2) that its head and members shall be those whom that majority recognizes as its leaders.

Each member of the Cabinet becomes the head of one of the great departments of government (Foreign Affairs, War, Admiralty, Treasury, etc.). Together with their chief assistants in these departments, they make up the Ministry, usually numbering about forty persons, each of whom must be a member of one or the other of the houses of Parliament.

Gladstone, *Gleanings*, I, 224

"Upon the Cabinet," Gladstone once wrote, "is concentrated the whole strain of the government, and it constitutes from day to day the true center of gravity of the working system of the state." The Cabinet ministers perform

[1] The Lloyd-George cabinet (from December, 1916) was abnormal, owing to war conditions. War questions were settled by an inner council of five members.

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, FROM THE THAMES. Begun in 1840, to replace buildings that were burned in 1834

three most important functions. In the secret sessions of the Cabinet they decide what shall be the policies of the realm. In the House of Commons and in the House of Lords they advocate and defend these policies. In the executive departments over which they severally preside they carry out these policies. In this way a unity and consistency of action is given to the government which is wanting under most other forms of government. Indeed, *the union of executive and legislative powers* is one of the chief points of difference between the British constitution and the constitution of the United States. In the United States, neither the President nor the members of his Cabinet are allowed to have seats in Congress or to take part in its debates. They are forced, therefore, to use indirect and roundabout means of securing the passage of the laws which they consider desirable. In Great Britain the prime minister and his colleagues *must* be members of Parliament, and they are naturally its leaders. The Speaker of the House of Commons is not the leader of that body, as is the case in our House of Representatives, but is merely an impartial presiding officer. It is the ministers that take the leading part in the business of Parliament. For example, no vote of money, and no addition to any vote, can be proposed except in the House of Commons, and by one of the ministers. This puts an effective check on extravagance, and prevents such scandals as sometimes arise in connection with our river and harbor bills, public building bills, and private pension legislation.

Another vital difference between the American and the British systems lies in the fact that when the British ministry loses the support of a majority in the House of Commons it must either resign or "appeal to the country." If the latter course is determined upon, the king dissolves Parliament and orders a general election. If the ministers are sustained by the voters, they remain in office and have thereafter a majority favorable to their measures. If the opposite party secures a majority of members in the election, the ministers must resign, and the

INTERIOR OF HOUSE OF COMMONS. Showing Gladstone speaking. There are no desks, and members of the House usually sit with their hats on.

acknowledged leader of the opposition party is called by the king to form a ministry. He and his followers then take their places on the government benches in Parliament, and the former ministers become the leaders of the opposition. Members of the House of Commons are not required to be *residents* of the constituencies which they represent; and if an important member of either party is defeated in the election, a seat is found for him from some other constituency. Thus great statesmen like Gladstone can spend the greater part of their lives in continuous service in the House of Commons. Often such a man will serve three or four times as prime minister, leading the opposition in Parliament when his party is out of power. When an election is held, three weeks usually covers the whole time between the dissolution of the House of Commons, and the coming into office of the newly elected house. With this should be contrasted the period of thirteen months which usually elapses between the election of an American Congress and the entrance of its members upon the duties of their office, — to say nothing of the greater length of our political campaigns.

809. Cabinet government the most democratic

From this account it will be clear why the British Cabinet system is said to be the most democratic form of government in operation in any great modern state. The fact that the House of Commons may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the people on any important question, makes that body more sensitive to public opinion than (for instance) is the Congress of the United States, whose members are elected for a definite term of years. The ministry, supported by a majority in the House of Commons, also has more power to put their measures into effect than has our President. This is especially true since the limitation of the power of the aristocratic House of Lords in 1911 (§ 885). It should also be noted that in practice the king is obliged to give his consent to any act passed by the two houses of Parliament. In other words, his veto, which has not been used for more than two hundred years, has practically disappeared. Moreover, since the British constitution is not a written or fixed constitu-

tion, any act of Parliament is law. As in France, the British courts have no power to set aside an act of Parliament as invalid, on the grounds of real or supposed conflict with the constitution. It is much easier, therefore, under a government like that of Great Britain, to secure changes, no matter how sweeping, *when really demanded by the people*, than it is under a government of "checks and balances" like that of the United States.

D. The British Colonial Empire

The British Parliament not only rules directly the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; it is also the supreme lawmaking body for a vast colonial empire.

The creation of this empire in the eighteenth century, by the conquest of Canada and India and the occupation of Australia, has already been described (chapter xxiii). In the nineteenth century, through successful wars and the advance of exploration and European settlement, it steadily grew larger. To-day it includes lands scattered through every quarter of the globe. Nearly one fourth of the total land area of the whole earth is now included within its limits, and about one fourth of the whole population of the earth owes allegiance to the British flag. About one eighth of the population of the British Empire (including the United Kingdom) belong to the white race. The remainder belong to Asiatic and various native (colored) races. The total population of the empire may be placed at about 400,000,000.

810. Extent of the empire

The lands (outside of Europe) included in this great empire fall chiefly into five groups: (1) Canada and other possessions in America; (2) Australia and New Zealand; (3) British South Africa; (4) Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan; (5) India and Burma.

The greatest possession of Great Britain, and the most important part of the empire after the mother country itself, is Canada. Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory were acquired in 1713 (§ 461). France

811. British America

THE BRITISH EMPIRE
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Hudson Bay
Baffin Bay
Bering Sea
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Amazon R.
Orinoco R.
Panama Canal
Isthmus of Panama
Str. of Magellan
Cape Horn
Hudson Str.
Davis Strait
Mackenzie R.
Yukon R.
Bering Str.
ARCTIC ARCHIPELAGO
WRANGELL I.
Pt. Barrow
Nome
KLONDIKE REGION
Sitka
KODIAK I.
PRIBILOF IS.
ALEUTIAN IS.
QUEEN CHARLOTTE IS.
VANCOUVER I.
Winnipeg
Montreal
Ottawa
Quebec
NEWFOUNDLAND
Portland
Minneapolis
Chicago
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
San Francisco
Denver
St. Louis
New Orleans
BERMUDAS
AZORES
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
BAHAMAS
Havana
CUBA
JAMAICA
WEST INDIES
PORTO RICO
LEEWARD IS.
WINDWARD IS.
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD
CAPE VERDE IS.
Mexico
Honolulu
HAWAIIAN IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
PALMYRA
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
PHOENIX IS.
UNION IS.
MANAHIKI IS.
MARQUESAS IS.
SAMOA IS.
TUTUILA
SOCIETY IS.
TONGA IS.
COOK IS.
TAHITI
PAUMOTU IS.
EASTER I.
KERMADEC IS.
CHATHAM I.
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUIANA
ECU.
PERU
Lima
BOLIVIA
PAR.
JURU.
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Buenos Aires
ASCENSION
TRISTAN DA CUNHA
FALKLAND IS.
Port Stanley
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
SOUTH GEORGIA
PALMER ARCHIPELAGO
GRAHAM LAND
C. Verde
SIERRA LEONE
Monrovia
Jamest
ST. HELE
ARCTIC
ICELAN
FARO
SHETL
ORKNE
BRITIS
ISLES
Lisbon
Gibral
CAPE VERDE IS.
180
150
120
90
60
30
60
30
0
30
60
Longitude
West
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

30
60
90
120
150
180
C T I C O C E A N
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
SPITZBERGEN
C. Chelyuskin
NEW SIBERIA IS.
NOVA ZEMBLA
North C.
White Sea
Archangel
S I B E R I A
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
St. Petersburg
R U S S I A
Moscow
Omsk
Irkutsk
Sea of Okhotsk
Bering Sea
KAMCHATKA
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Tashkend
CHINESE REPUBLIC
MANCHURIA
Vladivostok
Pekin
Japan Sea
KOREA
Seoul
Tokio
Yokohama
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
TIBET
CHINA
PERSIA
Teheran
Delhi
I N D I A
Calcutta
Bombay
Rangoon
Canton
Hongkong
Manilla
PHILIPPINE IS.
LADRONE IS.
GUAM
CAROLINE IS.
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
Aden
Arabian Sea
Bangkok
South China Sea
Saigon
NICOBAR IS.
ANDAMAN IS.
CEYLON
Singapore
STR. SST.
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
GILBERT IS.
EGYPT
SUDAN
ABYS.
SOKOTRA
LACCADIVE IS.
MALDIVE IS.
BRIT. EAST AF.
Mombasa
PEMBA
Zanzibar
SEYCHELLES
AMIRANTE IS.
CHAGOS IS.
I N D I A N O C E A N
SUMATRA
EAST INDIES
Batavia
JAVA
COCOS IS.
NEW GUINEA
BISMARCK ARCH.
SOLOMON IS.
SANTA CRUZ IS.
ELLICE IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
LOYALTY IS.
NEW CALEDONIA
Noumea
Mozambique
FARQUHAR I.
MADAGASCAR
Port Louis
RODRIGUEZ
REUNION
MAURITIUS
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
NORTH. TER.
QUEENSLAND
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
Brisbane
NORFOLK I.
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
TASMANIA
NEW ZEALAND
Wellington
BOUNTY IS.
ANTIPODES IS.
AUCKLAND I.
CAMPBELL I.
KERGUELEN I.
BOUVET IS.
30
60
East
from
Greenwich

surrendered the remainder of her possessions in this region in 1763 (§ 544). In the nineteenth century the advance of exploration and settlement spread British rule to the Pacific Ocean. In area Canada is considerably larger than the United States, but its population is only about one fifteenth that of our country. This scantiness of population is partly due to the fact that vast stretches in the north are Arctic in character, and unsuited to agriculture. The southern third comprises much rich and fertile land, and in spite of its long and cold winters it is growing rapidly in number of inhabitants and in wealth. Except in Quebec, where French Canadians still predominate, the settlers in Canada are mainly of British blood and speech. In 1867 Parliament passed an act which resulted in the federal union of all British North America, except Newfoundland, under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Nine provinces and two territories are now included in this union. Each of the provinces has its own legislature and a responsible government modeled after that of England. The central (or Dominion) government is composed of the following: —

1. A governor-general, sent out from England by the home government. His duties are largely formal, like those of the king at home, or the president of France.
2. A prime minister and ministry, similar to the British Cabinet, who are responsible to the Dominion Parliament.
3. A Senate composed of members appointed for life by the Dominion government. The representation is not equal, as in the United States Senate. Quebec and Ontario each have 24 Senators, British Columbia only 3.
4. A House of Commons elected by the people for five years, unless sooner dissolved. The representation in this is according to population.
5. All powers not specifically assigned to the provinces are reserved to the Dominion government. This is directly contrary to the corresponding provision in the United States Constitution.
6. The governors of the provinces are appointed by the Dominion government, and it can also veto legislation passed by the provincial parliaments.

In nearly everything the Canadians are allowed to govern themselves. The Dominion government even maintains tariff laws, which apply to goods coming from Great Britain as well as from foreign countries. The duties on British goods, however, are lower than on those from other lands. The Canadians are happy and contented under their form of government, and show no desire for annexation to the United States.

812. The Australian colonies

Australia is the second in importance of the British colonies. It was acquired through the explorations of Captain Cook, and through settlements beginning in 1788 (§ 549). Gold was discovered in Australia in 1851, and great fortunes were made by lucky miners. A more important source of wealth was found about the same time in the raising of sheep. Five colonies were established on the mainland, and another in the near-by island of Tasmania, each with its own legislature and governor. In 1901 all six were united into a federal government, under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. This, like Canada, is a self-governing colony, made up of men mainly of British blood and speech. The federal government of Australia is similar to that of Canada; it leaves, however, a larger measure of independence to the separate colonies than is the case with the Canadian constitution. The following are the chief points of difference: —

1. The governor of each state is appointed by the British government, and not by the Commonwealth government.
2. The legislation of each state, within the limits of its authority, is not subject to veto by the Commonwealth.
3. The powers of government not specifically conferred on the Commonwealth Parliament are reserved to the several states.

The two great islands of New Zealand (which together are twice as large as England) are more than a thousand miles distant from Australia, and hence are not included in the Commonwealth. They make up a separate self-governing colony, which is very progressive and prosperous.

South Africa is the land in which British power has made greatest strides in recent years. Cape Colony (Cape of Good

Hope) was conquered from Holland in 1806, while that country was aiding Napoleon Bonaparte in his wars against Great Britain. When slavery was abolished by the British Parliament in 1833, many Dutch inhabitants, or "Boers" (boorz), of Cape Colony "trekked" northward to escape British rule. They founded the independent settlements of Natal (nȧ-täl′), the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal′. Natal was annexed by the British in 1843. A petty war with the Transvaal Boers, in which the British were defeated, led to treaties (1881 and 1884) in which it was agreed that the South African Republic should have complete self-government in internal affairs, but in external affairs was to be under the suzerainty of Great Britain. Gold mines were worked in Cape Colony from an early day, and in 1871 diamond mines were discovered at Kimberley which made that place the center of the diamond industry of the world. The Boers, however, remain chiefly farmers and stock-raisers. In 1885 came the discovery of rich gold deposits in the Transvaal, and a flood of British and foreign miners and adventurers poured into that state. Friction followed between these newcomers and the Boers. The result was the Second Boer War (1899–1902), in which the Orange Free State joined the Transvaal in spirited resistance to British claims.

813. British South Africa

South Africa

The vigor of the Boers and the great distance of the seat of conflict from Europe, taxed the resources of Great Britain to the uttermost. Her foes were sturdy frontiersmen, trained

from boyhood to the use of weapons, and they fought in a country whose every pass and "kopje" (hill) was familiar to them. There were no great battles, and the war was mainly a series of ambuscades, traps, and sieges. After many humiliating reverses, and the sending to South Africa of nearly half a million soldiers, Great Britain was at last successful. Both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were then made British colonies. The war revealed great defects in the administration of the British army, while the gallant fight made by the Boers aroused much sympathy, both among Liberals in England and throughout the world.

814. The Boer War (1899–1902)

The Conservative party in England was responsible for the measures which began the war and for its successful completion; but soon after its conclusion the Liberals again came into power. They adopted a policy of conciliation towards the Boers, and soon restored the right of local self-government to the conquered territories. The good effects of this policy were seen when both colonies, in 1909, voluntarily joined with Natal and Cape Colony in forming, under authorization of the British government, the federal Union of South Africa. The constitution of the Union is roughly similar to the constitutions of Canada and Australia. The government is placed in the hands of a governor-general, a responsible ministry, and a parliament of two houses. The fact that the natives of South Africa (negroes) are more than twice as numerous as the white settlers accounts for some of the special features of the constitution. The existence side by side of the Dutch (Boers) and the British, each clinging to its language and customs, also complicates the situation. A former Boer leader, General Botha (bō′tä), did much to bring about the formation of the Union. He was one of the ablest and broadest-minded statesmen of that land, and he became the first prime minister of the Union government. He typified the spirit of loyal acceptance of the results of the war, which was produced by Great Britain's conciliatory policy toward the defeated party. "I want the king and the British people to realize," he said, "that the trust re-

815. Union of South Africa (1909)

posed in us has been worthily taken up. I hope that they will have cause of pride in the young South African nation."

The circumstances which led, in 1882, to the British "occupation" of Egypt will be told in the next chapter. After that date — although Egypt had its own ruler, called the Khedive, who was subject to the Sultan of Turkey — British soldiers guarded the country, and British officials had a large part in its administration. Egypt remained nominally a part of the Turkish Empire till 1914, though practically under British rule. The British "occupation" has been of very great advantage to the country. Taxes have become less, justice has become more certain, order has been kept, great public works have been built, and the condition of the people has been improved. Especially noteworthy is a series of enormous dams, to pen up the waste waters of the river Nile, while it is in flood, and gradually let them out later, so that barren lands become rich fields of cotton, sugar cane, and rice. Another great work is the building of a railroad southward, to meet one which is being built northward from Cape Colony. When this road is completed, it will be possible to go by rail for five thousand miles — through Egyptian desert and tropical jungle, where lions and elephants abound — from Cairo in Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope. It is likely that the British will remain in Egypt indefinitely.

816. The British in Egypt

India, whose population is alien in race, religion, and modes of life from the population of Europe, remains in a class apart. Its area is half as great as that of the United States, and it has more than three times as many people. Unlike other British possessions, India had an old and very highly developed civilization when the Europeans first came. There was no room for new settlements in India, and the British there are still few in numbers. Since 1763 the area ruled directly by Great Britain has greatly increased, as a result of confiscations and annexations. Nevertheless, about half of India is still ruled by native princes, under the suzerainty of Great Britain. In the course of the nineteenth century Great Britain was forced to conquer the kingdom

817. British India and Burma

of Burma, in Further India, and added that country to its Indian possessions.

The rule of the East India Company, under a board of control appointed by the British government (p. 458), continued until the Indian Mutiny in 1857. This was a revolt of the native Sepoy troops, due to uneasiness created by the rapid progress of British ways and rule. Its immediate occasion was a rumor that certain new cartridges furnished to the troops were greased with a mixture of hog and beef fat — the one animal an object of loathing to Mohammedans, and the other of religious worship to the Hindus. Fortunately the movement was confined to the army and to a few provinces. It brought terrible suffering to many of the English residents, including women and children, before the revolt was put down in 1858. After the Mutiny, the British government took over the rule of the British possessions in India, and the East India Company came to an end. A further step to strengthen British rule was taken in 1877, when Queen Victoria was proclaimed by a new title, that of "Empress of India."

The portion of India directly under British rule is administered by a viceroy and executive council chosen by the British government. Steps have recently been taken to admit the educated natives to a share in India's government by the creation of a legislative council, made up in part of elected members. In 1913 the construction was begun, on a magnificent scale, of a brand-new capital for India, not far from the ancient city of Delhi.

818. Scattered possessions of Great Britain

In addition to these larger blocks of territory, Great Britain has smaller possessions scattered all over the world. These include Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus in the Mediterranean Sea; the Bermudas, certain of the West Indies, and the Falkland Islands off the coast of America; Aden, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements on the coast of Asia; together with many islands in the Indian and Pacific oceans. Most of these possessions are "crown colonies" and are governed chiefly by officials appointed from England. These scattered

colonies are valuable to Great Britain chiefly as coaling stations and naval bases.

819. British colonial policy

Under the rule of the Liberals, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonies were lightly valued, and statesmen looked forward without dismay to a time when they might be lost. "We know," said Gladstone, in 1864, "that British North America and Australia must before long be independent states. We have no interest except in their strength and well-being." But since regular steamship lines, submarine cables, and wireless telegraphy have made communication less difficult, there is no longer talk of letting the colonies fall "like ripe fruit from the tree." On the contrary, efforts have been made to unite them to their imperial mother by ties of interest and affection.

820. Imperial Federation

The union of different groups of the colonies among themselves into federal unions has been described in the case of Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Some progress has also been made toward uniting the colonies by closer political ties with the home country. In connection with the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, in 1887, a Colonial Conference was called at London, which was attended by leading statesmen from all the self-governing colonies. This was the first step toward what is called Imperial Federation, — that is, toward giving to the colonies a share in the government of the British Empire. Several such conferences have since been held; and while no workable scheme for admitting the colonies to partnership in the government has yet been devised, the ties have been drawn closer between Englishmen at home and their brethren "beyond seas." Great Britain has learned the folly of trying to tax her self-governing colonies, and now refrains from any such attempt. She protects her colonists with her navy, and in case of need with her armies; but makes no demand upon them for contributions to the empire's defense. The colonies, however, are now voluntarily undertaking this burden. In the Boer War, and in the great war of 1914, Australia and Canada sent regiments of their citizens to aid the

British soldiers. New Zealand and Australia undertook to provide warships as a contribution to the British fleet. In Australia and in other colonies a scheme of military defense was worked out jointly by the home and colonial authorities. A recent British poet has described Great Britain as a lion, and the self-governing colonies as full-grown cubs, ready to come at the lion's call to his assistance: —

> "The Lion stands by his shore alone
> And sends, to the bounds of Earth and Sea,
> First low notes of the thunder to be.
> Then East and West, through the vastness grim,
> The Whelps of the Lion answer him."

IMPORTANT DATES

1820. Death of George III.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act passed.
1832. First Parliamentary Reform Act.
1833. Slavery abolished throughout the British colonies.
1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.
1846. The Corn Laws repealed and Free Trade established.
1867. Second Parliamentary Reform Act.
1868. Gladstone for the first time Prime Minister.
1869. Protestant church in Ireland disestablished.
1884. Third Parliamentary Reform Act.
1886. Gladstone adopts cause of Home Rule; split in the Liberal party.
1898. Death of Gladstone.
1901. Death of Queen Victoria.
1903. Irish land question settled.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Which contributed more to the advancement of the people, the gradual reforms of Great Britain or the revolutions of France? (2) How do you account for the conservative character of the English people? (3) Was it just to exclude Protestant dissenters, Catholics, and Jews from Parliament while taxing them? (4) Do the same reasons apply to the unrepresented towns and classes before the reform of Parliament? (5) What changes did the parliamentary reform acts make in the political control of Great Britain? (6) Which party profited most by the Reform Act of 1832? (7) Compare the abolition of slavery in the

British Empire with that in the United States. (8) Was the adoption of Free Trade a wise or an unwise step for Great Britain? (9) Why have other countries not followed Great Britain's lead in this matter? (10) Which seems to you the greater statesman, Gladstone or Disraeli? Why? (11) If you were English, would you be a Conservative, a Liberal, or a Liberal-Unionist? Why? (12) What arguments may be urged for giving Home Rule to Ireland? (13) What arguments may be urged for not doing so? (14) Is the Cabinet system of Great Britain, or the Presidential system of the United States, the better form of government? Give your reasons. (15) Why did Great Britain win in the contests for colonial empire? (16) Compare the government of Canada with that of the United States. (17) By what right did Great Britain gain Australia? (18) Is the federal government of Canada or of Australia the better form? Why? (19) Compare the treatment of the Boers by Great Britain after the Boer War with the treatment of the Southern states by our Federal Government following the Civil War. (20) Ought the British to withdraw from Egypt? (21) Is the British rule over India good or bad for India? Why? (22) Is the connection of the colonies with Great Britain good or bad for the colonies? For Great Britain? Give your reasons.

Search Topics. — (1) O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, ch. xii; Lawless, *Ireland*, 377–389. — (2) The Old Parliamentary System. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 409–415; Ilbert, *Parliament*, 33–47; May, *Constitutional History of England*, I, ch. vi (first half); Beard, *Introduction to English Historians*, 538–548. — (3) Parliamentary Reform of 1832. Hazen, 428–438; Montague, *English Constitutional History*, 206–208; Beard, *Introduction*, 549–565; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 239–245; Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, 679–690. — (4) Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade. McCarthy, *Epoch of Reform*, ch. vii; Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, III, 388–414. — (5) Irish Famine of 1845. Lawless, *Ireland*, 396–402; McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, 278–282; Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, 414–418. — (6) Evils of the Factory System. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History*, 235–239, 244–252; Cheyney, *Readings*, 690–697; Kendall, *Source Book*, 401–406; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 282–285. — (7) Repeal of the Corn Laws. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, 222–233; McCarthy, *Life of Peel*, ch. xiii; Cheyney, *Readings*, 708–715; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 286–289. — (8) English Attitude Towards the American Civil War. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, II, 190–219, 224–228; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 502–538; Cheyney, *Readings*, 729–735; Harding, *Select Orations Illustrating American History*, 392–413. — (9) Gladstone's Personality and Character. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, 425–433; Russell, *Gladstone;* Morley, *Gladstone*, Bk. II, ch. vi. —

(10) DISRAELI. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, I, 256–266; Froude, *Disraeli*, 236–262; Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography* ("Beaconsfield"). — (11) PARNELL AND IRISH LAND QUESTIONS. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, III, 63–70; Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*, 324–338; O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell;* Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 296–300. — (12) THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT. Hazen, 497–509; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, IX, 579–580; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 300–305; O'Brien, *Parnell*. — (13) DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA. Hazen, 523–530; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, V, 158–164; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 316–322; Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule*. — (14) CONSTITUTION OF CANADA. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, V, 165; Courtney, *Working Constitution of the United Kingdom*, Pt. III, ch. iii. — (15) DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, II, 558–565; Jenks, *History of the Australasian Colonies*. — (16) CONSTITUTION OF AUSTRALIA. Hazen, 530–534; Beard, *Introduction*, 645–662; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 472–474. — (17) THE CABINET SYSTEM. Bagehot, *English Constitution* (2d ed.), ch. ii; Montague, 163–172; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 258–266. — (18) THE MUTINY IN INDIA. McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, II, chs. xxxii-xxxv; Beard, *Introduction*, 638–644. — (19) THE BOER WAR. Hazen, 536–545; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVII, 199–208; Conan Doyle, *The War in South Africa*, chs. ii, iv; De Wet, *Three Years' War;* Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 331–336. — (20) PRIVATE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA. Lee, *Queen Victoria*, ch. xlix.

General Reading. — Justin McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times* (5 vols.), covers the whole reign of Queen Victoria. Spencer Walpole, *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815* (6 vols.), covers the period to 1856. Herbert Paul, *A History of Modern England* (5 vols.), deals with the period from 1846 to 1895. Morley's *Life of Gladstone* (3 vols.) is an admirable work. The *Dictionary of National Biography* should be consulted for special biographies.

EUROPE
After 1878
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
AFRICA
ASIA
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
SIBERIA
PERSIA
TURKEY IN ASIA
ARABIA
BRITISH ISLES
SCANDINAVIA
FINLAND
RUSSIA
GERMANY
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ITALY
TURKEY
ROUMELIA
BULGARIA
SERVIA
ROUMANIA
MONTENEGRO
GREECE
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Longitude East from Greenwich
BRADLEY & POATES, N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

A. Armed Peace among European Powers

The Franco-Prussian War ended in the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to the newly founded German Empire (§ 776). This spoliation of France by Germany marked the abandonment of the idea of a "community of Europe," which underlay the system of Metternich. It marked also the complete triumph of the idea of national separatism. Intense rivalries then prevailed for a generation among the states of Europe, — the natural consequence of Bismarck's high-handed policy of "blood and iron," and of reliance upon armed force. For some years France desired a "war of revenge" that should recover for her the lost French provinces. To that end she strained every nerve to increase her army, her navy, and her defenses. Germany readily followed suit to retain what she had won. In the race of armaments, France was quickly outstripped. Her population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century increased only one million, while that of the German Empire increased fifteen millions. Other Powers, in self-defense, were obliged to follow courses similar to those pursued by Germany and France. By the close of the century Europe thus presented the aspect of "an armed camp." Germany had a war strength of 3,000,000 men, France of 2,500,000, and Russia of 3,500,000, — in addition to powerful navies. Rapid-fire guns, smokeless powder, powerful explosive shells, and repeating rifles of long range increased the terrors of war. "Formerly," said the historian Lavisse, "peace wore only demi-armor. To-day it is armed from head to foot.

821. Increase of armaments

Lavisse, *General View*, 167–168

Without any effort, by a tap of the telegraph, after some puffs of locomotives, there is war; and what terrible war! Just as the politics of former centuries appear to be almost trivial compared with those of to-day, so the armies of [the seventeenth century] compared with ours seem to be mere playthings." On the other hand, "it is not impossible that the apprehension of war retards war. No one is sure of winning, and every one knows that defeat may be fatal. That is what makes the hand hesitate that is able to give the tap on the telegraph. It is possible that armed peace, by being prolonged, may appear at once too burdensome and too absurd, and that reason and humanity may assert their right."

822. Triple and Dual alliances (1883–1891)

In the face of the bitter anger of France, Bismarck's policy was, so far as possible, to maintain cordial relations with both Russia and Austria. His purpose was the maintenance of peace on the basis of the existing territorial arrangements, — that is, the possession of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany. Gradually a new grouping of the Powers took place. The establishment of a French protectorate over Tunis (in 1881) brought France and Italy to the verge of war; and Italy thereupon, in 1882, entered with Austria and Germany into a Triple Alliance, which was several times renewed. About the same time France and Russia formed a Dual Alliance for mutual defense against European attacks. Thus the five Continental Powers were arranged in two groups, — the Triple Alliance, made up of Austria, Germany, and Italy, and the Dual Alliance, composed of Russia and France. England's policy for a time was to hold aloof from continental alliances, but in recent years she cast in her lot with France and Russia (1907). The name "Triple Entente" (ăn-tänt′; "triple understanding") was given to this friendly relationship of the last three Powers.

A consciousness of the burdens imposed by these armaments and alliances at length produced a desire for concord. It was felt not only by the rulers, but by the more enlightened classes of the people, on whom the burden of war chiefly falls. Out

of this desire came, in the closing years of the century, a restoration of the Concert of the Great Powers, and its extension in practice to cover the concerns of interest to civilized peoples in all parts of the world. The Great Powers of Europe (Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Italy) made a practice of acting together in all important international concerns. Their action was not usually registered in public treaties; none the less, through their joint understandings, embodied in diplomatic notes and other communications, they for a time largely ruled Europe, and also regulated European interests in Africa and Asia. In its international relations this was the most signal feature of the age. To many persons it foreshadowed — no matter how remotely — the formation of a new World State, in which all great questions would be treated in international congresses, and disputes between nations would be settled by diplomacy and arbitration instead of by the sword. The ending of the armed peace, in 1914, by the outbreak of a gigantic war among the European Powers, will be treated in a later chapter.

823. Revived Concert of Powers

B. The Eastern Question

The only wars which actually broke out in Europe, in the forty years following the Franco-Prussian War, were in the uneasy lands of the Balkan peninsula. These were due to the fact that the Eastern Question — that is, the question of the ultimate fate of the Turkish Empire — was still unsolved (§ 721).

In spite of frequent promises of reform, Turkey continued to be a plague spot in Europe. In 1870 Russia seized the opportunity offered by the Franco-Prussian War to declare that she would no longer be bound by the clauses of the treaty of Paris (§ 723) which limited her action in the Black Sea. This step aroused a fanatical movement among the Turks, the aim of which was to throw off the control of the Powers and oppose to Christendom the united force of Mohammedanism. Brutal conflicts followed with the native

824. The Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878)

Christians of Bulgaria and Servia. After fruitless negotiations to secure the coöperation of the other Powers, Russia declared war alone against Turkey, in April, 1877. The Russians crossed the Danube and invaded Turkey with a large force. The war soon centered about Plevna, a place of great strategic importance, where a Turkish army was intrenched. After five months' desperate resistance this force capitulated. Through the snow and ice of the Balkan Mountains the Russians then pressed southward, and soon were within a hundred miles of Constantinople. The hostile attitude of Great Britain prevented further advance. In March, 1878, Turkey signed the treaty of San Stefano (stā′-fä-nō). If this had been allowed to stand, it would practically have destroyed the Turkish power in Europe.

Turkish Soldier, 1877

Great Britain and Austria, however, regarded the treaty as too favorable to Russia. To prevent a general European war, an international congress was called at Berlin, in 1878, under the presidency of Bismarck. The result was a triumph for British and Austrian diplomacy, and a defeat for Russia. The new arrangements were more favorable to Turkey, but less satisfactory to the Christian communities of the Balkan peninsula, than in the treaty of San Stefano. The chief provisions of the treaty of Berlin were the following: —

825. Congress of Berlin (1878)

1. The Russian frontier was extended to the mouth of the Danube.
2. Herzegovina (hĕr-tsĕ-go-vē′nä) and Bosnia were handed over to Austria to occupy and rule.[1]
3. The independent state of Montenegro received an Adriatic seaport.

[1] By a secret treaty the island of Cyprus was "leased" by Turkey to Great Britain, in reward for her friendship; in 1914 Great Britain declared its annexation In 1909, Austria definitely annexed Herzegovina and Bosnia (§ 863).

4. Servia, virtually independent since 1829, was made entirely so, with enlarged boundaries.
5. Complete independence was given to Roumania, a country formed in 1861 by the voluntary union of the semi-independent Danube principalities, Wallachia (wŏ-lā′kĭ-a) and Molda′via.

THE BALKAN STATES (1878–1886)

6. Bulgaria was erected by the congress into a new Christian state, self-governing but tributary to Turkey. Its extent was to be less than half that provided in the treaty of San Stefano, but it was increased in 1886 by the annexation of East Roumelia as the result of a successful revolution.

7. Greece, as a result of the congress and subsequent negotiations, secured Thessaly and part of Epirus.[1]

These arrangements greatly curtailed Turkey in Europe, but large Christian populations were still left to be oppressed by Mohammedan officials and soldiers. That the Eastern Question was not solved was shown by the abominable "Armenian massacres" carried out under direction of the Sultan's officials in 1894–1896, and by later attempts at revolution in Macedonia.

826. Conditions in Egypt

In Egypt, meanwhile, events were occurring which reduced the Sultan's rule to a bare tribute-receiving right, and paved the way for its practical annexation to the British Empire. All effective power of the Sultan had ceased there some time before the Russo-Turkish War. Its governor had secured practical independence and hereditary transmission of his power, with the title of Khedive. The completion of the Suez Canal, in 1869 (§ 719), facilitated the introduction of European influence and customs, and again made Egypt a part of the chief shipping route to the East. The Khedive had received a large number of shares in the stock of the canal company, but his extravagance soon plunged the land into bankruptcy. His shares were then sold to the British government (1875), thereby giving it a controlling interest in that important waterway.

827. British occupation of Egypt begun (1882)

To protect the financial interests of their subjects, to whom the Egyptian government owed large sums, Great Britain and France finally intervened. The administration of Egyptian finances was intrusted to two comptrollers-general of their own appointment. In 1881 a revolt against this foreign control broke out under a military agitator named Arabi (ȧ-rä′be). A massacre of Europeans took place at Alexandria, and European intervention again became necessary. When France (to her subsequent regret) refused to coöperate in this, Great Britain acted alone. Alexandria was bombarded

[1] A rash war undertaken by Greece, in 1897, to wrest Crete from Turkey, ended in Turkish victory. The intervention of the Powers then made Crete a semi-independent Christian principality under Turkish suzerainty. In 1913 Greece finally secured this island (p. 685).

by her fleet, and a British army defeated Arabi near Cairo (1882). With these events Egypt passed under permanent British occupation, though the Khedive still reigned (till 1914).

The Egyptian province of the Sudan, or the upper Nile, was lost through a revolt headed by a Mohammedan fanatic styled the "Mahdi" (mä'de), or Prophet. The last Egyptian stronghold in that province fell in 1885, when Khartum (kar-toom') was taken, and the Anglo-Egyptian general, Gordon, was murdered. This disaster forced the British government to take action. After ten years spent in preliminary organization, the Anglo-Egyptian troops under Kitchener began their advance. To reach the seat of trouble the railroad from Cairo was extended — in one place for two hundred and thirty miles across the desert. In 1898 the Mahdists were crushed and the lands about the upper Nile reoccupied. The railroad was afterwards completed to Khartum, a distance of twelve hundred miles from Cairo, and order and security were restored.

828. Reconquest of the Sudan (1898)

The European conquest of former Turkish lands west of Egypt was begun when France seized Algeria, in the first half of the nineteenth century (§ 697). In 1881 France compelled the ruler of Tunis to sign a treaty which put that country also under French protection.

829. The French in Algeria and Tunis

Italy had long had her eyes on this ancient Roman province, and resented the extension of French power there. As we have seen, it led her to join the Triple Alliance against France (§ 822). Circumstances, however, long prevented Italy from any attempt to redress the balance in northern Africa. The opportunity for this came when a revolution occurred in the government of Turkey (in 1909), which weakened Turkey's powers of resistance (§ 864). In September, 1911, Italy demanded that she be allowed to occupy the Turkish province of Tripoli, on the ground of misgovernment by its Turkish officials. The demand was refused, and war followed. The Italians immediately landed an army in Tripoli and began to occupy the country. They encountered little opposition, except from the fanatical Arabian tribesmen of the interior, for Italy's control

830. Italy seizes Tripoli (1911–1912)

of the sea prevented Turkey from sending troops to the seat of war. In the latter part of 1912 the brewing storm of a new Balkan war forced Turkey to conclude peace with Italy. The following were its chief provisions:—

1. Italy was allowed to retain Tripoli (renamed Libya by the Italians).
2. The Aegean Islands were to be returned to Turkey.
3. The religious authority of Constantinople over the Mohammedans in the conquered province was to be retained.
4. Italy assumed that portion of the Turkish debt which was guaranteed on the basis of the Libyan revenues.

On the day following the signing of this peace with Italy, Turkey exchanged declarations of war with the Balkan states, Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro. The whole peninsula, from the Aegean to the Adriatic, had long been ripe for war and rebellion. The purpose of the allies was to drive the Turks, "bag and baggage," out of Europe. They hoped to redeem that region from the curse of Turkish misrule which for nearly five centuries had condemned it to barbarism. While the troops of the little kingdom of Montenegro laid siege to the near-by city of Scutari (skoo-tä′re), the Bulgarian, Servian, and Greek armies advanced simultaneously into ancient Thrace and Macedonia. The Turks were forced to combat all three of these invasions at once. In spite of the training which had been given the Turkish army by German officers, it proved disorganized and inefficient. There were divided counsels at headquarters (a result of the revolution of 1909), and the arrangements for the transportation of supplies broke down completely. The armies of the allies, on the other hand, surprised the world by their efficiency. Within a month, the Servians took their former capital (Uskub), from which they had been expelled five hundred years before. The Greek army joined hands with Servian and Bulgarian contingents in Saloniki (sä-lo-nē′ke). The main army of the Bulgarians cut off Adrianople from the capital, and forced the chief body of the Turks back to within forty miles of Constantinople. During the winter the armies rested on their arms, but with

831. The Balkan War (1912–1913)

the coming of spring the war was resumed. The Bulgarians, aided by the Servians, took Adrianople in March, and were then able to reënforce their army before Constantinople.[1] After desperate fighting the Montenegrins secured Scutari (in April); but the determined opposition of Austria prevented their retaining it, and in May this important town was turned over to agents of the Great Powers.

Bulgarian Infantry in Trenches before Adrianople

For some years Austria had sought to extend its rule into the Balkan peninsula (§§ 742, 863), and had even dreamed of securing an outlet to the Aegean Sea. The unexpected strength shown by the Christian Balkan states rudely shattered these dreams. Austria was prevented from intervening in this struggle only by the knowledge that such a step would produce a gigantic European war, between the forces of the Triple Alliance on the one side and those of the Triple Entente on the other (§ 822). The efforts of the British minister of foreign affairs (Sir Edward Grey) averted this danger. After long negotiations the six Great Powers persuaded the Bal-

832. Peace signed at London (May 30, 1913)

[1] In March, 1913, the king of Greece was slain at Saloniki by a Greek anarchist. He was succeeded by his son Constantine.

kan states to sign preliminary articles of peace (at London, May 30, 1913). These terms included the giving up by Turkey of all her European territory lying west of a line to be drawn from Enos on the Aegean to Midia on the Black Sea.

Unfortunately the allies now marred the glory of their victory by fighting among themselves. Bulgaria insisted on a boundary that was agreed on before the war, although her allies had been forced to give up their conquests in Albania, while her own gains in Thrace — through Servian aid — were larger than she had expected. Aiming to maintain a predominance in the Balkans similar to that of Prussia in Germany, she refused to arbitrate with Servia, and scorned the demand of Roumania for a small cession on the frontier near Silistria. In July, 1913, Bulgaria suddenly attacked Servia and Greece, and a new war followed. The Bulgarians were driven back from Saloniki by the Greeks, and from western Macedonia by the Servians, while the Roumanians advanced upon Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. At the same time the Turks reoccupied points beyond the Enos-Midia frontier. Greeks and Bulgarians charged each other — with evidence on both sides — of committing atrocities which "surpassed all the horrors of barbaric times." By the treaty of Bucharest, signed August 10, Bulgaria yielded

833. War between the allies

THE BALKAN STATES AT THE END OF 1913

to the demands of the other Balkan states in fixing their new boundaries. In the following month, Bulgaria and Turkey came to terms. The settlement included the following (see map):

1. The boundary of Turkey was pushed west so as to include Adrianople.
2. Of the conquered Turkish territory Greece received 21,000 square miles, Servia 13,000, and Bulgaria only 9000. Moreover, Bulgaria was forced to cede to Roumania a portion of her own territory on the northeast frontier.
3. Crete became a part of the kingdom of Greece, and a number of islands of the Aegean were temporarily retained by that state.
4. The opposition of Austria and Italy prevented Servia from securing a frontage on the Adriatic Sea. Instead, the attempt was made to organize the mountain tribes of the former Turkish province of Albania into a self-governing state, with Scutari as its chief city.

The Turkish Empire in Europe was thus reduced to very small proportions. But new Balkan questions were arising. Austria had already (August 9, 1913) asked Italy to join her in attacking Servia, but Italy refused. Nevertheless Austria, dissatisfied as she was with the treaty of Bucharest, was resolved to regain her influence in the Balkans, and Germany stood back of her. Thus the Balkan question was to become a chief cause of the Great War of 1914 (chap. xxxviii).

C. The Partition of Africa

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century Africa remained "the Dark Continent." Little beyond its coast line was known. Even as late as 1875 geographies and atlases showed the great Kongo River as a small stream, with a course utterly unlike the true one. France had conquered Algeria; Great Britain held the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and a few places on the west coast; France, Spain, and Portugal possessed a few unimportant trading stations. With these exceptions, no Christian country had thought it worth while to occupy African territory. Considerably less than one tenth of Africa was claimed by European Powers. Until Italy

834. Africa before 1875

AFRICA IN 1913

Liberia and Abyssinia were independent states. The rest of Africa was divided into possessions and protectorates of other powers, as follows: (1) Great Britain — all the areas colored red on the map, including Cape of Good Hope, Rhodesia, etc.; (2) France — all the areas colored purple, including Algeria, Tunis, etc.; (3) Germany — all the African areas colored yellow; (4) Portugal — Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Portuguese East Africa; (5) Italy — Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and Tripoli; (6) Belgium — Belgian Kongo; (7) Spain — Rio de Oro and part of Morocco. Egypt was claimed as a tributary state by Turkey, but it was practically under the control of Great Britain.

and Germany had achieved their unity, Europe was occupied with the solution of internal problems. With these tasks completed, European governments began to direct their attention, as never before, to the mysterious continent of Africa.

Considerable progress, however, had already been made in African exploration. Arab traders and slave raiders had long visited its interior; but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that devoted missionaries and scientific explorers began to reveal the geography of those regions. In the second half of the century this work went on apace. In 1858 the great lake called Victoria Nyanza (the source of the Nile) was discovered. The greatest of African explorers was Dr. David Livingstone, a British missionary who spent thirty years in repeated expeditions into the interior. He endured incredible hardships in a hostile country, often with only three or four natives for companions, and died there in 1873. Next to him ranks the Anglo-American Henry M. Stanley, whose explorations in 1877 made known the great waterway of the Kongo, leading into the heart of the continent.

835. Exploration of Africa

One great obstacle to European progress in Africa (aside from its lack of good harbors) was the existence of a ring of mountain chains close to the coast, making difficult all access to the "hinterland." The discovery of the Kongo River opened up, for the first time, an easy avenue to the vast and inhospitable interior. The Belgian king, Leopold II, was the first to see the opportunity afforded by Stanley's discovery. He had already formed the plan of founding in Africa a great state through the combined action of manufacturers and traders (who sought Africa's commercial development), and of missionaries and philanthropists (who wished to Christianize the natives and to stop the horrors perpetrated by Arab slave catchers). Under King Leopold's patronage, Stanley in 1879 led an expedition from the west coast up the Kongo River to take possession of its vast basin. His chief station, named Leopoldville, was established on Stanley Pool, where the Kongo broadens out before breaking, in a series

836. Kongo State founded (1883)

of rapids and cataracts, through the mountain barrier which separates the upland interior from the coast. The Kongo Free State was definitely organized in 1883, with Leopold as king. A railroad was built around the rapids, and above them steam navigation was established for a thousand miles. The slave trade, as formerly carried on, was abolished; and an enormous commerce in rubber, founded on forced labor (often exacted with great cruelty), was built up. Toward the close of the nineteenth century loud outcries were raised, in England and America, against the harsh and cruel treatment inflicted on the natives by Belgian agents. As a result, an arrangement was made in 1908, between King Leopold and the Belgian Parliament, by which the Kongo State ceased to be an independent state and became a Belgian colony. The worst of the evils complained of were remedied, but stories are still heard, from time to time, of Belgian cruelties in the Kongo colony.

837. The partition of Africa

The British occupation of Egypt and the founding of the Kongo State precipitated a wild scramble of European Powers for African territory. The lead in this movement was taken by Germany, which was beginning to feel the need of colonial outlets for her rapidly expanding industry and population. South America was closed to her by the Monroe Doctrine, and other European nations held most of the regions elsewhere where colonization was possible. Germany's attention turned therefore to Africa. In 1884, as a result of secretly negotiated treaties with native chiefs, the German flag was raised over Togo and Kamerun (kä-mā-roon′) on the west coast. In subsequent years, and by similar methods, the colonies of German Southwest Africa and German East Africa were acquired. The other European Powers soon joined in the competition for African territory. The rules under which annexations should be regarded as valid were laid down by a congress of the Powers held in Berlin in the winter of 1884–1885.

By the end of the century there was scarcely a foot of unclaimed territory in the vast African continent. In future ages the occupation of Africa will probably be looked upon as an

event in history which ranks with the European occupation of America in the seventeenth century, and the British occupation of Australia at the beginning of the nineteenth. The amazing thing is that the partition should have been made without directly provoking a European war. In only two cases did serious friction arise between the Great Powers over African territory. The first case was in 1898, when England and France very nearly came to blows over a district in the Upper Nile valley (the "Fashoda incident"). The second concerned Morocco, where Germany emphatically objected to the establishing of a French

Scene on Uganda Railroad, Africa

protectorate. The latter dispute was settled in 1911, when France bought off Germany's claims in Morocco by ceding to her a part of French Equatorial Africa. Rivalry in Africa, however, was undoubtedly one factor in the European war of 1914 (chap. xxxviii).

838. European possessions in Africa (1913)

A few words may be said concerning the holdings of each of the European Powers in Africa in 1913. The Belgian and the German territories have already been indicated. The British possessions (including Egypt, and the former Boer republics whose conquest is described in chap. xxxiii) were the most populous and valuable. The development of South Africa was largely due to Cecil Rhodes, whose dream it was to establish a "Cape to Cairo" railway, intended to

unite the greater part of eastern Africa in one territorial mass under English rule. This road will doubtless be completed, but its final course is not yet determined. The French possessions, starting from Algeria, stretched over a vast extent of the Sahara and the Sudan, and included a considerable territory on the right bank of the Kongo River, together with the island of Madagascar (annexed 1882–1896). The Portuguese retained considerable possessions on the east and west coasts, but bad government made them of little profit. The Spanish possessions were few and small. Italy, emulating the other states, had established colonies on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; but these lands are barren, and her experience there has been disastrous. Tripoli (Libya), because of its nearness to Italy, promises to be of more value. Abyssinia in 1913 was still independent. Morocco was succumbing before the advance of France and Spain. Throughout Africa railways, telegraph lines, and European commerce were making rapid progress. It was open to speculation whether Africa might not, by the year 2000, be as far advanced economically and politically as South America was in 1900, after four centuries of European occupation.

IMPORTANT DATES

1877–1878. War between Russia and Turkey; Congress of Berlin.
1882. Triple Alliance formed between Germany, Austria, and Italy.
1882. British occupation of Egypt begun.
1883. Kongo State formed.
1884. Partition of Africa among the European Powers.
1891. Dual Alliance of France and Russia announced.
1911–1912. Italy takes Tripoli from Turkey.
1912–1913. War of the Balkan allies against Turkey.
1913. Servia, Greece, Roumania, and Montenegro defeat Bulgaria.

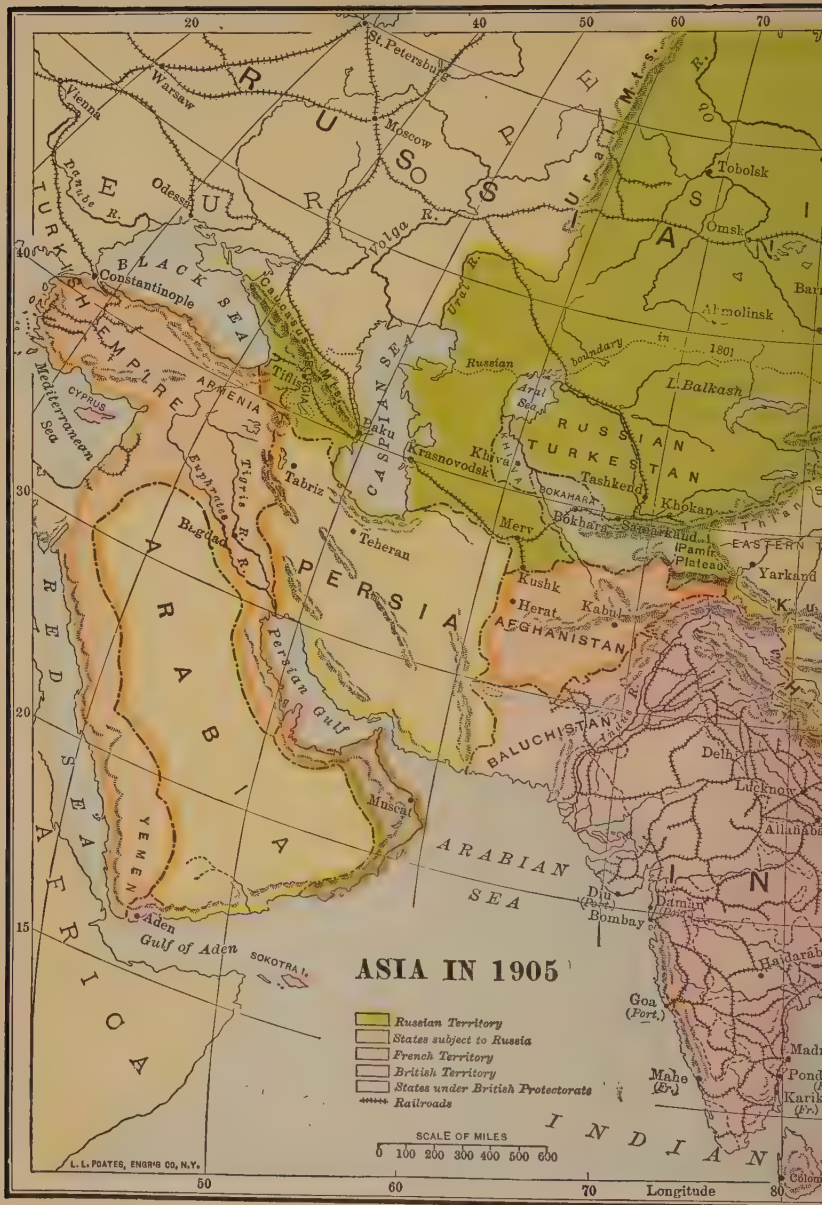
TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Who was chiefly responsible for the conditions which produced the "armed peace" of Europe? (2) What arguments can be advanced in favor of the Triple and the Dual alliances? What arguments against them? (3) Compare the recent Concert of the Powers with the Grand Alliance after 1815. (4) Why did Russia go to war with

Turkey in 1877? (5) Was Great Britain justified in intervening in Egypt? (6) Point out on the map the territory lost by Turkey in 1878, in 1912, and in 1913. (7) Point out on the map the territory now remaining to Turkey in Europe. Compare this with its extent in 1789 (map, p. 483). (8) Why did the partition of Africa come just when it did? (9) Of what value to European powers are their African possessions? (10) Of what value to Africa is European colonization?

Search Topics. — (1) THE TRIPLE AND DUAL ALLIANCES. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 319–322; Phillips, *Modern Europe*, 525–534; Rose, *Development of European Nations*, II, ch. i. — (2) EARLIER STAGES OF THE EASTERN QUESTION. Hazen, 601–616; Seignobos, *Europe Since 1814*, ch. xx; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VIII, 831–832; Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 303–309. — (3) RUSSO-TURKISH WAR. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 309–311; Hazen, 617–624; Phillips, 491–515; Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, 1022–1045. — (4) CONGRESS OF BERLIN. Hazen, 624–627; Phillips, 515–519; Fyffe, 1045–1052. — (5) BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT. Hazen, 557–563; Rose, II, 143–227; Johnston, *Colonization of Africa*, 231–235; Penfield, *Present Day Egypt*, II, ch. x. — (6) ITALIAN TURKISH WAR OF 1911–1912. See yearbooks and indexes to periodical literature for 1911 and 1912. — (7) GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN BALKAN STATES. Hazen, 627–636; Phillips, 519–523; Rose, I, ch. x. — (8) THE BALKAN WAR OF 1912–1913. See yearbooks and indexes to periodical literature. Wagner, *With the Victorious Bulgarians;* Ashmead-Bartlett, *With the Turks in Thrace;* Campbell, *The Balkan War Drama.* — (9) DAVID LIVINGSTONE. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVI, 813–815; Hughes, *David Livingstone;* Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone.* — (10) HENRY M. STANLEY. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXV, 779–781; Stanley, *Autobiography.* — (11) STANLEY'S DESCENT OF THE KONGO. Stanley, *Autobiography*, ch. xv; Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent.* — (12) FOUNDING OF THE KONGO STATE. Hazen, 550–557; Johnston, *Colonization of Africa*, ch. xi; Rose, II, 269–298; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VI, 917–922; Stanley, *Autobiography*, ch. xvi; Wack, *Story of the Congo Free State*, chs. ii–iii. — (13) GERMANY'S AFRICAN COLONIES. Johnston, *Colonization of Africa;* Keltie, *Partition of Africa; Encyclopedia Britannica*, XI, 800–803. — (14) THE MOROCCO QUESTION. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVIII, 858–859; yearbooks and indexes to periodical literature.

General Reading. — See the articles in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.) on the Eastern Question, Turkey, Greece, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Egypt. Villari, *The Balkan Question;* "Odysseus," *Turkey in Europe.* For Africa, in addition to the works cited above, see *Africa and its Exploration, as Told by its Explorers* (2 vols.); Brown, *Story of Africa* (4 vols.); Cana, *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union.*


ASIA IN 1905
Russian Territory
States subject to Russia
French Territory
British Territory
States under British Protectorate
Railroads
SCALE OF MILES
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L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO, N.Y.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
TURKISH EMPIRE
PERSIA
ARABIA
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
EASTERN TURKESTAN
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
AFRICA
Constantinople
Vienna
Warsaw
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Odessa
Tobolsk
Omsk
Tiflis
Baku
Tabriz
Teheran
Bagdad
Merv
Bokhara
Samarkand
Tashkend
Khokan
Khiva
Krasnovodsk
Herat
Kushk
Kabul
Yarkand
Delhi
Lucknow
Allahabad
Bombay
Diu (Port.)
Damaun (Port.)
Goa (Port.)
Mahe (Fr.)
Muscat
Aden
Gulf of Aden
SOKOTRA I.
Persian Gulf
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Danube R.
Volga R.
Ural R.
Indus R.
Cyprus
Mediterranean Sea
YEMEN
Russian Boundary in 1801
L. Balkash
Aral Sea
Pamir Plateaus
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80
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Longitude

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120
130
140
150
Lena R.
Stanovoi Range
Yablonovyi Range
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIN
KURIL IS.
EMPIRE
RUSSIAN
Khabarovsk
Amur R.
Transsoyarsk
L. Baikal
Irkutsk
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
SEA OF JAPAN
HONSHU
Tokio
Yokohama
Tie Pass
Mukden
Liaoyang
Liaotung
Pt. Arthur (Jap.)
Weihaiwei (Br.)
Seoul
Peking
Tientsin (Pechili)
Gulf of
Desert of Gobi
MONGOLIA
CHINESE
EMPIRE
Hoang R.
Kiauchau (Ger.)
Nanking
Hankau
Shanghai
YELLOW SEA
Nagasaki
EAST CHINA SEA
JAPANESE
OCEAN
FORMOSA
Tibet Mts.
TIBET
CHINA
Yang
Lassa
BHUTAN
Canton
Hongkong (Br.)
Macao (Port.)
Kwang-chau-wan (Fr.)
Mandalay
Calcutta
BURMA
TONKIN
Gulf of Tonkin
HAINAN
CHINA SEA
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
(U.S.)
Manila
Rangoon
SIAM
Menam R.
Bangkok
Mekong R.
CAMBODIA
Saigon
COCHIN CHINA
ANNAM
ANDAMAN IS.
Gulf of Siam
Malay Peninsula
Sulu Sea
NORTH BORNEO
BORNEO
CELEBES
CELEBES SEA
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NICOBAR IS.
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CHAPTER XXXV

AWAKENING OF THE FAR EAST, AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

A. The Awakening of China and Japan

The Far East is likely for some time to be a storm center of world politics. Until about 1840, the history of this part of the world ran in a separate channel from that of Europe. Hordes of Asiatics — Huns in the fifth century, Bulgarians in the seventh, Magyars in the tenth, and Turks in the fourteenth — invaded Europe; and Jenghiz Khan (died 1227) and his successors established a Mongol empire which stretched from Poland to the Pacific Ocean, and held Russia in subjection for more than two centuries. Now, however, the tide of invasion is turned the other way, and Europe is transforming Asia.

839. Mongols and Chinese (1200–1840)

China is one of the most ancient civilized countries of the world. Its great religious teacher, Confucius, flourished five hundred years before Christ. The Mongol rule, established by Jenghiz Khan, lasted until 1368; then for three hundred years China was ruled by Emperors of the Ming dynasty. In the seventeenth century the Manchu Tartars overthrew the Ming dynasty, and in spite of various unsuccessful movements for the restoration of native rule, the Manchu government lasted until recent days. With the accession of the Ming dynasty, China shut her doors to other nations. Although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some commerce was established with Europeans, it was restricted to a single port — Canton.

The first effective breach in the barrier with which China surrounded herself was made by the unjust "Opium War"

waged by Great Britain, in 1840–1842, to compel the admission of opium from India. By the treaty which ended that war, the island of Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain, and Shanghai (shăng-hä′ĭ) and three other ports were opened to British trade on the same terms as Canton. Commercial treaties with the United States, France, and other countries soon followed. In 1857–1860 the British, in alliance with the French, waged a second war upon China, and Peking was taken. This war secured the toleration of Christianity and the admission of resident ambassadors to the Chinese capital. New "treaty ports" were opened up to European trade, the number ultimately rising to more than forty, and China's age-long seclusion came to an end. France meanwhile acquired rights in China's former dependency of Anam, which (largely at the expense of the kingdoms of Cambodia and Siam) have grown into the great French protectorate of Indo-China.

840. Opening up of China (1840–1884)

Equally important with the opening up of China was the awakening of Japan. The Emperor of Japan (sometimes called the Mikado) had early lost much of his power to the Shogun (shō′goon), the hereditary commander of the army; and a sort of feudal system had arisen in which local authority was vested in lords called *daimios* (dī′mĭ-ōz), who were practically vassals of the Shogun. In this system the Emperors played a part roughly similar to that of the Frankish kings of the seventh and eighth centuries, while the Shoguns corresponded to the "mayors of the palace" (§ 21). Christianity was introduced into Japan in the seventeenth century, but its followers were suspected of political aims, and in 1637 its acceptance by the Japanese was forbidden. At the same time natives were forbidden to leave the country under penalty of death. For two centuries thereafter, Japan, like China and Korea, was practically a "hermit nation."

841. Awakening of Japan (1637)

The credit of opening Japan to Western commerce and ideas belongs to Commodore Perry, of the United States navy, who in 1854 induced the Shogun to conclude a treaty opening up Yokoha′ma and two other ports to trade. Great Britain,

Russia, and France quickly followed with similar treaties. For a time there was trouble growing out of Japanese conservatism and hatred of foreigners, but this speedily died down. In 1867 the progressive Emperor Mutsuhito (mo͝ot'so͝o-hē'tō) came to the throne. In his reign, which lasted until 1912, Japan leaped the chasm of centuries in acquiring European science and in material progress. First, the Shogun was overthrown and the feudal system entirely suppressed. Many Japanese students were then sent to Europe and America for education, where they showed a remarkable power to assimilate Western culture in all its branches. Under these influences Japan was revolutionized in its government, its industry, and its educational and military systems. A constitution was proclaimed in 1889, by which the administration was placed in the hands of ministers responsible to the Emperor, and the legislative power was vested in an Imperial Diet of two houses. No other case in history can be found of so complete a transformation in so short a time.

Japanese Soldier

The first test of Japan's new military institutions came in 1894. In that year war broke out with China through rival pretensions over the kingdom of Kore'a. The Japanese navy, built in the best shipyards of Europe, speedily sank the Chinese fleet; and the Japanese army, drilled and equipped in European fashion, was completely victorious over China's antiquated forces. All Korea was occupied; Port Arthur and Weihaiwei (wā'hī-wā'), on opposite sides of the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili (pā'che-lē), were captured; and Peking itself was threatened. China then made peace, through her great viceroy and diplomat, Li Hung Chang (lē'ho͝ong'chäng'). Its terms included the renunciation of her claims in Korea, the payment of an indemnity, and the cession to Japan of Port Arthur and the island of Formosa.

842. War between Japan and China (1894–1895)

This treaty was too favorable to Japan to suit the European

Powers, for they had their own designs upon Chinese possessions. Russia, France, and Germany joined in forcing Japan to give up her conquests on the mainland, and to content herself with Formosa and an increased indemnity. Then Germany, to obtain "satisfaction" for the murder of German missionaries, seized the port of Kiauchau (kyou'chou'), in 1897, and forced its lease from China as a coaling and naval station for ninety-nine years. Germany also secured the grant to her subjects of a first right to construct railroads, open mines, etc., in the adjoining province. Early in 1898 Russia secured Port Arthur by a similar lease for twenty-five years, thus obtaining what she did not hitherto possess — a port on the Pacific which was free from ice the year round. Russia also received a concession to build a railroad from Port Arthur to join her Trans-Siberian railway (§ 849). This concession became a pretext for treating Chinese Manchuria as practically Russian territory. To restore the balance of power in the Gulf of Pechili, Great Britain leased Weihaiwei, and also secured a grant of about two hundred square miles on the mainland opposite Hongkong. France in turn seized a port in the south, and extorted concessions for the development of the southern provinces.

843. European powers in China

For a time it looked as if the appetites of the European Powers for territory and trade, which had been merely whetted and not dulled by their seizures in Africa, would repeat in China the tragic drama which the eighteenth century had witnessed in Poland. That China was saved from this fate was due to a number of causes. Among these were the greater publicity now given to international events by the cable and the press, the mutual jealousies of the Powers, and the watchful hostility of Japan. The insistent demand of the United States and Great Britain for equality of commercial and industrial opportunities — known as the policy of "the open door" — was also a factor in saving China from dismemberment.

844. China saved from dismemberment

China herself, moreover, showed a strength and a power of adaptation, in the face of these events, which hitherto had been unsuspected. She awoke from her sleep of centuries, and began

to adopt many of the improvements of the West. Concessions to foreigners multiplied rapidly after the war with Japan. A railroad from Peking to Tientsin was built by the government, and arrangements were made for the construction with foreign capital of other lines thousands of miles in length. Telegraph lines were extended; electric roads, electric lights, and telephones were introduced in the chief cities; and the principal rivers and canals were opened to Western commerce. At the same time Chinese students, following the example of the Japanese, began to go in large numbers (often at government expense) to Europe and to America, where they studied Western ways and acquired European civilization and learning.

Empress Dowager of China

845. The Boxer War (1900)

The young Emperor (Kuang-Hsu) favored the introduction of Western civilization. His aunt, the empress dowager, opposed this, and in 1898, by a *coup d'état*, she resumed the power she had exercised during the Emperor's minority. As a result of her influence there occurred in 1900 a rising against foreigners, headed by the "Boxers," one out of many Chinese secret societies. Christian missionaries and their converts were massacred, and the foreign embassies in Peking were besieged. To rescue them, the Great Powers of Europe, together with Japan and the United States, formed a joint army, which fought its way to Peking and released the legations. The empress dowager was forced to make peace, with abject apologies, and to pay large money indemnities.

Not long after this occurred one of the greatest events of recent years, profoundly affecting the situation throughout the

whole of Asia — the successful war waged by the Japanese against the great and domineering empire of Russia. But before we take up this event, we must turn back and trace the history of Russia since the Crimean War.

B. Russia after the Crimean War

The Tsar Alexander II, who had signed the peace which terminated the Crimean War (§ 723), took a great step towards converting Russia into a modern state by freeing its serfs. More than half of the seventy-odd millions of European Russia were still in a condition of absolute serfdom. The masters had the right "to sell their peasants and domestic servants, not even in families, but one by one, like cattle." The only restriction was that they should not be sold by auction, since this was "unbecoming in a European state." The Crimean War had revealed great disorder, weakness, and corruption in the Russian government, and this revelation gave a powerful stimulus in Russia to Liberal movements of all kinds. After long study an edict emancipating the serfs was issued in 1861 — on the eve of the Civil War in the United States which put an end to negro slavery in our own land. By this decree forty million human beings were released from bondage. But the scanty lands which they received were charged with heavy annual payments to indemnify their former masters, and the peasants themselves — impoverished, brutalized, and ignorant — were bound to their village communities as they formerly had been to the estates of their masters. Although freed from personal serfdom, they were far from attaining economic and political freedom. In some respects the condition of the peasant became worse than it had been before the emancipation.

846. Serfdom abolished (1861)

Disappointment at the failure to obtain a political constitution from Alexander II caused an opposition party to arise, principally among young university students, and this gradually became revolutionary. To a policy of arbitrary arrests, imprisonment in foul dungeons, and transporta-

847. Nihilist terrorism and reaction

tion to Siberia, the Nihilist secret societies replied by a policy of terrorism based on assassination. In March, 1881, the Tsar himself was assassinated by the hurling of a nitroglycerin bomb against his carriage. That very day he had signed a "ukase," or decree, which would have laid the foundations of constitutional government by establishing a consultative assembly. His son, Alexander III (1881–1894), revoked this decree, and during the whole of this reign, and in the first ten years of that of his son Nicholas II, a reactionary policy prevailed. Terrorists were hunted down, the press was gagged, and exile to Siberia was freely used to check Liberal opinions.

848. Russian advance on India

The chief feature, however, of the history of Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century was its steady advance in Asia. Seven great European wars, from the time of Peter the Great to the Congress of Berlin (1711–1878), had brought Russia only meager results. A frontage on the Baltic and Black seas was acquired, but their outlets remained under the control of other Powers. In Asia much greater results could be shown. Her policy there was twofold:—

(1) It included a southward expansion toward India and the Arabian Sea. This movement produced numerous wars and treaties with Persia, Afghanistan, and Great Britain. By 1828 the beginning was made of an ascendancy in Persia, which was afterward strengthened by diplomacy, money loans, and railway building.[1] Russian Turkestan was annexed, Khiva and Bokhara were made vassal states, and in 1884 the Russian frontier was pushed to the borders of Afghanistan. The northern half of the Pamir plateau — the "roof of the world," which commands the ramparts of India — was acquired in 1893. This advance of Russia in Central Asia seriously threatened the security of British India, for the Russian frontier and railway terminal (at Kushk) were but seventy-five miles from Herat (hĕr-ät′), which was long regarded as "the key to India." It is this conflict of interests in Asia which explains the long dip-

[1] For the recent history of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, see § 866.

lomatic antagonism between Russia and England, manifesting itself in their opposing attitudes on the Eastern Question in Europe, and elsewhere. Their antagonism was not allayed until 1907, when the formation of the Triple Entente (§ 822) removed the chief causes of friction between the two countries.

(2) The second feature of Russia's policy in Asia was her advance to the Pacific, through Siberian colonization, the building of the Trans-Siberian railway, and intervention in China and Korea. The Russian colonization of Siberia — like the settlement of the western parts of the United States — has been a natural and peaceable expansion. "To become a colonist, there is no ocean to cross, no steamboat fare to pay. The poorest peasant, a staff in his hand, an ax at his belt, his boots slung from a cord over his shoulder, can pass from one halting place to another, until he reaches the ends of the empire." The early Siberian settlers were gold hunters, trappers, fur traders, fugitive serfs, and transported criminals. A treaty with China in 1689 fixed the boundaries of the two lands until 1858, when Russia extorted the cession of northern Manchuria and the whole left bank of the Amur (ä-moor′) River. Maritime Manchuria (including Vladivostok′) was acquired in 1860. In 1895–1902 the Russian government took a step of supreme importance in making accessible, and hence valuable, these vast possessions by constructing the Trans-Siberian railway, nearly 5000 miles long. Wholly apart from its military value, it is estimated that in the commerce of the world this road "will work as important a revolution as did the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in the fifteenth century, or the construction of the Suez Canal in the nineteenth."

849. Siberia and the Trans-Siberian railway

Rambaud, in *International Monthly*, II, 359

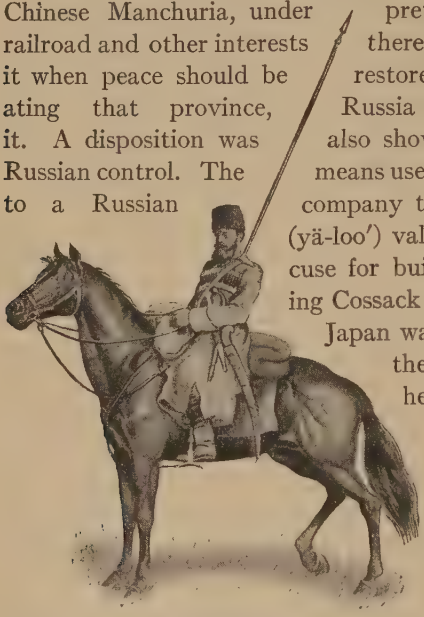
Rambaud (as above), 361

The total area of the Russian Empire in 1913 was more than twice that of the whole of Europe; it was about one sixth of the land surface of the globe. Its inhabitants numbered 175,000,000, or more than a tenth of the earth's population. Only a fifth of this population, however, was included in Russia's vast Asiatic possessions.

C. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905)

850. Russo-Japanese War begun (1904)

The causes of the Russo-Japanese War are to be found in the energetic and unscrupulous way in which Russia, after the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway, pushed her commercial and political interests in the Far East. At the time of the Boxer troubles she had taken possession of Chinese Manchuria, under pretext of safeguarding her railroad and other interests there, promising to evacuate it when peace should be restored. But instead of evacuating that province, Russia strengthened her hold on it. A disposition was also shown to bring Korea under Russian control. The means used was a concession granted to a Russian company to cut timber in the Yalu (yä-loo′) valley, which became an excuse for building forts and introducing Cossack soldiers into that region. Japan was already smarting under the check administered to her by the Powers after her victorious war with China, and was also in urgent need of an outlet on the Asiatic continent for her growing manufactures and population. She looked with bitter hostility upon this extension of Russian power, for it menaced her prosperity and independence. Long negotiations took place, in which no less than ten draft treaties were successively discussed, without coming to a conclusion. At last Japan resolved to resort to war, and "her military and naval preparations, unlike those of Russia, kept pace with her diplomacy." [1]



Cossack

Russian light cavalryman; formerly Russia's most renowned soldiery, but of little use in war as now waged.

[1] France, Russia's ally, was deterred from actively aiding Russia in the war by an alliance of England with Japan, which would become effective in case Japan

Three days after the war opened, the Japanese surprised the Russian fleet at Port Arthur (February 8, 1904). They torpedoed two battleships and two cruisers, and "bottled up" the rest of the fleet by blockading that harbor. These exploits gave the Japanese the command of the sea, an advantage which they thenceforth retained. Korea was occupied, and the Russians were driven from the Yalu River. By May 28, the Japanese lines had been drawn across the Liaotung (le-ou'toong') peninsula, and Port Arthur was cut off on the land side. There followed a seven months' siege, marked by unparalleled suffering, which was ended on January 1, 1905, by Port Arthur's surrender.

851. Fall of Port Arthur

Meanwhile, the Russian army was disastrously defeated at Liaoyang (le-ou'yäng') in September, 1904, and forced to fall back upon Mukden'. The winter was passed by both armies intrenched amid snow and ice, under conditions of great suffering, especially for the Russians, for whose supply the single-track line of the Trans-Siberian railway proved inadequate. The arrival in the Japanese camp of the Port Arthur army, with its heavy siege guns, enabled the Japanese, after fifteen days' severe fighting, to drive the Russians from Mukden (March 10, 1905). The Russian losses, in killed, wounded, and captured, numbered more than 100,000. Their broken and disorganized army was then forced back toward Harbin (har-bēn'), the junction point with the main line of the Trans-Siberian railway.

852. The Mukden campaign

A new Russian fleet, meanwhile, was making the long voyage from the Baltic around the Cape of Good Hope. Its vessels were ill-equipped, and the crews were mutinous, demoralized, and ill-led. When the fleet reached Japanese waters, it was annihilated (May 27–29) by Admiral To'go in the battle of the Sea of Japan, — one of the greatest naval battles in history. Without serious damage to a single Japanese ship, nineteen vessels of the enemy were sunk or captured. Russia's

853. Battle of the Sea of Japan (May, 1905)

were attacked by more than one power. Troubles with Germany over Morocco (§ 837) also tied her hands.

naval power was thereby destroyed, and her cause was rendered hopeless. Soon after, the Japanese reoccupied the island of Sakhalin (sȧ-ĸȧ-lyēn′), from which Russia had driven them in 1875. They also began to close in upon Vladivostok.

854. Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)

The efforts of President Roosevelt of the United States brought about a meeting of representatives of the two Powers (at Portsmouth, New Hampshire) in August, 1905, to discuss terms of peace. The demand of Japan for the cession of Sakhalin Island and for the payment of an indemnity to reimburse her for the cost of the war threatened for a time to break up the conference. The appeals of President Roosevelt, however, finally brought about a compromise. Japan abandoned the claim for an indemnity, but gained all the points for which she had undertaken the war. The terms of the treaty were as follows: —

1. Japan's paramount interest in Korea was recognized.[1]
2. Russia agreed to evacuate Chinese Manchuria.
3. Her lease of the Liao-tung peninsula, together with the southern half of the Port Arthur railway, were ceded to Japan.
4. Japan was also given the southern half of Sakhalin Island, together with special fishing rights on the Siberian coast.

855. Results of the war

The Russo-Japanese War was an event of very great importance, not only for the Powers immediately concerned, but for China, America, and the whole world. It involved the future fate of China, and the control of the Pacific; and these are questions of vital importance to America and Australia, as well as to Asia and Europe. The unexpected ability displayed by the Japanese insures for the "yellow peoples" of Asia the prospect of an independent future, parallel with that of the white races. It has been suggested that the recent development of China and Japan may prove to be of more permanent importance in the world's history than any events which have occurred since Greece saved Europe from Persian conquest, more than two thousand years ago.

[1] In 1910 Japan forced the Emperor of Korea to abdicate, and formally annexed that country.

IMPORTANT DATES

1840–1842. The British "Opium War" begins the opening of China to Europeans.
1854. Commodore Perry induces Japan to open its ports.
1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia.
1894–1895. War between China and Japan.
1897–1898. Seizure of Chinese territory by Germany, Russia, Great Britain, and France.
1900. The Boxer War.
1902. Trans-Siberian railway completed.
1904–1905. Russo-Japanese War.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Were the Western powers justified in forcing China to open her ports to foreigners? (2) What difference was there between the opening of the ports of Japan and that of China? (3) How do you account for the rapid development of Japan since 1867? (4) Why was the development less rapid in China? (5) What effect did its defeat by Japan have upon China? (6) Was the interference of Russia, Germany, and France after that war just or unjust? (7) Compare the attitude of the European powers towards China with the dealings of Russia, Prussia, and Austria with Poland in the eighteenth century. (8) What has saved China so far from the fate of Poland? (9) Compare the Boxer movement with anti-Chinese movements in this country. (10) Compare the condition of Russia before 1861 with that of the other European countries. (11) Compare the emancipation of the Russian serfs with the abolition of negro slavery in the United States. (12) Did the terrorist methods of the Russian revolutionaries help or hinder their cause? (13) Compare the eastward advance of Russia in Siberia with the westward growth of the United States. (14) What railway in the United States played a part analogous to that of the Trans-Siberian railway? Is it likely that railways will have as much influence in Africa? (15) Was Japan in the right in going to war with Russia when and in the manner she did? (16) Of what advantage was it to the Japanese to shut up the Russian fleet at Port Arthur? (17) Compare the siege of Port Arthur with that of Sebastopol in the Crimean War. (18) What reasons can you give for the success of the Japanese? (19) Compare the number of men engaged in Manchuria on each side with the numbers in Napoleon's campaigns, and in our Civil War.

Search Topics. — (1) EARLY RELATIONS OF EUROPE WITH CHINA. Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 331–338; Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*, 681–687; Douglas, *Europe and the Far East*, 41–90;

— (2) Awakening of Japan. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 338–343; Hazen, 687–695; Douglas, 169–209; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 424–433. — (3) War Between China and Japan. Hazen, 695–698; Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 343–346; Douglas, 304–322; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VI, 233–234; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 433–435. — (4) The Boxer War. Douglas, 323–360; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VI, 203–206; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 435–441. — (5) Progress of China. Reinsch, *World Politics*, 85–195; Douglas, 256–284; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VI, 207–209; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 441–444. — (6) Russian Abolition of Serfdom. Hazen, 655–661; Seignobos, *Europe Since 1814*, 603–608; Rambaud, *History of Russia*, III, 212–228; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 345–352. — (7) Absolute Government and Nihilist Plots. Hazen, 666–672; Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 275–280; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXIII, 905, XIX, 686–688; Rose, *Development of Modern Nations;* Rambaud and others, *The Case of Russia*, 257–292. — (8) Economic Development of Russia. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 280–281; Skrine, *Expansion of Russia*, 313–321; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 119–221. — (9) Russian Expansion in Asia. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 262–264; Rambaud and others, *The Case of Russia*, 57–135; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 354–359. — (10) Trans-Siberian Railway. Goodrich, *Russia in Europe and Asia*, ch. ix; Beveridge, *The Russian Advance*, chs. vi–vii. — (11) Causes of the Russo-Japanese War. Hazen, 699–700; Douglas, 409–424; Asakawa, *Russo-Japanese Conflict*, 1–64; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 444–445. — (12) The Siege of Port Arthur. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVI, 926–928; Villiers, *Port Arthur: Three Months with the Besiegers*. — (13) Battle of the Sea of Japan. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVI, 930; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 445–446. — (14) The Mukden Campaign. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVI, 929–930; McCormick, *The Tragedy of Russia*, I, chs. xxxiv, II, xxxix. — (15) The Treaty of Portsmouth. Hershey, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War*, ch. xiii; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XV, 250–251.

General Reading. — Douglas, *Europe and the Far East*, is the best single book to the opening of the Russo-Japanese War. The article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on the Russo-Japanese War is a good brief account of that struggle. Good books on China are A. H. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, and Ross, *The Changing Chinese*. On Japan see Griffis, *The Japanese Nation in Evolution*.

CHAPTER XXXVI

A WORLD IN REVOLUTION (1900–1913)

A. The Overthrow of Absolute Governments

Since the opening of the twentieth century the world has progressed at a rate hitherto unexampled in history. Change has crowded fast upon change, and the innovations have been fundamental and far-reaching in their effects. The movement exhibits itself alike in the fields of pure and applied science, of economic and social relations, and in the organization and working of governments. To sketch some of these developments, down to 1913, and to show their significance, is the purpose of this and the following chapter.

856. Rapid changes in many fields

The decline of absolute rule in the world was one of the most evident changes of the new era. In Russia, Turkey, Persia, and China, revolutions broke out which swept away, or made substantial progress toward sweeping away, their former absolute governments. The movement started in Russia, where it may be considered a result of the Russo-Japanese War.

857. Fall of absolute governments

The war with Japan had glaringly revealed the corruption and incompetence of the absolute rule in Russia.[1] This revelation naturally led to a revival of attempts at revolution. In the early months of 1905, widespread industrial and political disturbances broke out, in which even the stolid peasants took part. On the one side were political assassinations, and on the other bloody repression by Cossack sol-

858. RUSSIA: Attempted revolution (1905)

[1] It was found, for example, that grand dukes and other high dignitaries had shamelessly stolen the funds of the International Red Cross Society, which had been sent to Russia for the relief of the wounded.

diers.[1] The troubles occurred especially at St. Petersburg, Odessa, and in the towns of Poland. The mobilization of new troops for the war led to frequent outbreaks, and the army in

Revolutionary Demonstration in St. Petersburg

the Far East was reported to be full of disaffection. A serious blow came when the crew of the most powerful warship of the

[1] On Sunday, January 22, 1905, a disturbance occurred at St. Petersburg which gave the name "Red Sunday" to that day. The people had no faith in the Tsar's ministers and officers, and sought humbly to lay their case before him direct. Accordingly a Russian priest named Father Gapon tried on January 22 to lead a vast body of unarmed men, women, and children to the Tsar's Winter Palace to petition him for a redress of their grievances. The Cossacks rode among them and tried to disperse them with their whips, and when this failed the palace guards shot and cut them down. All day long the brutal pursuit continued. Hundreds of the unresisting people were killed, and thousands wounded. This is merely a sample of what went on in many places at many different times.

Black Sea fleet mutinied, slew their officers, and for twelve days terrorized Odessa and other ports, while the crews of the other vessels refused to fire upon their comrades. In view of this widespread disaffection the government was forced to make some concessions. The separate constitution of the grand duchy of Finland, which had been practically annulled since 1899, was restored; and the long attempt (since 1863) to force Russian speech upon the Poles was given up.

The Tsar, Nicholas II (1894–1917), even promised to call together an elective assembly, or Duma (doo'mä). Liberals were bitterly disappointed, however, at the ways in which representation in this body was hedged about, at the lack of independent powers given, and at the refusal of the Tsar to grant their demand for a written constitution. But successful revolt by force of arms nowadays is almost impossible, owing to the large armies at the command of governments, and to the enormous superiority of government troops, due to their discipline and the possession of long-range magazine rifles and machine guns. To gain their point, therefore, the Russian revolutionists resorted to a new weapon, designed to fit the new conditions. This was a "general strike," — that is, an almost total cessation of all the ordinary and necessary employments of life. Railways were tied up, factories closed, gas and electric light shut off, and all shops closed except provision stores. The success of such a movement depends on its universality, and the ability of the strikers to hold out for a considerable time. The Russian strike of 1905 attained some success. The Tsar's police could brutally butcher his subjects when they met together to demand liberty, but they could not set going the halted machinery of industry and commerce. The Tsar, therefore, was forced to issue new decrees, which granted freedom of speech and of religious worship. He also declared that thenceforth no measure should become law which did not have the consent of the elective assembly. But at the same time he limited the powers of the Duma by transforming an existing body called the Council of the Empire,

859. A general strike forces concessions

composed of persons appointed by the crown, into an upper house, without whose consent no measure passed by the Duma could take effect.

The Duma met for the first time in 1906. It demanded (1) a general pardon for political offenses, (2) universal suffrage, (3) a responsible ministry, and (4) the compulsory sale of lands to the peasants. On account of the radical character of its members and of their demands, it was soon dissolved. A second Duma was called together early in 1907. This also proved too radical for the Tsar's government, and it was dissolved after sitting three months. Warfare then followed between the terrorists on the one hand, and the reactionaries on the other. The advantage rested with the latter. By arbitrarily changing the election law and excluding the radical leaders of the earlier bodies, the Tsar in November, 1907, got together a third Duma of much more moderate type. It was called the "Landlords' Duma," because it was almost exclusively under the influence of this class. Even this body voted to reject the title "autocrat" as applied to the Tsar, and at times displayed in other ways an independent spirit. In September, 1912, the term of the third Duma expired, and new elections were held. As a result of the interference of the government in the elections, the fourth Duma was even more conservative than its predecessor.

860. Four successive Dumas (1906–1912)

In 1911 the chief minister of the government was assassinated, after having published (by the mere authority of the Tsar) a law which had not been passed by the two chambers of the assembly. Doubtless such lurking dangers as this constituted one reason for not discontinuing the Dumas entirely, and relapsing into the complete absolutism of former days. Liberals were grievously disappointed at the slow progress which the movement for constitutional government was making. But, as one of the Tsar's ministers remarked, "To jump from the sixteenth century to the twentieth is not easy, especially with twenty-eight unassimilated and illiterate nationalities within the empire." The complete absolutism of the

861. Slight results of revolution

Tsars was evidently at an end, but the nature of the government which should take its place was not yet determined.

The second country to feel the wave of revolt against absolute government was Turkey. As in Russia, the Liberal movement in Turkey was of long standing. The Sultan Abdul-Hamid II had granted a constitution at the beginning of his reign, in 1876; but after two sessions of the Turkish Parliament, that body was dismissed and the constitution suspended. The Turkish government remained a despotism of the worst sort. Modern improvements, such as the telephone, were forbidden on the ground that they might be used to aid conspiracies. A strict censorship was maintained over all printed matter, whether issued in or imported into the country. Government spies were everywhere. In the latter part of his reign the Sultan retired more and more behind the triple wall of his palace, and left the government to swarms of greedy and self-seeking ministers. The more Liberal elements among the European Turks, who were largely of Slavic blood, thereupon organized a vast secret society, with headquarters at Paris. They styled themselves the Young Turks, took for their password "Freedom," and aimed at modernizing and liberalizing Turkey. They had their agents among civilians, in the customhouses, and among the police. The Armenians, Greeks, and other subject Christians threw in their lot with the Young Turks. The leaders of the revolution realized the hopelessness of uprisings of the people against governments supported by modern armies, and refrained from armed insurrection. Finally the army itself, because of misgovernment and arrears in its pay, was won over to the cause. The movement thus became a national one, with one of its objects expressed in the phrase "Turkey for the Turks."

862. **TURKEY: Revolution prepared**

When all was ready the word to revolt was given, in July, 1908. From Albania to Bagdad, from Adrianople to Yemen, there was a united response. The Sultan was obliged to restore the constitution of 1876, which provided for (1) security of personal liberty and property, (2) freedom

863. **The revolt carried out (1908–1909)**

of the press, (3) the abolition of torture, (4) equality of Mohammedan and Christian subjects, (5) a Parliament of two houses, and (6) the responsibility of ministers to Parliament. In April, 1909, the Sultan made a last desperate effort to regain power by stirring up a counter revolution. This was carried on by his palace guards and a few loyal regiments at the capital. It was aided by a carefully fanned hatred of old-fashioned Turks for the new equality of Christians. For a time the attempt was

YOUNG TURKS MARCHING ON CONSTANTINOPLE

successful. But within a few days the well-disciplined troops controlled by the Young Turk party fought their way into Constantinople, and bombarded the palace into surrender. On April 27, 1909, Abdul-Hamid II was deposed, and was succeeded by his younger brother (Mohammed V), who by Mohammedan law was heir apparent in preference to the Sultan's own children.

The task of the Young Turks was made more difficult by the facts that Bulgaria seized this occasion to throw off its vassalage to Turkey, and that Austria now definitely incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been hers to administer since 1878 (§ 825). The efforts of the other Powers,

however, prevented war over these questions, and Turkey was prevailed upon to accept money compensation.

The work of reconstructing Turkey by assimilating the different racial and religious elements, and establishing constitutional government, was exceedingly difficult. It was hampered by dissensions among the Young Turks themselves, and by troubles growing out of the attempt to unify the administration by abolishing certain exemptions which had

864. Difficulty of reconstruction

MOHAMMED V RETURNING FROM TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE

long been granted to the subject races. Several high Turkish officials were assassinated as a result of party quarrels. Moreover, foreign warfare, which was averted in 1909, came two years later; and crushing blows were dealt to Turkish pride and prestige by the loss of Tripoli to Italy in 1912, and by the disastrous Balkan War of 1912–1913, which cost her almost the whole of her remaining European possessions (§§ 830–832). The effect of Turkey's participation in the European war of

1914 was reactionary, bringing her for a time at least under German domination.

Although Mohammedanism has always been the state religion of Turkey, and the Sultan is the head (caliph) of that faith, only about one third of the inhabitants of the lost European provinces were Mohammedans. In Asiatic Turkey, on the other hand, the Mohammedans outnumber all other sects taken together. The Turks there are a vigorous and robust race, and form a compact mass of many million inhabitants. Asia Minor contains great mineral wealth, and other as yet undeveloped resources. If the tasks of political reconstruction, of industrial development, and of education are seriously undertaken, a revived Turkey may arise which will be all the stronger for being freed from religious conflicts with its subjects. In 1913 it seemed that the revolution of 1908–1909 had produced a permanent overthrow of the absolute monarchy, and that the world might look forward to the slow strengthening of Turkish constitutional government; but the future of Turkey is now to be controlled largely by the outcome of the great World War.

865. PERSIA: Revolution effected (1906–1909)

In Persia also the opening years of the century saw a revolution which overthrew the old absolutism. In part this was due to discontent with the extravagance and misgovernment of the Shah (as the king was called), and in part it was due to the example of Russia. The movement took shape in 1905, when a demand was made for representative government. In 1906 a constitution was granted, with a Parliament composed of representatives of the various classes.

In January, 1907, the old Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, who adopted a reactionary policy. Organizing a body of troops under Russian officers, he sought to arrest the leaders of Parliament; and when this attempt was resisted, he bombarded the Parliament house. A revolt followed in a number of the provinces. The success which this movement had, together with pressure from Great Britain and Russia, finally forced the Shah, in May, 1909, to restore the constitution.

The revolt still continued, and in July the revolutionists succeeded in entering the Persian capital, Teheran (tĕ-h'rän'). The Shah took refuge in the Russian legation. The revolutionists thereupon declared him deposed, and seated upon the throne his thirteen-year-old son.

866. Russian and English designs on Persia

Russia and England had long possessed rival commercial and financial interests in Persia. They took advantage of the weakness of the country to come to an agreement (in 1907), by which Russia was to have the chief influence in northern Persia, and Great Britain was to hold a similar position in the south (§ 848). Russia evidently wished, by prolonging disorder in Persia, to pave the way for the annexation of the northern part. Great Britain, by her acquiescence, gained Russia's consent to her policy of shutting out Germany from securing a footing on the Persian Gulf, and so threatening the British possession of India. During the Great War Persia was the scene of operations by Turkish, Russian, and British forces.

867. CHINA: Progress of awakening

One of the most amazing instances of revolution against absolute government was that which broke out in China in 1911. It was directed against the Manchu dynasty, which so long had misruled that country. The looting of Peking by Europeans during the suppression of the Boxer rising (§ 845), and the humiliating neglect of Chinese wishes and interests in the war between Russia and Japan (§§ 850–854), had taught their lesson. Powerful and enlightened men, filled with enthusiasm for Western institutions, came into power and put in execution far-reaching reforms. The army was remodeled on Western lines. Energetic steps were taken to put down the manufacture, importation, and use of opium. The centuries-old system of examinations for office, based on the works of Confucius and other ancient Chinese writers, was abolished. A modern educational system, patterned after that of Japan, was introduced. Finally, a commission was appointed to visit Europe and America, and to report what changes should be made in the Chinese government.

As a result of the work of this commission, an edict appeared in 1906 which promised a parliamentary constitution for China, to be established by gradual steps within nine years. The movement for change was doubtless helped by the death (in November, 1908) of both the fierce old empress dowager (§ 845), and the puppet emperor whom she had practically dethroned. A boy of less than three years was placed on the throne, and the government given over to a regent. Nine years, however, proved too long for the Chinese to wait. From many sides came a demand for the establishing of a Parliament with full powers, at an earlier date than was promised. The educated and well-to-do classes took the lead in the movement, and enthusiastic meetings were held in which men cut off their fingers to show their earnestness. The government at last promised that the Parliament should meet in 1913.

868. Preparations for a constitution (1906–1910)

Dr. Sun Yat Sen

Even this was not enough. In September, 1911, armed rebellion broke out in central China. The objects of the movement were declared to be: (1) to overthrow the Manchus, (2) to make China a federal republic, and (3) to secure honest government. To guard against interference by other countries, injury to foreigners was made punishable with death. The movement spread from city to city, from province to province. Within a few weeks the whole of South China was in the hands of the revolutionists. A provisional government was set up at Nanking′, under Dr. Sun Yat Sen,

869. Manchus dethroned (1911–1912)

the enlightened leader of the revolt. In panic the regent then put at the head of affairs a moderately Liberal statesman, Yuan Shih Kai (yoo-än'she'ki'), whom he had recently dismissed from office. A pathetic apology for the misgovernment of the regency was issued in the name of the boy emperor.[1] At the same time the draft of a constitution was accepted which would have made China a constitutional monarchy, under a parliamentary government.

YUAN SHIH KAI

The Manchus, however, were bitterly hated, and it was too late to save their monarchy. The generals of the imperial army themselves joined in a memorial advising against the attempt to retain power by the use of force. It was also found impossible to borrow the money necessary for resistance. The Manchu imperial house therefore determined to resign the throne. On February 12, 1912, Yuan Shih Kai was given authority to establish a

[1] The apology reads (in part) as follows: "I have reigned for three years and have always acted conscientiously in the interests of the people; but I have not employed men properly, not having political skill. On railway matters some one whom I trusted fooled me, and thus public opinion was opposed. When I urge reform the officials and gentry seize the opportunity to embezzle. When old laws are abolished high officials serve their own ends. Much of the people's money has been taken, but nothing to benefit the people has been achieved. People are grumbling, yet I do not know; disasters loom ahead, but I do not see. All these things are my own fault, and hereby I announce to the world that I swear to reform, and, with our soldiers and people, to carry out the constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, developing the interests of the people, and abolishing their hardships — all in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people. Old laws that are unsuitable will be abolished. The union of Manchus and Chinese, mentioned by the

provisional republican government, and to confer with the revolutionary government at Nanking. The result of the conference was that Sun Yat Sen patriotically resigned his office, and Yuan Shih Kai was elected provisional President of the "Great Republic of China." The little emperor and the Manchu princes were pensioned off, and the republic was left free to establish itself as best it might.

870. Meeting and dissolution of the National Assembly (1913)

In April, 1913, the Chinese National Assembly (or parliament), met for the first time. A majority of its members were enlightened but impractical men, who shared the radical opinions of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The first act of the Assembly was to publish a declaration that "the hundreds of millions of the Chinese people possess the authority of the state," and that the representatives of the people must "give expression to the desires and voice the will of the people." Yuan Shih Kai favored administrative reforms, and was the author of the decree doing away with the old examination system of China; but he believed that the Chinese people were not ready for self-government. He sought to shape the constitution to his own liking and to rule as autocratically as the former Manchu government. An ominous note was struck, soon after the Assembly met, by the murder of a republican general whom the leaders of the Assembly intended to make prime minister. By concluding contracts with the European Powers for immense loans, Yuan greatly strengthened his position. Sun Yat Sen and his followers were confronted with the necessity of choosing between accepting Yuan's authority and resisting that authority by force of arms.

They chose the latter alternative, and widespread revolts broke out (in July) in the southern provinces. President Yuan, however, had at his command the disciplined troops of the

late emperor, I will carry out. Even if all unite, I still fear falling; but if the empire's subjects do not regard and do not honor fate, and are easily misled by outlaws, then the future of China is unthinkable. I am most anxious day and night. My only hope is that my subjects will thoroughly understand."

north, the Chinese navy, and plenty of money as the result of foreign loans. The revolts were easily crushed. Yuan by force and bribery extorted from the Assembly his election as President under the constitution. He then excluded from the Assembly 350 members of the opposition party, and finally suspended the Assembly, announcing that it would be replaced by an administrative council "to act until Parliament is reorganized or is able to resume its sittings." Yuan was thus left (January, 1914) in complete control of the government, with the tacit support of Japan and the European Powers.

With the outbreak of the European war in 1914, the position of Yuan Shih Kai became more difficult. Japan, after taking Kiauchau from Germany, demanded large economic and political concessions from China. Yuan added to his troubles by announcing in December, 1915, that he would restore the monarchy with himself as emperor. Seven out of the eight provinces of southern China revolted, and in the following March Yuan restored the republic. He died two months later. Japan still pressed its claims for concessions in China, and in November, 1917, the United States recognized Japan's "special interest" there. The Republic then seemed firmly established, with a probability that its development would be guided and controlled to a certain extent by Japan.

871. Prospects of the Republic

B. Changes in the States of Continental Europe

While other nations of western Europe strengthened themselves in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, through alliances and the acquisition of territory abroad, Spain continued to decline. One reason for this was the fact that she was long weakened by party struggles. After the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidate for the Spanish throne (§ 770), a younger son of the king of Italy accepted the crown (January, 1871). But at the end of two years he resigned the throne in disgust, and a republic was proclaimed. Wars with royalists of rival houses, and with those who wished a federative

872. Spain after 1870

instead of a consolidated republic, distracted and weakened the country, and in 1875 the monarchy was restored. A constitution with representative government and a legislature of two houses was adopted in 1876, and in 1890 manhood suffrage was added. The power of the monarchy rested mainly on the army, which was over-officered, inefficient, and a great drain on Spanish finances. Railways and industry made rapid strides, but mainly through foreign enterprise. The mass of the population, though sound and honest, remained ignorant, idle, and religiously intolerant. In 1889, 68 per cent could neither read nor write, and 53 per cent were without occupation.

The remnants of Spain's once mighty colonial empire were a source of weakness to her rather than of strength. The cruelty with which an insurrection was being put down in Cuba, led in 1898 to war with the United States. Admiral Dewey at Manila, and Admirals Sampson and Schley at Santiago, crushed the Spanish fleets; and Spain was forced to sue for peace. The terms agreed upon included the giving up of Cuba (which shortly became an independent republic), and the cession of Porto Rico and the Philippines to the United States. The acquisition of the Philippines brought the United States more directly into Far Eastern questions, and increased her importance in "world politics" — an importance based also on the "American invasion" of many European fields of industry.

873. Spanish American War (1898)

For Spain the Spanish American War marked the practical disappearance of the vast colonial empire which she had possessed at the opening of the nineteenth century. If the opportunity afforded by its loss is used to carry through the much needed Liberal reforms at home, and to align Spain with the progressive countries of western Europe, this war will prove for her a blessing in disguise. Her present king (Alfonso XIII) is an enlightened and progressive monarch, but it is difficult to wipe out the results of ages of misgovernment. Spain continues to be an intolerant, illiterate, and backward country. Agriculture there is less productive now than under the Roman Empire, in some districts the plows being mere pointed sticks shod

with iron. Aside from industrial improvement, the problem which seems to be of most immediate concern is that of separating church and state, and removing the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy from politics.

In the history of France, the most important internal event was the ending of the religious Concordat (§ 631) and the separation of church and state. Ever since the establishing of the Third Republic, its relations with the Catholic Church had been strained. By 1900 the number of nuns in France had increased from 14,000 to 75,000; the monks numbered about 190,000; and the property of the religious orders had grown to twentyfold what it was in 1850. Most of the religious orders were engaged in teaching and preaching, and it was charged that their influence was exerted against the Republic. One French statesman went so far as to say: "Clericalism is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years." On the other hand, it should be noted that many of those who attacked the church were hostile to the whole Christian religion, regarding it as an obstacle in the way of progress and of civilization.

874. Opposition to the Catholic Church in France

The Dreyfus affair (§ 735) brought to a head the opposition to the political activity of Catholic churchmen. In 1901–1904 "Association laws" were passed which closed the greater number of the religious (Catholic) establishments, and caused the expulsion of the teaching and preaching orders of clergy. This policy was vehemently denounced by Catholics as persecution, and as an infringement of the liberty of Catholic parents to have their children educated in Catholic schools.

875. Religious associations dissolved

As it proved, this step was only the prelude to a greater revolution, — the complete separation of church and state. In 1905, France passed a law which put an end to the Concordat, dating from the days of Napoleon I (§ 631), under which bishops and parish priests were named and paid by the state. The state salaries to Catholic clergy, Protestant ministers, and Jewish rabbis are all to cease after the death of those

876. Separation of church and state

who are now receiving such pay. The cathedrals, churches, etc., continue to be the property of the state (as they have been since 1789), but arrangements are made by which the Catholic Church may use them. The Pope declared himself unalterably opposed to these laws, and much difficulty and some rioting were encountered in putting them into execution. But the measures apparently have behind them a permanent majority of the French people; and the separation of church and state, together

DEMONSTRATION BY CATHOLICS IN PARIS

with the removal of all religious influence from education, may be taken as an accomplished fact in French history.

877. Separation of Norway and Sweden (1905)

Another recent change of some importance was the separation of Norway from Sweden. In 1815 the two countries had been united as separate countries under the same king (§ 659). Their peoples, however, are dissimilar in many ways. Despite the king's veto (which was merely a suspensive one) Norway abolished the Norwegian nobility. Dissensions followed over Norwegian demands for a place of equal importance with Sweden on the seal of state, for a separate

flag, and for a Norwegian governor over Norway. These demands, after long resistance, were granted. Then came a demand that the Norwegians be allowed to have consuls of their own to care for Norway's commercial interests, which are much more important than those of Sweden. This conflict dragged on for years. Finally, in 1905, the Norwegian Storthing (stôr'ting; parliament) declared the union between the two countries dissolved — a step ratified by 368,200 votes against 184, in a plebiscite taken in August, 1905. King Oscar of Sweden was deeply hurt by this action of his Norwegian subjects. He decided to let them go in peace, however, and a treaty of separation was soon ratified. The Norwegian Storthing then chose as king Prince Charles of Denmark, who was crowned in June, 1906, as King Haakon VII.

878. Portuguese republic (1910)

Portugal is the only state in western Europe, since the opening of the twentieth century, in which a revolution has been effected by armed force. Almost a century earlier, upon the downfall of Napoleon, it had been restored to the rule of its former sovereign; but for some years he continued to reside in the Portuguese colony of Brazil, to which he had fled in 1807 (§ 644). When he was forced to return by threatened revolution at home, Brazil declared itself an independent empire under the rule of his son (1822).[1] By the grant of a "constitutional charter" in 1826, Portugal became nominally a constitutional monarchy. But throughout the nineteenth century it was subject to civil wars and violent political struggles, in which questions of absolutism and liberalism were mere cloaks for the selfish designs of corrupt politicians. The climax to these struggles came in 1908, when the king and crown prince were assassinated in the streets of Lisbon.

Under Manuel II, the second son of the deceased king, the government was no better. In 1910 the long-delayed revolution came. In recent elections the republicans had doubled the number of their representatives in the Parliament. Having

[1] In 1893 the Empire of Brazil, which was the only independent monarchy ever really established in the New World, became by revolution the Republic of Brazil.

won over to their cause certain regiments of soldiers in Lisbon, they began a revolt (October, 1910). Bands of citizens and sailors joined them. In the midst of the fighting two battleships in Lisbon harbor opened fire on the royalists, and enabled the republicans to triumph. The king fled in his motor car, and ultimately found refuge in England. A republic was established, with a president at its head but royalist attempts at a restoration are frequent. As a first installment of Liberal reform, the

PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN LISBON

The wall shows marks of cannonading.

new republic confiscated the property of the Catholic Church, and enacted that there shall be religious freedom, with separation of church and state as in France. This has naturally made the Catholic clergy bitterly hostile to the republic. The wealthier classes went into exile, voluntary or enforced. There was much industrial distress, and strikes have been frequent. The greatest obstacle to the success of the new government, perhaps, is to be found in the fact that probably 80 per cent of the Portuguese cannot read and write. Serious dangers still confront the new government, and it cannot yet be said to have solidly established itself.

C. Recent Changes in Great Britain

In no country of Europe did more rapid and important changes take place in the period 1905–1913 than in Great Britain. Like the changes of the nineteenth century, these were effected by peaceful methods and not by armed revolt. In their nature also they were largely a continuation of the work of the earlier period.

879. Rapid political and social changes

The reign of Edward VII (§ 804) lasted until 1910, when he died and was succeeded by his son, George V. After the retirement of Lord Salisbury (in 1903), the Conservative party continued in office, under Mr. Bal'four as prime minister, until the close of 1905. The Liberals were then restored to power for the first time in ten years. A general election in 1906 gave the Liberals the largest majority in the House of Commons possessed by any party since 1832. They proceeded — first under Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and then under Mr. Asquith, as prime minister — to pass in rapid succession a series of notable social and political reforms.

880. Liberals restored to power (1905)

Among their social reforms two stand out as especially important. The first of these was the Old Age Pensions Act, passed in 1908. Its object was to lessen the suffering of the aged poor by granting a pension of five shillings ($1.25) a week to all persons over seventy years of age whose income did not exceed $157 a year. The second was the National Insurance Act, passed in 1911. This provided (1) for compulsory insurance against sickness for the entire working population whose incomes were below $130 a year, and for voluntary insurance for those whose incomes were between $130 and $800; and (2) for insurance against unemployment in certain specified trades. About half of the cost is borne by the workmen themselves; the remainder is divided between the government and the employers. Both of these acts may be said to be patterned after Bismarck's legislation for the working classes in Germany (§ 779); and both were bitterly opposed by the Conservatives on the ground that

881. Pension and Insurance acts (1908, 1911)

they were socialistic and tended to pauperize the working classes.

882. The budget struggle of 1909

In a parliamentary system of government there is an accurate balancing of expenditures and income through the preparation each year of what is called the "budget." The estimated expenditures for the year are carefully calculated, and taxes are proposed sufficient to meet these. Because of the Old Age Pensions Act it was necessary for the Liberal government to provide a considerably increased revenue in the budget for 1909. Mr. Lloyd George, the Cabinet minister who had charge of the treasury department, proposed to get this increased revenue by a series of taxes which were very distasteful to the Conservatives. The general plan of his budget was to take the burdens of taxation from the shoulders of the poor, and put them on those of the rich. In addition, the price of liquor licenses was increased with a view to promoting temperance; and provision was made for taxing what is called the "unearned increment" in land values. "If land goes up in the future by hundreds and thousands an acre, through the efforts of the community," said Lloyd George, "the community will get 20 per cent of that increment."[1]

[1] In England the greater part of the land is owned by a few great landlords, in whose families it is transmitted from generation to generation. The owners often refuse to *sell* land, and merely *lease* it to those who wish to use it for agricultural purposes or to build on it in cities. This whole land system is now attracting the attention of reformers. In one of his speeches Lloyd George said: "Who ordained that the few should have the land of Britain as a perquisite? Who made ten thousand people the owners of the soil, and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth? Who is responsible for the scheme of things whereby a man is engaged through life in grinding labor to win a bare and precarious subsistence for himself, and, at the end of his days, when claiming at the hands of the community he served a poor pension of eight pence a day, can only get it through a revolution, while another man who does not toil receives every hour of the day, every hour of the night, more than his poor neighbor receives in a whole year of toil? Where did the table of that law come from? Whose finger inscribed it? These are the questions that will be asked. The answers are charged with peril for the order of things the peers represent; but they are fraught with rare and refreshing fruit for the parched lips of the multitude who have been treading the dusty road along which the people have marched through the dark ages which are now merging into the light."

This budget precipitated the greatest political struggle in England since the Reform agitation in 1832. The powers of the House of Lords over financial legislation had steadily decreased; it was admitted that they could no longer *amend* "money bills," and for many years there had been no instance of their *rejecting* a budget. Nevertheless the House of Lords in 1909 refused to pass the Lloyd George budget. The government, which had an undiminished majority in the Commons, was thus forced to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people. In the elections (held in January, 1910) the Liberal majority was considerably reduced, but their alliance with the Irish and Labor parties still left them in undisputed control of the Commons. The "revolutionary budget" was then passed by the Lords, and Lloyd George's proposals became law.

883. The budget passed (1910)

Even before the budget struggle, the Liberals had become convinced that it was necessary to "mend or end" the House of Lords (§ 802). That House since the reign of George III was overwhelmingly Conservative. When the Conservative party was in power the Lords never failed to pass the government's bills, even when as distasteful to them as was the Reform Act of 1867. But when Liberals were in power the Lords often mangled or threw out the most important measures.[1] This course led the House of Commons, in 1907, to pass a resolution that "it is necessary that the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject bills passed by the House of Commons should be so restricted by law as to secure that, within the limits of a single Parliament, the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." The question was whether the House elected by the people, or the non-elected hereditary House, should prevail in the government. The rejection of the

884. The Lords' veto attacked

[1] Since 1906 the Lords had rejected an Education bill, intended to repeal a recent Conservative law by which Church of England schools were supported by the state but controlled by the church; a Plural Voting bill, whose object was to limit each man to one vote, no matter in how many constituencies he possessed the qualification; and a Licensing bill, designed in part to promote temperance. Many wealthy brewers and distillers had been made peers, and "the Beerage and the Peerage" (as the Liberals phrased it) usually acted together.

budget by the Lords now determined the Liberals to use all their resources to enact the above resolution into law.

For a time the death (in May, 1910) of King Edward VII delayed the struggle. An attempt to find a solution by a conference between leading Liberals and Conservatives failed.

885. The Parliament Act of 1911

In a new election, held in December, 1910, the Lords put forward a counter proposal to reform their House so as to make it mainly an elective and ex-officio body, instead of an hereditary one. The people, however, declared in favor of the Liberal-Labor-Irish alliance by almost the same majority as in January. After protracted and violent debates, the Parliament Bill, as it was called, passed the Commons and went to the Lords. King George V had already promised his ministers to create enough peers, if necessary, to carry their measure through the upper house (§ 789). The announcement that, if the Lords continued to resist the will of the people, their body would be swamped by the creation of 500 new peers, broke down their opposition, and secured the passage of the Parliament Bill (August, 1911). As in 1832, an actual creation of peers was not necessary; the mere threat to create them was sufficient. This crisis again proved that "the prerogatives of the crown have become the privileges of the people," and must be used even against the aristocracy to enforce the popular will. The chief provisions of this important act were the following: —

Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, 411

1. A money bill (such as the budget) must be passed by the Lords within one month after it reaches them, or it becomes a law without their consent. The Speaker of the House of Commons decides whether a bill is a money bill or not.
2. A bill other than a money bill may become a law without their consent on its third rejection by the Lords — provided it has been passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, and two years have elapsed between its first introduction there and its passage the third time.
3. Five years was substituted for seven years as the maximum duration of Parliament.

Thus the Lords were reduced to the position of a distinctly subordinate House, with a mere "suspensive veto" on legislation.

By another measure, payment of members of the House of Commons was provided for. The Labor representatives in Parliament had for some time received salaries from their trade-unions, but a recent decision of the courts had denied to the unions the right to use their funds for this purpose. To overcome the difficulty caused by this decision, Mr. Asquith's government carried through a measure providing that all members of the House of Commons shall receive pay from the national treasury, at the rate of $2000 a year. Thus the British constitution was made still more democratic, by enabling poor men to sit in the House of Commons without outside aid.

886. Payment of members

With the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911, it became possible for the Liberals and their radical allies to pass several measures which hitherto the opposition of the Lords had blocked. Most important of all was a Home Rule Bill (§ 801) which passed the House of Commons for the third time on May 25, 1914. Ulster, the northern quarter of Ireland, was strongly opposed to it. That region was colonized by Scotch and English settlers in the seventeenth century, on lands confiscated from Irish owners. Most of the inhabitants of Ulster were now Protestant, commercially or industrially employed, and prosperous; while the rest of Ireland was Catholic, mainly agricultural, and poor. Conflicts of economic interest were thus added to old racial and religious feuds. Under an Irish Parliament the Ulsterites feared that they would pay most of the taxes, while their opponents would control the government. They therefore threatened civil war in case the Home Rule Bill became law. They raised and drilled a force of 100,000 men, and even smuggled guns from Germany. The Conservative party in Great Britain supported these steps, and some fifty army officers mutinied rather than act against the rebels. The Irish Nationalists raised forces in self-defense. The crisis was grave; but on the

887. Irish Home Rule again (1914)

outbreak of the Great War, 1914, a party truce was called, and on September 18 the Home Rule Bill was put on the statute book, with a measure suspending its operation until after the war.[1]

This compromise, however, did not end the agitation in Ireland. On April 24, 1916, some Irish republicans of the Sinn Fein (fān) party attempted a revolution with German aid. An armed uprising in Dublin was quickly put down, and the Irish revolutionary leader, Sir Roger Casement, — who had come from Germany in a German submarine, — was tried and executed as a traitor. But Irish disaffection continued to increase, and in 1917 a convention representing all shades of Irish opinion was held for the purpose of devising a solution of the Irish question. It was expected that the recommendations of this convention, as reported in April, 1918, would be followed by Parliament in framing a new measure for immediate Home Rule.

888. Plural voting and woman suffrage

Questions of suffrage, or the right to vote, especially in elections to Parliament, were also prominent subjects of contention. Mr. Asquith's ministry wished to pass a law which, together with other changes, would abolish plural voting, or the right of a man to vote in as many places as he had the required qualification. Most of those who possessed more than one vote were Conservatives, so that party opposed this measure. On the other hand the Liberals were confronted with a growing demand for woman suffrage. After 1906 this agitation was carried on partly by a group of "militant suffragettes" who interrupted public meetings, broke windows, destroyed the contents of mail boxes, sometimes set fire to public buildings, and otherwise sought to attract attention to their demands. When the war came in 1914 the suffragettes equally with the Ulsterites proved loyal. The enormous number of women whom the necessities of the war called to the munitions factories and other occupations formerly pursued by men,

[1] Another measure which excited bitter feeling was the passage of a law for disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales. Like disestablishment in Ireland (§ 797) this act reserved the property rights of the Anglican Church. It too became law in September, 1914, after a third passage by the House of Commons, but its operation also was suspended until after the war.

gave new force to the demand for woman suffrage. As a result, when a new Representation of the People Bill was passed in January, 1918, it not only abolished plural voting and broadened the franchise for men, but also gave the vote to women over thirty years of age. This measure enfranchised about 6,000,000 women and 2,000,000 men.

889. Conservatives advocate "Tariff Reform"

The chief constructive policy of the Conservatives in the period 1902–1913 was Tariff Reform. By this was meant a return to the policy of protective tariffs in use before 1846. British agriculture suffered from the free importation of grain from the United States, Argentina, and other lands; and British manufacturers began to feel the effects of the rapid industrial growth of Germany and the United States. The chief argument used by the protectionists, however, was that their policy would enable the mother country to bind more closely to herself the great self-governing colonies, by giving their products a tariff preference in British markets. This imperialistic reason was the one which chiefly influenced the father of the movement, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary from 1895 to 1900). The great majority of Liberals, however, and some Conservatives, were influenced by the desire to keep down the cost of living. In the struggle over the budget in 1909 and 1910 the Conservatives put forward their policy of Tariff Reform in opposition to the Liberal policies, but could not convert a majority of the electors to their way of thinking.

890. Rivalry with Germany

Another policy strongly advocated by the Conservatives, and more moderately by the Liberals, was that of increasing naval armaments. For a number of years before 1914 the industrial and political rivalry between Germany and Great Britain was keen; and Germany was accused of wishing to build up her colonial empire by forcibly despoiling Great Britain of a portion of hers. Color was given to this charge by the strenuous and persistent efforts which Germany was making to create a navy rivaling that of England. All parties in Great Britain agreed that, because of the insular character of their country and her wide empire, the control of the sea is a matter

of life and death for her. Consequently both countries heaped loan upon loan and tax upon tax, in the race to build larger, better, and a greater number of warships. German statesmen professed peaceful intentions, but the logic of their acts was stronger than their words.[1] As will be shown in a later chapter (xxxviii), the summer of 1914 saw England and Germany arrayed on opposite sides in a great European war.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

In the Great War, volunteers for the British army came forward in such numbers that conscription, or compulsory military service such as had long been employed on the Continent, was not adopted till May 25, 1916. Meanwhile, to strengthen the government, some members of Mr. Asquith's Liberal cabinet were replaced by Conservative leaders, making the body a coalition war cabinet (1915). Lloyd George was appointed Minister of Munitions, with the task of surmounting the labor

[1] For example, in 1912 Great Britain offered to sign the following declaration: "The two powers being mutually desirous of securing peace and friendship between them, England declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object." Germany refused to sign a similar declaration unless Great Britain would *agree to stand aside and be neutral in any war which might break out on the Continent.* This was unacceptable to Great Britain, as it would make possible a German attack on France and Russia, unhampered by fear of British interference; so the proposal came to nothing. A similar fate was encountered by a British proposal in 1913 for a "naval holiday," *i.e.* that for twelve months neither England nor Germany should begin the construction of additional war ships.

difficulties and other obstacles which hindered the production of the enormous supplies of munitions required in modern warfare. In December, 1916, Mr. Asquith and most of the Liberal members of his cabinet resigned; and Mr. Lloyd George, by the aid of the Conservatives, became prime minister, with plans for a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

D. The Hague Peace Conferences and the New Internationalism

The long peace (1871–1914) among the Great Powers of Europe contributed to the growth of a new spirit of internationalism. In its recent form the movement dates from the First Peace Conference, which assembled at The Hague (the Dutch capital) in 1899. It was called by the Tsar of Russia (1) to discuss "the terrible and increasing burden of European armaments," and (2) to consider the possibility of settling international disputes by arbitration instead of by war. Besides the delegates of the European Powers, there were present representatives from the United States, Mexico, China, Japan, Persia, and even Siam. The proposal that each country should agree, for a fixed period, not to increase its existing military and naval forces was abandoned because of the opposition of the German government. With reference to arbitration, however, the movement was more successful. In spite of German opposition,[1] an international court for that purpose was formed, and its principles and procedure established. The Hague Tribunal is *not a permanent court*, in the sense that it is a court which is always in existence. It is rather *a panel of judges*, from which at any time a court can be formed for the trial of a case submitted to it by the countries concerned. The

891. First Hague Conference (1899)

[1] The chairman of the German delegation "insisted that arbitration must be injurious to Germany; that *Germany is prepared for war as no other country is or can be; that she can mobilize her army in ten days; and that neither France, Russia, nor any other power can do this. Arbitration, he said, would simply give rival powers time to put themselves in readiness, and would therefore be a great disadvantage to Germany.*" — Autobiography of Andrew D. White, chairman of the American delegation, II, p. 265.

new tribunal was soon made a living reality by the submission of several troublesome cases, which ordinary diplomacy had failed to settle. Its creation stands as a marked event in recent history, and a pronounced step in the growth of that spirit of World Statehood which we may call New Internationalism.

Problems growing out of the Russo-Japanese War, and the enormous increase of military and naval burdens in all countries, led to the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1907. The preliminary steps to this were taken by President Roosevelt of the United States, but out of deference to the Tsar the latter was allowed to issue the formal call. The number of countries represented in the Second Conference was nearly double that in the first, and its work was more important. It adopted many new rules relating to neutrality and the conduct of war, and greatly improved international law on these subjects. During the next few years, treaties embodying these "Hague conventions" were ratified by all the Great Powers, and by most of the other countries of the world. No agreement, however, could be arrived at in favor of compulsory arbitration between countries. With reference to the limitation of armaments, this conference merely reaffirmed the resolution of the First Conference that it was "highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of the question." Great Britain took the lead in urging limitation of armaments; the opposition to it was led by Russia and Japan, for reasons growing out of their recent war, and by Germany and Austria, whose reasons were not at the time so obvious. A Third Conference was provided for, which was expected to meet in 1915.

892. Second Hague Conference (1907)

In spite of the somewhat disappointing outcome of the two Conferences, the movement excited very great interest, and a hope that later meetings would lead to measures destined to end war. "Each Conference," said Mr. Root, the American Secretary of State, "will inevitably make further progress, and by successive steps results may be accomplished which have formerly appeared impossible. The achievements of the two Conferences justify the belief that the

893. Importance of the Peace Conferences

world has entered upon an orderly progress through which, step by step, in successive Conferences, — each taking the work of its predecessor as its point of departure, — there may be continual progress toward making the *practice* of civilized nations conform to their *peaceful professions*." For a time it seemed as if the result might be the establishing of those relations between countries which were foreseen by the English poet Tennyson, when he dreamed that —

"The war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

Progress toward the realization of this dream was interrupted by the Great World War which suddenly blazed forth in the summer of 1914. An attempt will be made in chapter xxxviii to unravel the causes of this great catastrophe and to trace its progress. Before doing this, however, it seems best to recount some of the recent developments in science and social organization which occupied the thought of the world before the war began. One reason for doing so is that the effects of this conflict are as certain to be felt in the fields of culture and civilization as they are in the spheres of political power and economics; and the conditions of 1913 will serve as a point of departure for what comes afterwards.

IMPORTANT DATES

1899. First Hague Peace Conference.
1905. Separation of church and state in France. Norway separated from Sweden. Beginning of a revolution in Russia.
1907. Second Hague Peace Conference.
1908–1909. Successful revolution in Turkey.
1909. Persia gains a constitutional government.
1910. A revolution in Portugal establishes a republic.
1911. Veto of the House of Lords ended in Great Britain.
1911–1912. Revolution in China; a republic proclaimed.
[1911–1912. War between Italy and Turkey (§ 830).]
[1912–1913. The Balkan Wars (§§ 831–833).]
[1914– . War among the Great Powers of Europe (chap. xxxviii).]
1914. Irish Home Rule Act passed and suspended.
1918. Woman suffrage adopted in Great Britain.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — (1) Compare the relative importance, for the world's history, of the events of the days of Pericles, the reign of Elizabeth, and the twentieth century. (2) Was the defeat of Russia by Japan the cause or merely the occasion for the Russian revolution of 1905? (3) In what ways was it easier to produce a successful revolution in Turkey than in Russia? (4) Why does the idea of a republic in China seem stranger than one in France? (5) What motives led to the separation of church and state in France? (6) Was the action of the king of Sweden in letting Norway secede wise or unwise? Why? (7) What effect will the establishing of a republic in Portugal perhaps have on Spain? (8) Which do you think better for Great Britain, the limitation of the power of the House of Lords, or the reform of that body, as proposed by the Conservatives, leaving its powers as they were? (9) Do you think the methods of the "militant suffragettes" helped or hindered their cause? (10) If you were English, would you be for or against "tariff reform"? Why? (11) Sum up in your own words what the Hague Conferences accomplished.

Search Topics. — (1) THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, ch. xxxi; Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 283–301, *Readings*, II, 371–391; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXIII, 908–911. — (2) REVOLUTION IN TURKEY. Hazen, 636–644; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 403–405. — (3) REVOLUTION IN CHINA. A. J. Brown, *The Chinese Revolution;* Cantlie, *Sun Yat Sen and the Awakening of China;* Dingle, *China's Revolution, 1911–1912.* — (4) SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE. Hazen, 364–371; Robinson and Beard, *Development*, 166–172; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 223–232; Galton, *Church and State in France*, 201–268. — (5) SWEDEN AND NORWAY. Hazen, 595–600; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXVI, 213–214; XIX, 810–815. — (6) THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC. *International Yearbook*, *1910*, 599–600, *1911*, 582–584. — (7) RECENT SOCIAL REFORMS IN GREAT BRITAIN. Hazen, 513–517; Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, 264–279; Hayes, *British Social Politics*. — (8) VETO OF THE LORDS ABOLISHED. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 106–116; Hayes, *British Social Politics*. — (9) THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCES. Hazen, 728–736; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, 463–466; Hull, *The Two Hague Conferences*.

General Reading. — See Oscar Browning, *A History of the Modern World*, 2 vols. (1913), for some of the topics of this chapter. The annual surveys published in the *Statesman's Yearbook*, the *International Yearbook*, the *Annual Register*, and the *Britannica Yearbook*, are the chief sources for recent history. See also the indexes to periodical literature, such as *Poole's Index* and the *Cumulative Index*. For keeping up with current history, such publications as *The Review of Reviews*, *The Outlook*, *The Independent*, and (above all) the weekly edition of the London *Times* are valuable.

CHAPTER XXXVII

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A. The Advance of Science

In no branch of human activity did the nineteenth century show greater advance than in natural science; and nowhere does the twentieth century promise more startling developments than in this field. We have seen how the growth of science in the eighteenth century profoundly altered man's conception of the universe, and set him to searching for the "natural laws" by which it is governed. Since then — by patient observation and experimentation, and by the invention of apparatus more and more delicately exact — scientists have added enormously to our body of knowledge. At the same time they have advanced scientific theories which have revolutionized our conceptions of life and of the universe.

894. Science in the nineteenth century

Probably the most fundamental idea which nineteenth-century science gave to the world was that of evolution. This theory teaches that all things have come into their present form by a process of modification extending through unnumbered millions of years. The almost universal acceptance of this theory to-day is largely the result of the studies of Charles Darwin (1809–1882). After more than twenty years of research on plant and animal life, he set forth the results of his studies, in 1859, in a book entitled *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. Many more plants and animals, he argued, come into existence every year than can possibly find food, or even room to live, on the earth. Consequently there is always going on, among members of the same species and among different species, a desperate *struggle for existence*. No two individuals, however, even of the same species, are

895. Darwin and the theory of evolution

exactly alike. Therefore it is the individuals and the species which are best adapted to the conditions in which they find themselves, that survive and transmit their peculiar qualities to their descendants. This weeding out of the unfit, Darwin called *natural selection;* he also applied to it the term "the survival of the fittest." Darwin argued that it was through the

DARWIN

preservation and accumulation in this way of individual variations that new species of plants and animals arise. In similar ways he accounted for the development of the higher animals and plants from simple one-celled organisms like the *amœba.*

Investigators since Darwin's time have added to the evidence which he brought forward, and have modified his theory in several directions. The idea, however, that all things have come to their present state by a process of evolution, remains unshaken. Says the philosopher and historian, John Fiske: "There is no more reason for supposing that this conclusion will ever be gainsaid than for supposing that the Copernican astronomy will sometime be overthrown."

In the special fields of medicine and surgery the germ theory of disease has been as revolutionary in its effects as the theory of evolution has been on the progress of science in general. Within the past fifty years it has been proved conclusively that practically all contagious and infectious diseases — together with the blood poisoning which used so frequently to follow surgical operations — are caused by minute organisms, commonly known as *bacteria*. These microscopic, one-celled bodies are everywhere about us; and under favorable conditions of heat, moisture, and food supply they multiply with enormous rapidity. For cholera, typhoid fever, bubonic plague, diphtheria, lockjaw, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and a number of other diseases, the special organism which causes the disease has been identified. It has been discovered, moreover, that certain diseases are almost invariably spread in some one particular way — as yellow fever and malaria by the bites of mosquitoes, bubonic plague by fleas carried on rats, typhoid fever by impure milk or water, and tuberculosis through the dried sputum of persons suffering from that disease.

896. Germ theory of disease

Knowledge of the cause enables physicians to treat those diseases more intelligently. Remedies called "antitoxins" have been found to counteract the "toxins" or poisons formed by the organisms which produce diphtheria, lockjaw, and some other diseases; and the search for similar remedies continues. The germ theory also enables men to take better precautions to prevent the spread of disease. Everywhere strict quarantine laws are now passed, and measures are taken to improve sanitation, especially in the cities. Aseptic surgery has greatly

decreased the danger in operations. Immunity from certain diseases — notably smallpox — is secured by vaccination. Medical progress in recent years, indeed, is so great that we may look forward with confidence to a time when man's war on all contagious diseases will be as successful as his battle with yellow fever in Cuba and with malaria in Panama, where these diseases were practically wiped out in the first decade of the century.

897. Useful bacteria

Comparatively few, however, of the hundreds of varieties of bacteria which swarm the earth, the air, and the water, are harmful to mankind. On the contrary, life on this planet would soon cease were it not for bacteria. These minute organisms are the agents in carrying on the process of putrefaction or decay, — which is nature's means of disposing of dead organisms and waste organic matter, and of bringing their elements into new combinations. Our knowledge of this fact is now made use of in the sewerage systems of many cities. Bacteria are responsible also for the fermentation (souring) of milk and of fruit juices, and so play an important part in butter- and cheese-making, and in the manufacture of vinegar and wine. In the form of yeast they are essential to bread-making. By means of these tiny organisms, also, such plants as peas and beans are enabled to seize upon the nitrogen of the air (which otherwise they could not do) and thus increase the fertility of the soil. The scientific application of bacteriology to agriculture and other forms of industry, indeed, is just beginning. The whole subject of making this microscopic organic life serve man's purpose offers a most interesting and profitable field for research.

898. Progress of physics and chemistry

Progress in physics, too, has kept pace with that in biology. Electricity was known to the ancient Greeks, and was experimented with by several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scientists, including Benjamin Franklin. In the nineteenth century electrical science advanced rapidly. The invention of the electric telegraph was mainly the work of an American, Samuel F. B. Morse, whose first attempts date from 1835. Two Englishmen worked out and patented inventions of their own for the same purpose at a

slightly later date. In 1858 a submarine cable was laid to connect Great Britain and the United States. This soon broke, however, and it was not until 1866 that it became possible to send telegraphic messages regularly between the Old World and the New. Alexander Bell, an American, invented the telephone in 1876. The electric light is also an American invention, C. F. Brush having invented the arc light in 1878, and Thomas A. Edison the incandescent light in 1879. One of the earliest electric street cars was exhibited at Paris in 1881. Still more recently have come the discovery of the "X-rays," which penetrate substances opaque to rays of light (discovered by a German, Röntgen, in 1895); and the "Hertzian waves" (also discovered by a German, Hertz, in 1887). As a result of the latter discovery the Italian Marconi developed in 1896 his system of wireless telegraphy.

Chemistry also advanced rapidly in the nineteenth century. Only a few of its useful applications can here be noted. Gas was first applied to lighting purposes in London in 1816. Friction matches were first produced on a commercial scale in Great Britain about 1833, before that time fire being usually obtained by striking a piece of flint against steel. Photography began in 1839 with the "daguerrotype," named from its French inventor, Daguerre (dà-gâr'). Among other useful applications of chemistry may be named the production of chemical fertilizers, beet sugar, aniline (coal-tar) dyes, chemical medicines, wood-pulp paper, and aluminum. The canning of food was introduced early in the nineteenth century by a Frenchman named Appert. Chemistry has given us new and more powerful explosives, such as nitroglycerin (1847), dynamite (1864), and smokeless powder (first invented in 1870). The shattering power of the first two of these has greatly aided quarrying, tunneling, and other blasting operations; it also gives to revolutionists and criminals a new and terrible weapon.

The progress of physics and chemistry brought with it a clearer understanding of the nature of light, of electricity, and of the ether. The discovery of *radium* (1898) has forced scientists to

question some ideas once universally accepted, — such as the nature and indestructibility of matter, and the transmutation of force. In the field of pure physics we seem on the eve of great discoveries, the nature of which it is impossible to forecast.

899. The gasoline engine, the automobile, and the aëroplane

The advance of scientific engineering produced (about 1876) a new type of engine — the gas or "internal combustion" engine — whose subsequent development transformed locomotion. The gas engine is run by the direct explosion in its cylinders of a gas, such as the vapor of gasoline. It is now used for hundreds of purposes, — in the home, on the farm, and in the factory. Its most common application is in the *automobile*, which was first made practicable about 1894. Since then motor cars have developed so

Zeppelin Airship (Germany)

rapidly that in large cities horse-drawn vehicles are now the exception.

The gasoline motor has also enabled man to begin the conquest of the air. The first dirigible airship driven by a gasoline motor was constructed in Germany in 1897. Since then

the German government built larger and ever larger airships, until it possessed an aërial fleet of which each vessel was capable of flying hundreds of miles and carrying a dozen or more men. Motor-driven *aëroplanes* (that is, machines without gas bags to sustain their weight) were constructed by two Americans, Wilbur and Orville Wright, in 1903, and by a Brazilian, Santos-Dumont, in 1906. The chief credit for developing the aëroplane belongs to the Wright brothers, who made the first successful public demonstrations of their "biplane" in September, 1908. In all the recent wars, both dirigible balloons and aëroplanes have been successfully employed for scouting purposes. They have also been equipped with guns and bombs for making attacks on the enemy. It is confidently predicted that yet larger uses for them will be found both in war and in peace. Aërial navigation may prove as epoch-making in the world's history as the application of steam to industry in the eighteenth century, or the invention of gunpowder, the compass, and the printing press at the close of the Middle Ages. A writer on the history of science predicted that the conquest of the air will lead to "the emergence of humanity from the insularity of nationalism to the

AËROPLANE (Farman Biplane)

H. S. Williams, in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), VI, 408

broad view of cosmopolitanism" — an end to which The Hague Conferences and other influences seemed already tending.

B. Popular Government and Social Justice

A significant feature of the opening years of the twentieth century is the growing passion for "social justice." The nine-

900. Ideals of equality and fraternity

teenth century was chiefly occupied in achieving the first demand of the French revolutionists, — namely, political Liberty. The ideals of Equality of opportunity and the brotherhood of man (Fraternity) are still far from realization. The changed conditions of society which have resulted from the Industrial Revolution are now forcing upon the world the consideration of the steps by which these ideals also may be attained.

The idea of the sovereignty of the people — which a hundred years ago was repudiated by the reactionary Powers responsible

901. Extension of the franchise

for Napoleon Bonaparte's overthrow — is now accepted in almost all progressive countries, however imperfectly it may be carried out. But certain questions still remain: *Who are the people?* and *How are they to make their will effective?* In answering the first of these questions, the tendency is to extend the voting franchise to every adult male citizen of sane mind, who is unconvicted of crime. In many countries also a movement is rapidly growing to extend the franchise still further by giving it to women.

The Industrial Revolution, with its factory system, brought women — whether for good or for ill — into the industrial world

902. Movement for woman suffrage

alongside of men. Woman's increasing economic importance has helped to free her from the legal restrictions which in most countries, until the middle of the nineteenth century, subjected her person and her property either to her husband or to her father. Opportunities for education have been opened to her; and educational equality, together with growing legal and economic equality, have created the demand for *political* equality. In Australia, New Zealand, Finland, and a number of states of the United States, women

have been granted the right to vote in all elections on the same terms as men. In many other states and countries — among them England, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland — they vote under certain restrictions, or in certain elections only. In the twentieth century the movement has grown with surprising rapidity. The substitution of women's labor for men's in many lines of industry during the Great War is one explanation of its recent growth.

The overthrow of the last strictly absolute governments was described in previous sections. To-day, in all the civilized countries of the world, the people share in varying degrees in the government of the state by electing representatives to act for them. In some countries they are no longer satisfied, however, to allow their representatives the large freedom of action which representatives formerly possessed. The demand has arisen for *direct* control by the people over all, or almost all, departments of the government. Methods for securing this control have been worked out most fully in the Republic of Switzerland. They are known as the Initiative and the Referendum. By the *Initiative*, if 50,000 Swiss voters desire the passing of a certain law, they may require their proposal to be submitted to a vote of the people; and if the proposal is adopted by a majority of the voters it becomes law without the consent of the Federal Parliament. The *Referendum* supplements the Initiative by requiring that any law passed by the Parliament must, upon demand of 30,000 voters, be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection.

903. The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

These Swiss institutions, in whole or in part, have been adopted in Australia, and in many states and cities of the United States. In the United States a third feature has, in some places, been added — the *Recall* of elective officers. This means that, on petition of a specified per cent of the voters, an official may at any time be compelled to submit himself and his administration to the judgment of the voters in a new election. If upheld, he retains office to the end of his term; if not upheld, he turns over the government at once to his elected successor.

In Great Britain, and in all countries which have the cabinet system of government, the "appeal to the country" — as for example in 1910 on the question of the budget — is essentially a referendum and recall.[1]

The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall are considered by many persons to be the best answers thus far found to the important question, How are the people to make their will effective in popular governments? "Back of all reform," says President Woodrow Wilson, "lies the method of getting it. Back of the question, What do you want? lies the question — the fundamental question of all government — How are you going to get it? How are you going to get public servants who will obtain it for you? How are you going to get genuine representatives who will serve your interests, and not their own or the interests of some special group or body of your fellow-citizens whose power is of the few and not of the many? These are the queries which have drawn the attention of the whole country to the subject of the direct primary, the direct choice of their officials by the people, without the intervention of the nominating machine [convention]; to the subject of the direct election of United States Senators; and to the question of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall."

Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 228–229

Allowing for inevitable differences growing out of differences in political organization, the same questions are being raised in the more progressive countries of Europe also.

904. Enlarged functions of the government

Another vital question to which present-day conditions are forcing us to give new answers is, *What are the functions of government?* or more briefly, *What shall the government do?* The early nineteenth-century answer to this question was, *Laissez faire*, — "Let things alone." This policy did a good work in helping to break down outgrown medieval restrictions on manufactures and commerce, and on

[1] The Lords proposed in 1910 that *all* measures on which the two Houses of Parliament could not agree should be submitted to a referendum of the people. The Liberals strongly opposed this proposal, on the ground that the Lords could thus at any time put the members of the House of Commons to the trouble and expense of a new election, without themselves being in any way inconvenienced.

freedom of thought, of speech, and of individual action. But the hideous results of unrestrained competition, as seen in the factories and mines of the early nineteenth century, and in the poorer quarters of most cities to the present day, compelled governments to abandon the *laissez faire* theory. More and more the state has been obliged to intervene in behalf of the less fortunate members of society. The functions of government have thus been extended to include hundreds of duties which formerly were thought to lie within the province of private individuals and private associations.[1] In most progressive governments of to-day either the central government or the provincial and city governments have assumed the responsibility for public education. Free schools are provided, ranging from the elementary schools to the university. Public libraries and museums have been opened, and in Germany almost every important city has its municipal or state theater. Many European and American cities meet the need for recreation by supplying public playgrounds and parks, and providing free concerts in these at certain seasons in the year. A board of public health, with control over city hospitals, dispensaries, and general sanitation, forms a department of most state and city governments. Pure food and drug laws regulate, for the safety of the public, the manufacture and sale of these necessary articles. Most modern cities, also, have building laws designed to protect their inhabitants against the dangers of fire and accident. In addition, many cities undertake to improve the housing of

[1] Leaders of the Democratic party in the United States, which was originally a party of "strict construction" and *laissez faire*, have come to see this, equally with members of other parties. "I feel confident that if Jefferson were living to-day," says President Woodrow Wilson, "he would see what we see: that the individual is caught in a great confused nexus of all sorts of complicated circumstances, and that to let him alone is to leave him helpless as against the obstacles with which he has to contend; and that, therefore, law in our day must come to the assistance of the individual. It has come to his assistance to see that he gets fair play; that is all, but that is much. Without the watchful interference, the resolute interference of the government, there can be no fair play between individuals and such powerful institutions as the trusts. Freedom to-day is something more than being let alone. The program of a government of freedom must in these days be positive, not negative merely." — Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, p. 284.

the poor, either by regulations concerning privately owned resident property, or (as in London, Liverpool, and elsewhere) by constructing and managing model tenements, which are rented at moderate rates. Municipal ownership or control of what are called *public utilities* is gradually but surely increasing. There are few large cities now which do not own and operate one or more of the following utilities: waterworks, gas and electric plants, street railways, and the like. In Germany, France, Italy, and Russia the steam railways (either wholly or in part) are owned and operated by the government. In England the telephone and telegraph systems, together with a parcel post and postal savings banks, are managed by the post-office department of the central government. In our own country the parcel post and postal savings banks have recently been introduced.

905. The war on poverty

Since the decay, dating from the time of the Reformation, of the charitable institutions of the medieval church governments have usually recognized their obligation to care for the aged and infirm poor. Both England and Germany, as we have seen (§§ 779, 881), now have provisions also for old age pensions and for state insurance against sickness and disability. France, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries have passed similar laws. In practically all these countries, as well as in the United States, there are now laws which grant workingmen a more just compensation in case of accidents suffered in their employments. The problem of unemployment is also being dealt with both through state insurance (as in Great Britain) and through the creation of labor exchanges and employment bureaus, both public and private, which seek to bring together employers in need of labor and workmen in need of employment. In certain trades (such as the so-called "sweated trades" — garment making, cardboard-box-making, etc.), in which starvation wages have been paid, Great Britain has established minimum wages enforced by law; and the same principle has been proposed to apply to all women's wages. Under some governments too pensions are provided

for poor widows with minor children dependent upon them; and also (notably in Great Britain) they make provision for furnishing meals to destitute children attending the public schools. Thus in manifold ways governments to-day are seeking to combat the misery arising from the appalling poverty in which so large a proportion of the poor live in our great cities. They are also searching out and trying to remedy — so far as they are remediable — the *causes* of this poverty; for it is realized that no state can permanently prosper in which from one quarter to one third of its inhabitants are unable to provide themselves with the bare necessities of decent living. The more hopeful statesmen, indeed, look forward (with Lloyd George of England) to a time "when poverty with its wretchedness and squalor will be as remote from the people as the wolves which once infested the forests."

C. The Spread of Socialism

Those who oppose the extension of the functions of government described in the preceding sections, do so usually on the ground that these measures are "socialistic." The real Socialists, on the other hand, while they regard these measures as steps in the right direction, consider them wholly inadequate for the solution of the modern problems of society. They claim that the cause of poverty, and of most of the ills of the modern world, is to be found in the unequal and unjust distribution of wealth. And in their view the only remedy for these conditions is a complete reorganization of society.

The rise of socialism has been touched upon in a previous section (§ 710). Modern Socialists regard most of the early writers on this subject as impractical dreamers. The founder of the present-day international Socialist party was the German writer, Karl Marx, who published his great work entitled *Capital* in 1867. Marx maintained that labor, in the broadest sense of the term, is the source of all wealth; and that the laborers — that is, artisans, engineers,

906. Present-day socialism

superintendents, teachers, authors, artists, etc. — should receive the whole net product of labor. That they do not do so, he held, is because capital — in the form of machinery, buildings, land, mines, etc. — is in the hands of a comparatively small class, who derive very large incomes from its use, without themselves taking part in the work of production. The ownership of capital (the means of production) ought therefore, he argued, to be transferred from private hands to the state. Then the state should itself operate all industries, for the benefit of the people. Marx believed that the whole course of history tended to this outcome. He predicted that as capital became more and more concentrated in the hands of the few, and the working class became correspondingly larger, the antagonism between the two classes (capitalists and laborers) would result in a *class war*. He looked forward to this as the means for establishing government ownership of capital, and the resulting management by the government of all forms of production.

907. Recent Socialist gains

Socialist political parties, founded on these ideas, have arisen in Germany, France, England, Italy, Austria, Russia, and the United States. Some groups of Socialists reject in part the doctrines of Marx, especially the notion of an inevitable class war. Even those who do not reject this urge the employment of the gradual and peaceful methods of education and legislation as one means of bringing about the social reorganization which they desire. The Socialist parties which take an active part in politics have made great gains in recent years. In Germany, in 1912, they polled 4,238,000 votes, — the largest popular vote of any party in that election, — and elected 110 out of the 397 members of the Reichstag. In France, though the Socialists are weakened by divisions within their own ranks, their various groups (taken together) in 1910 elected 356 out of 584 members of the Chamber of Deputies. In the elections in Great Britain, in 1910, the Labor party (which has adopted a Socialist platform) returned 42 members to Parliament. In the United States, in 1911, more than 400 Socialists were holding elective offices — federal, State, and municipal. The greatest

Socialist victory before the Great War, however, was won in Australia, where in 1910 the Labor party (Socialist) secured entire control of the federal government.

It is evident from this account that the movement for "social justice" had made great progress by 1914. The condition of the poor and the downtrodden was better than at any time since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. If means can be found whereby the ill effects of this great change in industry can be wiped out, while retaining its enormous benefits, we may expect to see the material condition of mankind as a whole raised to a higher level than has ever been attained in the history of the world.

908. Prospect for social betterment

In the opinion of the majority of serious thinkers, however, this improvement of man's material lot is not likely to be accomplished by the adoption of the Socialist program, but will probably come through a gradual modification of the existing system.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES

Suggestive Topics. — What is the chief difference between the methods by which modern science increases knowledge and those of the medieval scholastics? (2) State in your own words the theory of evolution. Why is it important? (3) Compare the benefits conferred on mankind by the advance of medicine and surgery in recent years with those produced by the Industrial Revolution. (4) Name some inventions in use to-day which were unknown when your parents were children. (5) Does extension of the franchise always produce better government? Name some instances to the contrary. (6) On what grounds might extension of the franchise be justified in cases where it does not improve the government? (7) Would giving the ballot to women be wise or unwise? Why? (8) What applications of the ideas underlying the initiative and referendum have been made in our governments? (9) What tests should be applied in determining whether the government should undertake new functions, such as postal savings banks, etc.? (10) Is the cause of poverty to be found more in the failure of mankind to produce enough goods for the world's consumption, or in unequal distribution of the goods produced? (11) Name some of the means suggested for reducing or abolishing poverty. (12) Would socialism be a good or a bad thing for the world? Give your reasons. (13) How do you account for the recent growth of socialistic parties in Europe, Australia,

and America? (14) Compare the rapidity of changes in government, society, and knowledge in the past hundred years with the rate of change in preceding centuries. (15) Is this rapidity of change likely to keep up indefinitely? Give your reasons.

Search Topics. — (1) DARWIN AND EVOLUTION. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 840–843; Wallace, *The Progress of the Century*, 3–29; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 507–513. — (2) PASTEUR AND THE GERM THEORY OF DISEASE. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 892–894. — (3) DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY. *The Progress of the Century*, 173–214, 232–261. — (4) PROGRESS IN PHYSICS. *The Progress of the Century*, 308–328. — (5) WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVI, 529–541. — (6) MOTOR VEHICLES. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVIII, 914–930. — (7) THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, I, 260–270, X, 516–519. — (8) WOMAN SUFFRAGE. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXVIII, 782–788; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 474–478; *Congressional Record*, for June 13, 1913 (a petition to congress, reciting the history of woman suffrage in Europe and America). — (9) THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN SWITZERLAND. Ogg, *Social Progress in Europe*, ch. xiv; Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, 430–434; Vincent, *Government in Switzerland;* Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland.* — (10) ARGUMENTS FOR GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES. Howe, *The British City.* — (11) ARGUMENTS AGAINST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. H. R. Meyer, *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain.* — (12) SOCIALISM. Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, II, 396–400; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 487–497; Bliss, *Cyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1131–1135; H. G. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, chs. i–iv, xv; Ely, *Socialism, Its Strength and Weaknesses.* — (13) ARGUMENTS AGAINST SOCIALISM. Robinson and Beard, *Development*, II, 402–404; Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, II, 497–505; Bliss, *Clyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1147–1149; Ely, *Socialism, Its Strength and Weaknesses;* Schaeffle, *The Impossibility of Socialism.* — (14) THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM. Ogg, *Social Progress*, ch. xxii.

General Reading. — A. R. Wallace (and others), *The Progress of the Century; The Nineteenth Century, A Review of Progress;* Wallace, *The Wonderful Century, Its Successes and Failures.* In addition, see the yearbooks and indexes to periodical literature.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE GREAT WORLD WAR

A. Causes of the War

In the summer of 1914 there began the greatest war that the world has ever seen. The contestants were, on the one side, the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary, afterward joined by Turkey and Bulgaria), and on the other the Entente Allies (Russia, France, and Great Britain), together with Serbia,[1] Belgium, and (by the end of 1917) enough other states to raise the total number of the Allies to nineteen. It became ultimately (after the Revolution in Russia in 1917, § 935) a contest of the last remaining autocratic powers in the world, against the countries whose ideals were freedom, peace, and democracy. The general character of the war was described by President Wilson in the following words:

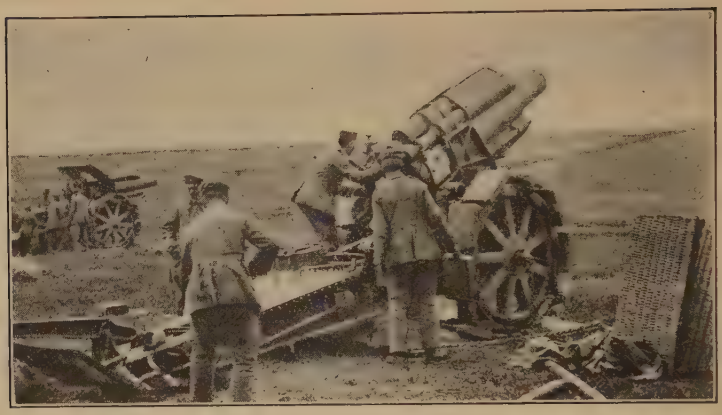
909. General character of the war

"The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible[2] government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood — not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

American reply to the Pope, August 27, 1917

[1] In recent years the spelling Serbia has come to be preferred in place of Servia.

[2] That is, autocratic. An irresponsible government is one that is not answerable to the legislature or to the people; see § 777, paragraph 5.



LONG-RANGE GERMAN HOWITZERS

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling."

910. The Pan-German propaganda

For years the spirit of militarism, with its worship of force and dreams of world power, had developed unchecked in Germany. Prussia had grown great in the past by wars which it had deliberately provoked (§§ 526, 766, 767, 771–776). The youthful German Empire, rightfully proud of its amazing progress since 1871, insisted with increasing emphasis on its right to "a place in the sun" — meaning by this phrase colonies, commerce, and a larger share in the councils of Europe. German writers claimed that their race had a divine mission to give the world a higher civilization by spreading everywhere German ideas and institutions (*Kultur*). War, moreover, was regarded by many influential Germans as something fine and beneficial, which was needed to weed out the weak and unfit, and to act as a tonic upon the strong. "Might gives the right to occupy or to conquer. Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is

Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, chap. i

decided by the arbitrament of war." Statesmen, generals, university professors, journalists, and pastors spread abroad these "Pan-German" ideas.[1] The ruling classes, by 1914, were ready to echo the cry of General Bernhardi, "World power or downfall."

911. Historical background (1898–1914)

The official acts of the German government followed with considerable closeness these unofficial teachings. Emperor William II early declared that "Germany's future lies on the water." In 1898 his government adopted an ambitious program of naval development (§ 890), which more and more disquieted England as its rapid fulfillment was seen. To safeguard her threatened naval supremacy, Great Britain composed her differences with other Powers — in 1904 with France, and in 1907 with Russia — and entered the Triple Entente (§ 822). But the apparent weakening of the British Empire in the Boer War of 1899–1902, and of the Russian Empire through the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, encouraged Germany to emphatic assertions of her claims.

Thus in 1909, when Russia questioned Austria's right to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina (§§ 825, 863), the German Emperor "took his stand in shining armor" alongside his ally. Russia's unpreparedness for war forced the Tsar to accept the rebuff. In 1911, a similar affront was given to France when Germany sent an armed cruiser to Agadir (ä-gä-dēr′, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco), and threatened to interfere with the French occupation of Morocco. This time it was Germany that was rebuffed; for the British statesman Lloyd George made a speech which amounted to a warning to Germany that England would stand by France. Italy's conquest of Tripoli from Turkey (1911–1912) was a further blow to Germany and Austria, for these Powers for some years had cultivated Turkey's alliance. The surprisingly successful war of the Balkan allies with Turkey, in 1912–1913, was a triumph for Russian diplomacy and a serious blow to German and Austrian prestige. In the Second Balkan

[1] Examples are given in *Conquest and Kultur* (published by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D.C.).

War (1913) Bulgaria was encouraged by Austria in an endeavor to check the growth of Serbia; and the victory of Serbia and its allies was so disconcerting that Austria secretly proposed to make war at that time, but refrained when Italy refused to join her. France, moreover, had never wholly abandoned her hope of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. New laws in Germany, in 1912–1913, for the increase of her standing army were answered by similar laws in Russia and France. The German-British naval rivalry grew ever keener. "Thus on all sides the alarm was raised, and special preparations were put in hand, long before the crisis of 1914 actually arrived."

B. Outbreak of the War

912. War between Austria and Serbia

The spark that started the conflagration was the assassination of the Austrian crown prince and his wife in the streets of Serajevo (sā-rä-yā′vō), the chief city of Bosnia, on June 28, 1914.[1] This shocking crime was committed by Austrian subjects of Serbian blood, who wished that Bosnia and Herzegovina might some day form part of a "Greater Serbia." Austria held the Serbian government indirectly responsible for the deed. On July 23 she presented a threatening note which demanded, among other things, that the Serbian government put a stop to all anti-Austrian agitation, dismiss all officers accused by Austria, and allow Austrian officials to sit in the Serbian courts in searching out the accomplices of the Serajevo murderers. These demands were to be accepted in their entirety within forty-eight hours. The British Foreign Minister said of this note, "I have never seen one state address

[1] There are many indications that Germany and Austria, even before this assassination, were already planning an aggressive stroke which might lead to war, and that they now decided to make the assassination of the archduke the occasion for this stroke. (See Harding's *Study of the Great War*, ch. iii.) Russia at the time was handicapped by widespread industrial strikes, Great Britain by threatened civil war over Irish Home Rule, and France by Socialist agitation against its new military law. The German and Austrian governments no doubt believed that if they maintained a firm attitude the Entente Powers would give way without war, but the generals hoped for war.

to another independent state a document of so formidable a character." The Serbian government yielded to all the demands except two, which conflicted with its internal sovereignty, and asked that these be referred to the Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers for arbitration. Austria found this reply "filled with the spirit of dishonesty" and "quite unsatisfactory," and on July 28 declared war.

913. Negotiations between the Great Powers

The German government announced that it had not been consulted by Austria in drawing up the note to Serbia. Nevertheless, it declared that the question was one for settlement "between Serbia and Austria alone, and that there should be no interference from outside in the discussions between these two countries." This was directed against Russia, as Serbia's protector. Russia announced that it would use its influence "to induce the Serbian government to go as far as possible in giving satisfaction to Austria, but her territorial integrity must be guaranteed and her rights as a sovereign state respected, so that she should not become Austria's vassal."

Great Britain strove earnestly to procure a settlement which should avoid a general European war. Its efforts were seconded by France, Italy, and Russia. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, thought the best means to this end would be a conference in London between the ambassadors of Germany and Italy as the friends of Austria, and the French ambassador and himself as the friends of Russia. Germany, however, refused to agree to this plan. Its government urged England and France to use their influence to restrain Russia, but seemed unwilling to do anything which should in any effective way restrain its own ally, Austria.

914. War of Germany and Austria against Russia and France

Moreover, when there was some hope that the Austrian and Russian governments would find a peaceful solution by direct negotiation, the German Emperor intervened with a twelve-hour ultimatum demanding that Russia demobilize. Russia's mobilization of troops was directed against Austria, but Germany claimed that it threatened her also. The first declaration of war among the Great Powers was

that of Germany against Russia on August 1. Two days later Germany declared war on France, because it was known that France would support Russia. It is significant that Austria waited until August 6 before coming out with a declaration of war against the Tsar's empire.

Germany's plan was to defeat France before the slow-moving Russian forces were ready to take the field. To invade France by the easiest routes she sent her armies (August 2 and 3) into Luxemburg and Belgium, whose perpetual neutrality was guaranteed by international treaties to which Prussia as well as France and Great Britain was a party. The German Chancellor admitted in the Reichstag that this act was "contrary to the dictates of international law," and added: "The wrong — I speak openly — that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest possessions can only have one thought — how he is to hack his way through."

915. Germany violates Belgian neutrality

British Poster asking for Volunteers

Because of England's powerful navy, it was of the utmost importance to Germany to keep that country out of the war. Overtures to that end were made, and Germany was ready (July 28) to promise that, if successful in the war, she would take no territory from France in Europe; but she would give no assurance concerning French possessions in Africa and elsewhere, nor would she agree to respect Belgium's neutrality. This offer was unacceptable to Great Britain. She feared to see Germany grow too powerful in case France was crushed; and interest as well as international obligation urged her to the defense of Belgium.

916. Great Britain declares war

The violation of Belgian neutrality afforded a ground for war which united all factions in Great Britain, and war was declared on August 4. The disappointment of Germany at this step was revealed in the unguarded expressions which its Chancellor used when the news was imparted to him by the British ambassador.[1]

Little Montenegro, as the close ally of Serbia, was involved in the war from August 7. Japan, which was allied with Great Britain in Asia, entered the war to oust Germany from Kiauchau, the Chinese port seized by the Germans in 1897 (§ 843). Turkey was in secret alliance with Germany from August 4, 1914, but did not openly come into the war until October 29. Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, declared that she would remain neutral because Austria and Germany were waging a war of aggression, — whereas the alliance was one for defense, — and because she had not been consulted in drawing up the note to Serbia. In the following year (§ 923) she entered the war on the side of the Entente Allies.

917. Other nations in 1914

C. Course of the War, 1914–1917

The German plans provided for five armies to advance through Belgium and Luxemburg. The first surprise of the war was the heroic resistance offered by the Belgians under their young king, Albert. The forts of Liége (le-ĕzh′), after two weeks' resistance, were battered down by giant German and Austrian guns; but the delay saved France. Brussels was occupied without resistance. Antwerp was reduced by bombardment (October 9). Meanwhile part of Louvain (loo-văn′) and scores of villages were burned, and thousands of unarmed civilians — men, women, and children — were massacred, in the pursuit of a policy of terrorization author-

918. Belgium overrun and France invaded (1914)

[1] The British ambassador reported in part as follows: "I found the Chancellor very agitated. . . . He said that the step taken by his majesty's government was terrible to a degree; just for a word — 'neutrality,' a word which in war time had so often been disregarded — just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

ized by no military law except the German. In the long months of German occupation which followed, Belgium was systematically plundered of its money and goods, and thousands of its people were deported to perform forced labor in Germany.

THE WESTERN FRONT

By the last week in August, 1914, the German armies were within striking distance of the whole Franco-Belgian frontier. In spite of the delay in Belgium, it looked as if their schedule — "six weeks for France, six months for Russia, and a year for Great Britain" — might not be seriously wrong. During the next two weeks the French, British, and Belgian forces, fighting desperately at every step, were slowly driven back. By September 5 the battle front was in the valley of the river Marne, with its nearest point within twenty miles of Paris.

General Joffre (zhof'fr'), the French commander-in-chief, had now completed preparations for taking the offensive. In the battle which followed, the German right wing was almost overwhelmed. After desperate fighting (September 6–10) the whole German army fell back to the River Aisne (ân), where it "dug in" and successfully resisted the Allies' attempt to break its line. The battle of the Marne was "one more decisive battle of the world, . . . for Europe conceivably the greatest in permanent meaning since Waterloo. . . . France had saved herself and Europe." The fact that the Russian armies had now begun to invade East Prussia, and that thousands of German troops were withdrawn from France to meet them, contributed to this result.

919. Battle of the Marne (Sept. 6–10, 1914)

To avoid being outflanked, the German line was rapidly extended northward until it rested on the North Sea near Ostend'. On a front of 300 miles both invaders and invaded developed elaborate entrenchments, protected by barbed wire entanglements, and for the next three and a half years on the western front trench fighting took the place of fighting in the open. The parts of France held by the Germans included

MAKING A BARBED WIRE ENTANGLEMENT

90 per cent of her iron ore, 80 per cent of her iron and steel manufactures, and 50 per cent of her coal resources.

Only the principal battles of the war can be mentioned here. Artillery duels by day and trench raids by night were of almost daily occurrence. From time to time there were terrific attempts on the one side or the other to "break through" and end the war. In vain attempts to reach Calais and control the Strait of Dover, the Germans attacked at Ypres (ē′pr', called "wipers" by British soldiers), in that part of Belgium which was still held by the Allies, in the autumn of 1914 and the spring of 1915. In 1916 a similar attempt, even more vain and costly, was made to take Verdun and approach Paris from the east. The heroic courage and endurance of the French, and the stubborn tenacity of the British and the Belgians, made all these attempts futile.

920. Slight results in France, 1915–1917

On the other hand, the Allied attacks at Festubert (fes-tü-bâr′) and in Champagne in 1915, their terrific blows on the Somme (sōm) in 1916, and at Arras (à-räs′), at Ypres, and at Cambrai (kăn-brĕ′) in 1917, while bringing decided gains, failed to expel the invaders. The most substantial Allied gain came when the Germans retired in March, 1917, after the battle of the Somme, to the positions known as the "Hin′denburg line." This retreat was accompanied by the most cold-blooded and brutal destruction of property known in the history of modern warfare. The purpose of the destruction was apparently (1) to induce France to accept German terms rather than see other districts so terribly wasted, (2) to hinder the advance of the Allies, and (3) to prepare for a later German advance (§ 939), by rendering difficult the Allied transportation and defense in that sector.

More and more the war in the west settled down to a test of the endurance and resources of the peoples of the one side and of the other.

Only the most general account can be given of the course of the war on other fronts. Two attempts of the Russians to invade East Prussia (in 1914 and 1915) were defeated with

THE EASTERN AND OTHER FRONTS

terrible losses. It was in the battle of Tan'nenberg (August 26 to September 1, 1914), in the course of the first Russian invasion, that General Hindenburg first gained the fame which in 1916 made him commander-in-chief of the German armies and the idol of the German people.[1] The Germans on their part made three attempts in 1914 to seize the rich industrial province of Russian Poland. These the Russians defeated, while they themselves overran the Austrian province of Galicia. Then, in the spring of 1915, Generals Hindenburg

921. The Russian front; Poland conquered (1915)

[1] From the beginning Hindenburg's success was largely due to his able second in command, General Ludendorff, who more and more became the ruling spirit of the German army.

and Mackensen launched a terrific drive which recovered Galicia, and conquered the Russian provinces of Poland and Courland.

In the summer of 1916 the Russians made a new drive into Austrian territory, which gained for them Bukowina (boo-ko-vē′nä, between Galicia and northern Roumania) and part of Galicia. The battle line on the eastern front remained as thus established, with comparatively little change,[1] until the withdrawal of Russia from the war early in 1918.

922. Serbia and Roumania crushed (1915–1916)

Serbia for more than a year repulsed the Austrian attacks on her territory. But the entrance of Bulgaria into the war, October 14, 1915, was soon followed by the crushing of Serbia and Montenegro through a combined German, Austrian, and Bulgarian attack (completed in December, 1915). The success of the Russian drive into Bukowina in 1916 induced Roumania to declare for the Allies (August 27, 1916) with a view to freeing the Roumanian population of Transylvania from the control of Austria-Hungary. The venture, however, proved disastrous — partly because of the treachery of certain Russian officials. The greater part of Roumania itself was soon conquered by the Central Powers (fall of Bucharest, December 6, 1916). This outcome was of great importance to Germany and Austria. It not only gave them control of the rich Roumanian wheat fields and oil lands, but it also widened their "corridor" leading to Constantinople and helped bring their "Mittel-Europa" project nearer to realization.[2]

After long negotiations, Italy declared war on Austria on May 23, 1915.[3] Her object was to gain *Italia Irreden'ta* ("unredeemed Italy"), *i.e.* the lands about Trent and Trieste

[1] In 1917 the Russians lost Riga and most of their gains in Bukowina and Galicia.

[2] Mittel-Europa (German for "Central Europe") means a German-controlled economic empire including Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan states, and dominating also Turkey and other adjacent territory. German plans included the linking together of all these regions in part by means of a "Berlin to Bagdad" railway under German rule.

[3] Italy avoided a declaration of war against Germany until August 27, 1916.

(tre-ĕst′), together with part of the Dalmatian coast and islands, whose inhabitants were largely Italians. Little progress was made by Italy in 1915. In 1916, however, the Italians had better success, taking Goritz and advancing far on the road to Trieste. But the collapse of Russia in the autumn of 1917 enabled the Austro-Germans to make a drive against Italy which undid the work of two years. German propaganda in Italy combined with this assault to produce a

923. **The Italian front (1915–1918)**

White-clad Italian Soldiers in the Alps, on Skis

loss of nearly 300,000 men and thousands of guns, while the Italian armies were forced back to the line of the Piave (pyä′vā) River. Here with French and British aid the Italians were able to maintain themselves until winter put an end to the campaign.

In 1915 the British and French attempted to occupy the Gallipoli (gäl-ē′po-lē) peninsula and thus control the Mediterranean approach to Constantinople and the Black Sea. In the spring an unsupported attempt of a fleet to push through the Dardanelles ended in failure; and when later

924. **Gallipoli expedition (1915–1916)**

a military expedition was landed on the peninsula, frightful losses were experienced.[1] The expedition was finally abandoned in January, 1916.

925. Greece enters the war, 1917

The desire of the Greek people to aid the Allies was long frustrated by the pro-German king, Constantine, whose queen was the sister of the German Emperor. But in June, 1917, Constantine was deposed, and Greece soon entered the war. The Allies had already established themselves at Saloniki; and while little was accomplished from this base, the Balkan front thenceforth was one of the many theaters of this far-spread conflict.

926. Egypt, India, Arabia

The Khedive of Egypt adhered to the cause of Turkey, his nominal suzerain. For this reason the British deposed him, abolished the Turkish suzerainty, and set up the Khedive's uncle as Sultan of Egypt. A German and Turkish attempt to stir up a holy war of all Mohammedans against the enemies of the Central Powers was a flat failure.[2] India remained loyal to Great Britain, and considerable numbers of its troops, including many Mohammedans, fought bravely in France, in Egypt, and in Asiatic Turkey. In western Arabia, on the other hand, the Arabs revolted against the Turkish government and formed the independent kingdom of Hejaz (hĕj-äz′).

927. Turkish Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine

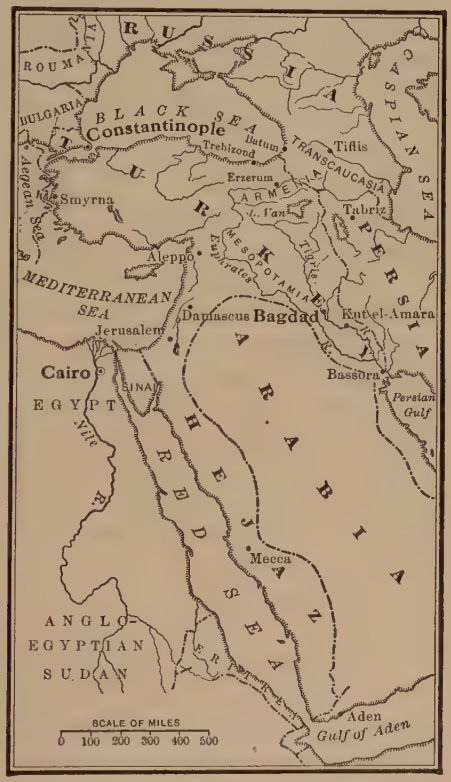
In other parts of Asiatic Turkey important military operations were carried on. Early in the war Turkish troops, under German officers and with German supplies, several times attempted unsuccessfully to invade Egypt by way of the Sinai (sī′nī) desert. There was fighting between the Turks and Russians in Transcaucasia and in northern Persia; and in 1916 the important cities of Erzerum (ĕrz-room′),

[1] This expedition included many "Anzac" troops (Australian-New Zealand Army Corps). All the British colonies furnished many volunteers for the war, and in 1917 Canada followed the example of the mother country in adopting conscription (§ 890).

[2] Within the bounds of Turkey, however, half a million Christian Armenians were cruelly exterminated, under orders from the Turkish government, although a word from Germany would have sufficed to prevent this horror.

in Turkish Armenia, and Treb'izond, on the Black Sea, were captured by the Russians.

Early in the war the British formed the design of attacking the Turks in Mesopotamia. A small expedition advanced up the Tigris River in 1915, but came to grief at Kut-el-Ama'ra, where it was forced to surrender (in April, 1916) after a three months' siege. This was a serious blow to British prestige throughout the East, though British forces still held the mouth of the river. Accordingly a second expedition was sent out which retrieved British fame by capturing Bagdad in March, 1917, and penetrated far enough beyond to get into touch with the Russians operating in northern Persia. The southeastern outlet to the projected Berlin–Bagdad railroad was thus effectually blocked.



TURKEY

Meanwhile a British expedition was slowly advancing from Egypt into Palestine, building a railroad and piping water as it went. The surrender of Jerusalem to the British on December 9, 1917, redeemed that city for Christendom after six centuries of Mohammedan rule.

Ever farther afield the war spread, justifying its name of the World War. As early as November, 1914, Japan, with the assistance of British troops from India and Australia, had attacked and taken the German stronghold of Tsingtau, on Kiauchau Bay (China). One by one Germany's other colonial possessions were lost: Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (New Guinea), the Bismarck Archipelago, and other islands of the Pacific; Togo, German Southwest Africa, Kamerun, and finally German East Africa, — the conquest of this last colony being completed in December, 1917.[1] On the other hand a German-aided rebellion in British South Africa in 1914 speedily collapsed, owing to the loyalty of the Boers to the British government. The wisdom of Great Britain's enlightened policy in that land (§ 815) was thus demonstrated.

928. Germany's colonies conquered

At the outbreak of the war Great Britain, without counting the navies of France and Russia, possessed a naval strength much greater than that of Germany. Its vessels, too, owing to the wise foresight which kept them together after a naval review in the latter part of July, 1914, were concentrated in home waters and ready for instant battle. The greater part of the German fleet took refuge in the naval stations at Helgoland and about the mouth of the River Elbe, where the Kiel Canal enabled it to pass at will from the North Sea to the Baltic and vice versa.

929. The naval war

In a battle off the coast of Chile, in the Pacific Ocean (November 1, 1914), a German fleet of five cruisers won a decisive victory over a weaker British fleet; but in December of the same year this German fleet was caught and destroyed by a British fleet off the Falkland Islands, in the southern Atlantic.

For a time a few converted merchantmen and fast cruisers (such as the *Emden*) played a brilliant rôle as commerce de-

[1] In the conquest of the German colonies in Africa, not only British and French, but also Belgian and Portuguese troops took part. Portugal declared itself ready to give military aid as an ally of Great Britain in November, 1914; it granted military aid May 19, 1915; and on March 9, 1916, Germany formally declared war on Portugal.

stroyers, thanks to wireless telegraphy and to illicit coaling arrangements. Gradually these were sunk, interned in neutral ports, or otherwise accounted for, though new raiders appeared from time to time to play their brief parts. The seas were practically cleared of the vessels of the Central Powers, while the commerce of the Allies was freed from danger except in the waters nearer home. Freedom of action was thus obtained for the transportation of troops, munitions, and other supplies essential to the Allied cause.

Meanwhile in European waters the Germans played a cautious game, with mines, air and submarine attacks, and occasional naval sorties. Only two naval battles of importance occurred in European waters in this period. In January, 1915, a British patrolling squadron defeated a German raiding squadron off Dogger Bank in the North Sea. On May 31, 1916, occurred the indecisive battle of Jutland, in which the British battle cruiser fleet engaged the German high-seas fleet until darkness enabled the German ships to escape the oncoming British dreadnaughts. Thenceforth, as before, the silent pressure of the British fleets sufficed to keep command of the sea. Allied commerce was checked only in small part, while Germany was practically blockaded.

To compensate for her inability to cope with Great Britain on the surface of the seas, Germany resorted to the submarine or "U-boat" (*Unterseeboot*). On February 4, 1915, she published her intention of sinking all enemy merchantmen found in the "war zone" which she proclaimed about the British Isles,[1] and neutral countries also were warned to keep their vessels out of those waters. On May 7 the world was horrified by the deliberate sinking without warning of the passenger steamship *Lusitania*, with a loss of 1154 lives (men, women, and children), including 114 Americans. As a result of energetic protests made by the United States, Germany later agreed, conditionally, to restrict the activities of the U-boats by providing that they should not sink a merchant ship without

930. Submarine campaign

[1] Subsequently extended to the Mediterranean and the Azores Islands.

first giving the crew and passengers opportunity to take to small boats. Secretly, however, the building of submarines was pushed on rapidly; and on January 31, 1917, the German

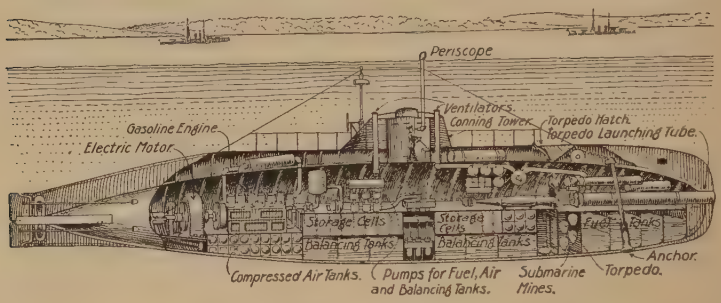


DIAGRAM OF A SMALL SUBMARINE

government announced that from the following day it would sink at sight all ships, enemy or neutral, found within the waters surrounding the Allied countries. Germany thus knowingly risked the entrance of the United States and other neutrals into the war against her, in the hope of being able to starve Great Britain and so end the war.[1]

931. New methods of warfare

Germany also incurred the disapproval of neutrals by the use of unlawful methods of warfare on land, which helped to make the Great War by far the most terrible ever waged. Even if it had been waged strictly within the limits prescribed by international law, it would have been the most terrible in history, because of the enormous numbers engaged and the growing efficiency of death-dealing weapons. The

[1] The merchant shipping of the world destroyed by mines and submarines in the first two and one half years of the war (to Jan. 1, 1917) amounted to 4,034,000 tons. In the year 1917 alone 6,623,000 tons were sunk. Improved and very much larger submarines were built, capable of operating over a much wider area and even of crossing the Atlantic. Fortunately means of combating the danger — with nets, airplanes, depth bombs, etc. — kept pace with the development of the submarine itself. Nevertheless the replacement of the lost shipping became one of the pressing problems, and shipbuilding was speeded up in all the Allied countries.

On February 5, 1918, it was officially stated that 14,120 non-combatant men, women, and children of the British Isles had been done to death by German submarines.

battle front in France and Belgium extended more than 300 miles, and along the borders of Russia there was fighting from the Baltic Sea to northern Persia, a distance of over 1500 miles.[1] In artillery, munitions, and equipment the Central Powers were far better prepared than the Allies at the beginning of the war, but that superiority was gradually overcome. Among the prominent features of the land warfare were the development of

BRITISH TANK CROSSING A GERMAN TRENCH, SIDE VIEW

This heavily armored car is propelled and steered by two moving "caterpillar" treads. It is armed with small cannon and machine guns, and is operated by three or four men.

"barrage" (barrier) artillery fire, the extensive use of machine guns and hand grenades, elaborate trenches with barbed wire entanglements, and armored automobiles, culminating in the "tank" invented by the British, and first used in the battle of the Somme (1916).[2] The machine of greatest importance, however,

[1] At the beginning of the war the trained forces of Germany numbered about 4,250,000, Russia 4,100,000, France 4,000,000, Austria-Hungary 3,600,000, and Great Britain (including "territorials" or militia) 707,000. In the autumn of 1917 it was estimated that there were 38,000,000 men bearing arms in the war.

[2] The battle of Cambrai in 1917 was opened by a charge of hundreds of tanks, which surprised the Germans by crashing through their barbed wire and crossing their trenches, making way for infantry charges without the usual artillery preparation.

was the aëroplane or airplane (§ 899). In use for scouting it largely displaced cavalry, and equipped with bombs and machine guns it took a larger and larger place in actual fighting. Germany spent many millions in building Zeppelins (§ 899), but in combat they proved no match for the airplane.

No more on land than on the sea, however, did Germany confine herself to lawful methods of warfare. Her disregard of international law — especially of the Hague conventions which she had recently helped to frame and which she had bound herself to observe (§ 892) — was shown in many ways. Among the unlawful acts committed by German forces were the deliberate massacre of portions of the civil population of occupied territory as a means of preventing or punishing resistance; the use of enemy civilians, including women and children, as a screen to safeguard advancing German columns; the systematic plundering of private property in Belgium, Poland, etc., causing general economic ruin and the actual starvation of thousands; the deportation and forced labor of thousands of enemy civilians in digging trenches and other war work; and the introduction of liquid fire and torturing poison gases.[1] Deadly disease germs were sent for use in Roumania while that country was still neutral.[2] In the west Zeppelins and airplanes were used for the bombardment of many unfortified residential cities and towns far from the zone of battle, killing hundreds of women and children, but only a few men of military age.[3]

[1] Poison gas was first used by the Germans in the second battle of Ypres (1915). It proved so powerful a weapon that it was adopted by the Allies also. For protection against it, masks and respirators were quickly developed, and were supplied to the millions of soldiers on the western front.

[2] When Roumania declared war German interests there were intrusted to the United States, then a neutral; and in the German legation at Bucharest there were found concealed, besides many boxes of high explosives, phials containing germs of anthrax and glanders, with directions for their use in poisoning horses and cattle.

[3] Between January 19, 1915, and October 1, 1917, England was raided 34 times, with a loss of 865 men, women, and children killed and 2500 wounded. France and Italy also suffered severely from such raids. The Allies were obliged to retaliate in self-defense.

D. Entrance of the United States into the War (1917)

From the outbreak of the war in Europe, our government preserved a careful neutrality. On the one hand we protested to Great Britain against the injury to our trade by her blockade, her declarations of contraband, and her interference with our mails. On the other we upheld against the Central Powers the right of our citizens to sell munitions to the belligerents, — a traffic which Germany herself had often engaged in, and one that is especially necessary to the protection of unarmed and unaggressive nations. The submarine warfare against neutral commerce added a more dangerous subject of controversy; for while we could well afford to wait until calmer times to arbitrate property losses, we could not submit to the taking of American lives. Germany was early warned that she would be held to "strict accountability" for offenses against the lives and property of American citizens; and in note after note our protests and remonstrances were recorded. After the sinking of the passenger steamer *Sussex* (March 24, 1916) with Americans aboard, Germany so far heeded our demands as to promise, conditionally, that thenceforth vessels "shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives" (§ 930).

932. Period of our neutrality (1914–1917)

On January 31, 1917, however, Germany withdrew her *Sussex* pledge, and announced the renewal of ruthless submarine operations, to begin the following day. President Wilson thereupon dismissed Ambassador Bernstorff and severed diplomatic relations with Germany (February 3). We possessed abundant grounds for war: (1) Up to April, 1917, a total of 226 Americans (men, women, and children) had lost their lives by the action of German submarines. (2) A vast amount of evidence, moreover, had accumulated showing a great conspiracy, with the German ambassador and his aids as its heads, to commit crimes within the United States against our laws. These intrigues included the blowing up and burning of munition plants, placing bombs

933. Ruthless submarining brings war (April 6, 1917)

to destroy merchant ships in our harbors or on the high seas, stirring up strikes in our factories, setting on foot plots against Great Britain in Canada, India, and Ireland; a widespread spy system; and the financing of a systematic propaganda in the press and on the lecture platform in the German interest. This was in reality making war upon us on land in time of peace. (3) In addition there was a growing realization that German power was not merely a menace to the Monroe doctrine and to our independence, but that the war was gradually shaping itself into a struggle between democratic nations on the one hand and autocratic nations on the other, and that just as in Lincoln's day our nation could not endure "half slave and half free," so the world community could not much longer exist part autocratic and part democratic. (4) Finally, there fell into the hands of our government the famous "Zimmermann note," in which the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs offered to the Mexican government New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona if Mexico would attack the United States.

As a result of all these grievances, President Wilson, on April 2, asked Congress to declare the existence of a state of war, saying: "The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated."

On April 6 Congress accepted the President's recommendation and declared war against Germany.[1] Cuba, Panama,

[1] This was followed, Dec. 7, 1917, by a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

Siam, Liberia, China, and Brazil followed us in declaring war; and Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Haiti, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay, and Ecuador severed diplomatic relations with the German government. Germany might well have stopped to calculate whether the weakening of the military power of the Allies through the policy of unrestricted submarine sinkings would balance the great material and moral gain to the Allied cause through such world-wide additions to the number of her enemies.

934. Further spread of the war in 1917

Owing to the fact that our national policy has always been one of peace and not of war, it was difficult to bring at once

AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

These men are wearing gas masks, and steel helmets for protection against shrapnel; they are practicing in the use of hand grenades.

into operation the great resources of the United States. But by the end of the first year of our participation we had raised (partly by volunteering and partly by conscription) an army of 1,500,000, of whom 300,000 or more were in France, under General Pershing. Steps were also on foot by which an army of 5,000,000 should eventually be ready if needed. Similar expansions had taken place in our navy, in our manufacture

of munitions and airplanes, and in our shipbuilding. Eight and a half billion dollars had been raised by the sale of bonds and war savings stamps, of which nearly $5,000,000,000 had been lent to the Allies. To produce these results there had taken place such a mobilization of our industry and such a revolution in our taxation, railroad system, and mode of living as would have been impossible in times of peace. The sphere of governmental action was greatly extended, as in all the warring countries, by taking over the operation of railroads and steamships, and regulating and controlling the production and consumption of food, fuel, and other essentials.

E. Collapse of Russia and Roumania

The gain to the Allied cause from the entrance of the United States into the war was largely counterbalanced by the collapse of Russia, due to a new and most extraordinary revolution.

935. Revolution in Russia (March, 1917)

The movement which had been started by the revolution of 1905 (§§ 858–861) had not entirely died down. In the course of the war, moreover, a well-grounded suspicion spread about that certain members of the Russian court were pro-German and were planning a separate peace with Germany.[1] Early in March, 1917, conflicts arose between the Duma, which strongly supported the war, and the reactionary government. Street fighting occurred in Petrograd on March 9, in which 2500 persons were killed or wounded. On March 12 the Tsar ordered the Duma to be suspended. Its President defied the decree and announced the formation of a provisional government. The troops in Petrograd had been won over to the cause of the Duma; and on March 15 Tsar Nicholas was shown the hopelessness of continued resistance and was induced to abdicate. Little disorganization followed, for the government was left in the hands of the Duma leaders who

[1] In addition the imperial family was discredited by the favor shown by the Tsarina to a dissolute monk named Rasputin, who claimed marvelous powers. Rasputin was assassinated by a group of liberal young nobles in January, 1917.

had been active in support of the war. Although monarchy was practically abolished with the Tsar's abdication, the Russian republic was not formally proclaimed until September 17.

The Constitutional Democrats, who were at first in control, proclaimed freedom of speech, the right to strike, universal suffrage, and a host of other liberal reforms. But in their hands the revolution remained a *political* overthrow and not a *social and economic* overthrow, and the radical Socialists would have none of it. On July 22 a moderate Socialist named Keren'sky became practically dictator, and by eloquent appeals to patriotism sought to arouse the masses to a determination to continue the war.

It was in vain. The peasants were eager to seize the land for themselves. The workmen of the towns were won over by extreme Socialists called *Bolsheviki* (bol-shĕv'e-kee),—headed by Lenine (lĕ-neen') and Trotz'ky,[1] and aided by German gold and German propaganda, — to demand a straight-out Socialist republic. Both peasants and workmen demanded that Russia withdraw from the war abroad. Lenine and Trotzky were eager to begin an international war of workingmen against capitalists. Their emissaries had honeycombed the army with socialistic committees or *soviets* (sō'vyĕts) and destroyed discipline. The soldiers refused to obey their officers; hundreds of the latter were shot; "fraternizing" of the armies was encouraged by the Germans. The inhabitants of Finland, Ukrainia, and other subject nationalities of the vast Russian Empire were encouraged to proclaim their independence on the principle of "self-determination of nationalities." Finally, in November, 1917, Kerensky fell, and a Bolshevik government took his place. Russia's obligations to the Allies were repudiated, and on December 15 a separate armistice with the

936. Triumph of the Bolsheviki (November, 1917)

[1] Both Lenine and Trotzky were extreme Socialist writers and were leaders in the revolution of 1905. During the war Lenine was a refugee in Switzerland until April, 1917, when he returned to Russia with the consent and aid of the German government. Trotzky for a time had been a resident of New York, but strongly denounced the United States as a capitalist tyranny after his return to Russia.

Central Powers was concluded, with a view to immediate peace, to be negotiated at Brest-Litovsk'.

937. Brest-Litovsk peace

The Bolshevik formula for peace, which had received acceptance among certain radicals in other countries also, was on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities." In the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the Central Powers began by professing acceptance of this principle. They ended by extorting from Russia a peace (signed March 3, 1918; ratified by an "All-Russian Congress of Soviets," March 14), which (1) separated from Russia the provinces of Courland, Poland, Lithuania, Livonia, and Esthonia; (2) recognized the "independence" (which meant subjection to German rule) of Ukrainia and Finland; (3) ceded Batum and other districts in Russian Armenia to Turkey. In addition there were trade and economic arrangements enormously to the advantage of the Central Powers.[1] Roumania, cut off completely from the Allies after the defection of Russia, was forced similarly to make a "German peace." The preliminary treaty included the giving up of the whole of the Dobrud'ja and granting extensive trading and other rights. Subsequent demands added the surrender of large areas on Roumania's western frontier.[2]

Through these treaties with Russia and Roumania, the Central Powers gained not merely the release of hundreds of thousands of troops for use on the western and Italian fronts; they also secured control of vast petroleum fields, as well as of extensive and rich wheat lands. It is estimated that the territory separated from Russia and Roumania is equal to the whole extent of Germany and Austria-Hungary.[3]

[1] Maxim Gorky calculated that this treaty robbed Russia of 4 per cent of her total area, 26 per cent of her population, 27 per cent of her agricultural land normally cultivated, 37 per cent of her foodstuffs production, 26 per cent of her railways, 33 per cent of her manufacturing industries, 75 per cent of her coal, and 73 per cent of her iron. It has also been pointed out that the treaty strengthened Germany's hold on the Mohammedan peoples, and gave her an alternative route to India and the East via Odessa, Batum, Transcaucasia, and northern Persia.

[2] Only absolute necessity induced Roumania to conclude the final treaty, which was signed May 6, 1918.

[3] In an address at Baltimore, April 6, 1918, President Wilson summarized as

F. Military Campaign of 1918

938. Preparation for the spring drive

For the spring of 1918, the Central Powers gathered on the western front enormous forces of men, guns, munitions, airplanes, and all the death-dealing devices old and new which their unscrupulous skill could fashion.[1] The armistice with Russia enabled them — in spite of promises to the contrary — to move their eastern armies to the west with a view to crushing the Allies in France. "If the enemy does not want peace," the German Emperor had said December 22, 1917, "then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace." And again on February 11, 1918: "We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples, but the victory of German arms must first be recognized."

In order better to resist the assault, the Allies, who had established a Supreme War Council at Versailles the preceding winter, now arranged for a joint army of reserve. Soon after the campaign began, coördination of Allied effort was at last made complete, at the suggestion of the United States, by the appointment of a supreme commander-in-chief of all the

follows the German designs as revealed at Brest-Litovsk: "Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy — an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe — an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it."

[1] These included several new "super-guns," with which, when the battle opened, the Germans bombarded the city of Paris from a distance of more than seventy miles. As accurate aim was impossible at so great a distance, most of the shells from these guns did little harm, — except occasionally to kill a few non-combatants. On Good Friday, however, one of them struck a church and killed nearly a hundred worshipers.

armies on the western front — General Foch (fosh), joint hero with Joffre of the battle of the Marne, and the ablest strategist of France.

939. Battle of Picardy and Flanders (March 21-)

The expected German drive came between Arras and La Fere in the general region in which was fought the battle of the Somme in 1916, and the battle of Cambrai in 1917; afterward it broadened northward to include the region between Arras and Ypres (map, page 760). As it was beginning, Lloyd George pronounced it "the greatest and most momentous battle in the history of the world." In eighteen days the Germans drove back the British and French a maximum distance of nearly 40 miles, with smaller gains on a front of 70 miles. In many places trench fighting gave way to fighting in the open. The Germans were now within 10 miles of the important railroad center of Amiens. But soon their advance was halted, with heavy losses in many local attacks. In Flanders also they gained ground at the cost of heavy losses in men, in some of the most stubborn fighting of the whole war.

General Foch

News that many American troops had been sent to these sectors by General Pershing, and that, in addition to the men already in France, several hundred thousand other Americans would soon be there, greatly encouraged the Allies. On April 6, in an address at Baltimore, President Wilson gave a new pledge of our whole-hearted support of the war in these

words: "Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

IMPORTANT DATES

1914. Germany declares war on Russia, and the Great War begins (Aug. 1). Battle of the Marne halts German advance in France (Sept. 6–10).

1915. Gallipoli expedition. Italy and Bulgaria enter the war. Russian Poland and Serbia conquered by the Central Powers.

1916. Failure of the Germans to take Verdun. First battle of the Somme. Roumania enters the war and is crushed.

1917. Revolution in Russia begun (March). United States enters the war (April 6). Jerusalem captured by the British (Dec. 9).

1918. Russia (March 3) and Roumania (May 6) sign peace with the Central Powers. Battle of Picardy and Flanders.

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On this chapter consult *The Study of the Great War: a Topical Outline, with Extensive Quotations and Reading References*, by Professor Samuel B. Harding, — a pamphlet of 96 pages issued by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C. Teachers should secure also the other publications of that committee, many of which were published for free distribution. See also the sources for recent history that are mentioned at the end of page 736.

PRINCIPAL BATTLES OF THE GREAT WAR, 1914–1918

Dates	Name of Battle and Location	Opposing Forces	Remarks
1914			
Aug. 21–23	Battle of *Mons-Charleroi* (in Belgium)	Germans *vs.* French and British	German victory; opened way into France.
Aug. 26–Sept. 1	Battle of *Tannenberg* (in East Prussia, Germany)	Germans *vs.* Russians	One Russian army crushed.
Sept. 6–10.	Battle of the *Marne* River (in northern France, tributary of Seine River)	French and British *vs.* Germans	Allied victory won by Joffre and Foch. German invasion stopped.
Sept. 6–10	First Battle of the *Mazurian Lakes* (in East Prussia, Germany)	Germans *vs.* Russians	Second Russian army crushed. East Prussia cleared of Russians by Hindenburg.
Sept. 12–17	Battle of the *Aisne* River (in northern France, tributary of Oise River)	French and British *vs.* Germans	Here German retreat stopped; attack of Allies repulsed. Extension of trench system from Switzerland to North Sea.
Oct. 16–28	Battle of the *Yser* River (in Belgium flowing into North Sea).	Germans *vs.* British and Belgians	Belgians cut dikes; Germans were halted.
Oct. 22–Nov. 15	Battle of *Flanders* or First Battle of *Ypres* (city in Belgium)	Germans *vs.* British, French, and Belgians	Failure of Germans to break through and reach Calais, in spite of loss of 150,000 men.
Nov.–Mar. 22, 1915	Siege of *Przemysl* (Austrian fortified city in Galicia)	Russians *vs.* Austrians	130,000 Austrians captured when the city was taken. (Przemysl was retaken by the Germans and Austrians on June 2, 1915.)
1915			
Jan. 24	Naval Battle of *Dogger Bank* (in North Sea)	British *vs.* German fleets	British victory.
Feb. 4–12	Second Battle of the *Mazurian Lakes* (in East Prussia)	Germans *vs.* Russians	Russians again driven from East Prussia; 50,000 captured.
March 10–12	Battle of *Neuve Chapelle* (village in northern France, near Lille)	British *vs.* Germans	British success, at great cost; as much ammunition expended as during entire Boer War.
Apr. 22–26	Second Battle of *Ypres* (city in Belgium)	Germans *vs.* British and French	Germans advance 2 miles on 5-mile front. First use of poison (chlorine) gas, through pipes and bombs. Heroic behavior of Canadians.
Apr. 26–Jan. 8, 1916	Invasion of *Gallipoli* (peninsula between Dardanelles Strait and Ægean Sea)	British and French *vs.* Turks	After very heavy losses the Allied forces finally withdrew.

Dates	Name of Battle and Location	Opposing Forces	Remarks
May 2, 1915	Battle of the *Dunajec* River (in western Galicia, Austria)	Germans and Austrians *vs* Russians	Beginning of terrific drive which expelled Russians from Galicia, and conquered Russian Poland (July 12–Sept. 18).
May 9–25	Battle of *Arras-Festubert* (in northern France)	French and British *vs.* Germans	French and British made small gains.
Sept. 25–Oct.	Battle of *Champagne* and *Flanders* (on west front from Verdun to the sea)	French, British, and Belgians *vs.* Germans	Some advance made and many prisoners taken, but the Allies failed to break the German line (at Loos British lost 50,000 men).
1916			
Feb. 21–July	Battle of *Verdun* (fortified city in eastern France)	Germans *vs.* French	One of greatest battles of the war. Failure of the Germans to take the city, though they lost about 500,000 men.
May 31	Naval Battle of *Jutland* (in North Sea off Danish coast)	British *vs.* German fleets	The greatest naval battle of modern times; heavy losses on both sides, but the British remained in control of the sea.
July 1–Nov. 15	Battle of the *Somme* River (in northern France, flowing into the English Channel)	French and British *vs.* Germans	One of the bloodiest of battles; first use of "tanks" (Sept. 15). Germans driven back on a front of 20 miles and to a depth of 9.
1917			
April 9–May	Second Battle of *Arras* (city in northern France)	French and British *vs.* Germans	Slight gains by the Allies.
May–Oct.	Battle of the *Isonzo* River (at head of Adriatic Sea)	Italians *vs.* Austrians and Germans	In Oct.–Dec. an Austro-German counter-offensive drove the Italians back to the Piave River.
July–Dec.	Third Battle of *Flanders*, or Third Battle of *Ypres* (city in Belgium)	British, French, and Belgians *vs.* Germans	British win Passchendaele Ridge; other Allied gains.
Nov. 20–Dec. 13	Battle of *Cambrai* (city of northern France on River Scheldt)	British and French *vs.* Germans	Begun by tanks without artillery preparation. German counter-attack recovered most of the ground gained by British.
1918			
March 21–	Battle of *Picardy* and *Flanders* (on west front from near La Fere to Ypres and beyond)	Germans and Austrians *vs.* British, French, Americans, Portuguese, and Belgians	"The greatest and most momentous battle in the history of the world."

APPENDIX: LIST OF BOOKS SUITABLE FOR A HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARY

For further titles see the New England History Teachers' Association, *Syllabus of History for Secondary Schools* (Heath & Co.) and *Historical Sources in Schools* (Macmillan). Many excellent volumes are published in the *Home University Library* (Holt & Co.). This list does not include encyclopedias or books dealing with the war of 1914.

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Diacritic marks: ā as in *late*; ă as in *fat*; ä as in *far*; å as in *last*; â as in *care*; a̲ as in *fall*; *ch* as in *chasm*; ç as in *ice*; ē as in *me*; ĕ as in *met, berry*; ê as in *there*; ē as in *term*; ġ as in *gem*; g̲ as in *go*; ɢ, German *ch*; ī as in *ice*; ĭ as in *tin*; ï as in *police*; ĸ, German *ch*; ɴ, the French nasal; ō as in *note*; ŏ as in *not*; o̲ as in *son*; ô as in *for*; o̲ as in *do*; ū as in *tune*; ŭ as in *nut*; u̲ as in *rude* (= o̲); ü, French *u*; y as in *my*; ў as in *lady*. Single italic letters are silent.

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